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# **The Indian Historical Quarterly**

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# The Indian Historical Quarterly

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No. 1

## A Newly Discovered Work of Bhāṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bengal

Besides the five well-known works of Bhāṭṭa Bhavadeva, viz., *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*<sup>1</sup> (also called *Daśa-karma-paddhati*, *Daśakarma-dipikā*, *Chāndoga-paddhati* or *Saṃskāra-paddhati*), *Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa*<sup>2</sup> (sometimes wrongly called *Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa*), *Sambandha-viveka*,<sup>3</sup> *Tautātita-mata-tilaka*,<sup>4</sup> and *Vyavahāra-tilaka*,<sup>5</sup> two complete manuscripts have recently been found in Assam of a sixth work of his called “*Śava-sūnikāśauca-prakaraṇa*”, even the name of which was hitherto unknown to scholars. Through the kind help of a very generous friend of mine I had access to both these manuscripts, and on examination I found that they record a genuine work of the illustrious scholar Bhāṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bengal. These two manuscripts are written on country-made paper and in old Assamese script. They have the same appearance and condition and begin with the following verse:

यस्य ज्ञानविवर्तीऽयं प्रपञ्चं जगद्द्वति ।  
प्रत्यगच्छति यज्ञानं तस्मै ज्ञानात्मने नमः ॥

1 According to M. M. Chakravarti (*JASB.*, 1912, p. 333), this work was printed on several occasions, but unfortunately I have not yet seen any of its editions except that of Śyāmācāraṇa Kaviratna who omits a few sections as unnecessary.

2 Edited by Girish Chandra Vedantatirtha and published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Bengal), 1927.

3 Edited by Suresh Chandra Benerji and published with an English translation in *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, 1943-44, pp. 252-60.

4 Part I, edited by A. Chinnaswami Sastri and Pattabhirama Sastri. The Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, No. 79 (Part I), Banaras, 1939.

5 Known only from references and quotations. No manuscript of this work has been found as yet.

2 A Newly Discovered Work of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bengal

One of them (hereinafter called Ms. A), covering 50 folios, with 2-4 lines on a page, is dated Saka 1705 (=A.D. 1783) and ends as follows:

वङ्गाधिपधर्माध्यक्षो भट्टश्रीभवदेवार्थ्य [ : ] ।

शवसूति(त)काविशुद्धिप्रकरणमवलोक्य संहिता [श्] चके ॥

इति श्रीबालवडभीभुजङ्गापरनामश्रीवङ्गाधिराजश्रीभट्टाचार्यभवदेवकृतं शवसूति(त)काशौचप्रकरणं समाप्तमिति ॥ ६ । सक (शक) १७०५ ॥

यथा दृष्टं तथा लिखितं इत्यादि ॥

The other manuscript (hereinafter referred to as Ms. B) consists of 28 folios, with 7-8 lines on a page, but bears no date. Its general appearance and script show that it is as old as the first manuscript (A). It has the same concluding verse “वङ्गाधिपधर्माध्यक्षो etc.”, in which it reads ‘भट्टः श्री०’ for ‘भट्टश्री०’, and its colophon runs thus:

इति श्रीवङ्गाधिराजभट्टाचार्यभवदेवकृतं शवसूति(त)काशौचप्रकरणं ॥

It is to be noted that this colophon omits the expression ‘श्रीबालवडभीभुजङ्गापरनाम’ and all words from ‘समाप्तमिति’ to ‘लिखितं इत्यादि’ as occurring in manuscript A. Unlike the latter, which is fairly correct, manuscript B contains mistakes at every step and has a large number of omissions (including long passages), many of which are clearly haplological.

As regards the authorship of the *Sava-sūtakāśauca-prakaraṇa* there can be little doubt about the fact that it was written by the same famous scholar Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bengal who was the author of the *Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa* and other works mentioned above. This is evident not only from the concluding verse of the *Sava-sūtakāśauca-prakaraṇa* in which the author of this work has been named as ‘भट्टश्रीभवदेव’ and said to have been a ‘Dharmādhyakṣa<sup>6</sup> under the ‘king of Vanga’ (वङ्गाधिपधर्माध्यक्षः), but also from the colophon of manuscript A, in which Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva has been said to have had another name ‘बालवडभीभुजङ्ग’. The absence of the expression ‘श्रीबालवडभीभुजङ्गापरनाम’ from manuscript B need not be taken seriously. We have already said that this manuscript omits a large number of words and extracts haplographically; and the absence of the said expres-

6 The word भर्माध्यक्ष is generally taken to mean ‘a judge’ or ‘an officer in charge of Law’, but it might have been used in some other sense, for which see Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya’s article on “Bengal’s contribution to Vedic literature” in *Our Heritage*, vol. I, part ii. ६.

sion from this manuscript may be due to haplological omission. It should be mentioned here that Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva has been named as 'भट्टश्रीभवदेव' at the end of his Bhuvaneśvara inscription<sup>7</sup> as well as in the colophons of some of his other works<sup>8</sup>, that according to the

7 N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, p. 35—प्रशस्तिरियं बालवलभीभुजङ्गापरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य ॥

8 See *Prāyaścitta-prakarana*, pp. 39 (इति बालवलभीभुजङ्गापरनामभट्टश्रीभवदेवकृतौ प्रयश्चित्तप्रकरणे \* \* ०परिच्छेदः \* ), 71 (इति बालवलभीभुजङ्गापरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य कृतौ प्रयश्चित्तप्रकरणे etc.), 80 (same as on p. 39), 127 (same as on p. 39), 132 (same as on p. 39).

For mention of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's name as 'भट्टश्रीभवदेव' in MSS. of the *Prāyaścitta-prakarana* see

(a) Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, III, p. 554, No. 1725 (Ms. No. 561, fol. 35b—इति वासकाभीभुजङ्गापरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य कृतौ etc.; fol. 59b—इति बालवलभीभुजङ्गापरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य कृतौ etc.; fol. 69a—same as on fol. 59b; fol. 90a—इति बालवलभीभुजङ्गापरनामकभट्टश्रीभवदेवकृतौ etc.; and final colophon—same as on fol. 90a).

(b) Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. No. स्मृ 258, especially its final colophon (इति बालवडभीथुजंगापरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य etc.).

(c) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, IX, pp. 214-5, No. 3138 (final colophon—इति नरभीभुजङ्गापरनामधेयभट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य कृतौ etc.).

(d) Haraprasad Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Second Series, Vol. I, pp. 237-8, No. 240 (colophon—इति बालवलभीयभुजङ्गापरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य कृतौ etc.).

See also the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. (numbered 52 in the printed Catalogue) of the *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati* (the final colophon of which runs as follows: श्रीबालवडभीभुजंगभूजाभिमतविपक्षप्रतिवैनतेयपाप्यगडखण्डननागरिकोक्ता चस्पतिश-रणकेलिनीलकंठभट्टश्रीभवदेवविरचिता etc.) and the India Office Ms. No. 1569 (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, IV, p. 690, No. 2166) of the *Tautātita-mata-tilaka* (the colophons of two sections of which read: इति श्रीबालवलभीभुजंगापरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य कृतौ etc.).

For mention of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's name as 'भवदेव', 'श्रीभवदेव', 'महोपाध्याय-श्रीभवदेव', or 'श्रीभवदेवभट्ट' see Bhuvaneśvara inscription, verse 14 (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 33), *Tautātita-mata-tilaka*, pp. 1 (verse 2 quoted in foot-note 11 below), 52 (इति बालवलभीभुजङ्गापरनाम्नो भवदेवस्य कृतौ etc.), and 218 (बालवलभीभुजङ्गापरनाम्नो महोपाध्यायश्रीभवदेवस्य कृतौ etc.), *Prāyaścitta-prakarana*, p. 100 (इति बालवलभीभुजङ्गापरनाम्नः श्रीभवदेवभट्टस्य कृतौ etc.), *Sambandha-viveka* (final colophon—इति बालवडभीभुजंगश्रीभवदेवभट्टविरचितः etc.—*New Indian Antiquary*, VI, 1943-44, p. 256).

#### 4 A Newly Discovered Work of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bengal

said inscription Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's grandfather Ādideva was a minister of peace and war to a 'king of Vaṅga'<sup>9</sup>, and that in the same inscription<sup>10</sup> as well as in the second introductory verse<sup>11</sup> of the *Tautātita-mata-tilaka* and the colophons of the *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddbati*, *Prāyaścitta-prakarāṇa*, *Tautātita-mata-tilaka* and *Sambandha-viveka*<sup>12</sup>, we are told, very often in the same words as those in the colophon of the *Sava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa*, that Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva had a second name 'बालवलभीभुजङ्ग' (or 'बालवडभीभुजङ्ग').

Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's authorship of the *Sava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa* seems to have additional support in a few notable similarities in some respects between this work, on the one hand, and his other works, especially the *Prāyaścitta-prakarāṇa*, on the other. These similarities are as follows:

(1) The title of the *Sava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa*, like that of the *Prāyaścitta-prakarāṇa*, ends in the word 'प्रकरण'.

(2) In his *Prāyaścitta-prakarāṇa* Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva has utilised about fifty-three Sūtra and Saṃhitā works on Dharma, but he has quoted verses from only two Purāṇas, viz., *Matsya-purāṇa* and *Bhavisya-purāṇa*. Of these two works, the former has been drawn upon only once, and the latter on nine occasions, the numbers of verses quoted from these two works being four and twenty-six respectively. In his *Sambandha-viveka* also, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva is found

#### 9 Bhuvaneśvara Inscription, verses 9-10-

तस्मादभूत् \* \* \*

श्रीआदिदेव इति देव इवादिसुत्तिर्म[स्या]त्मना भुदनमेतदलङ्करिष्णुः ॥

यो वङ्गराजराज्यश्रीविश्रामसचिवः शूचिः ।

महामन्त्री महापात्रमवन्ध्यः सन्धिविग्रही ॥

"From him (i.e. Budha) was born Ādideva, ... ... ..., resembling the Primeval god (Brahmā) adorning this world with his human body.

"That holy (person) was a minister to His Royal Majesty the king of Vaṅga in his time of relaxation and was successful as (his) supreme councillor and supreme official, in peace and war."

*Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, pp. 33 and 37.

10 See verse 24—यस्य खलु बालवलभीभुजङ्ग इति नाम नाहतं केन । etc. *Ibid.*, III, p. 34.

11 मामध्ययनदशायामुवाच वाचं दर्शि स्मे ।

बालवलभीभुजङ्गापरनामा त्वमसि भवदेव ॥

12 For the texts of these colophons see foot-notes 7-8 and 10-11.

to be equally cautious about using the Purāṇas as little as possible. In this short treatise he has drawn upon the works of Manu, Viṣṇu, Yājñavalkya, Saṅkha-Likhita, Nārada, Vyāsa and a few other ancient Smṛti-writers, but he has quoted only three lines from the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* and one line from the *Mārkandeya-purāṇa*. In the same way, as many as forty-two Sūtra and Saṃhitā works on Dharma have been utilised in the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarana*, but of the Purāṇas it is only the *Matsya* and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* which have been drawn upon, each on one occasion, the numbers of verses quoted being only two in each case.

(3) In the *Prāyaścitta-prakarana*, quotations have been made from the *Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra* on thirty-one occasions, but on twenty-six occasions the source of the quoted verses has been named as ‘*Bṛhad-viṣṇu*’, and on five occasions, as ‘*Viṣṇu*’.

In the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarana* the *Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra* has been drawn upon on seven occasions, and on every occasion the work has been named as ‘*Bṛhad-viṣṇu*’.

(4) The *Prāyaścitta-prakarana* has one verse from ‘*Vaivasvata*’. Similarly, the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarana* has two verses from ‘*Vivasvān*’.

(5) Like the *Prāyaścitta-prakarana* the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarana* draws upon the *Manu-smṛti* and the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* much more frequently than upon any other work.

The only fact which appears to go against Bhāṭṭa Bhāvadeva’s authorship of the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarana* is that a line ( न प्रामाभिमुखं प्रेतं निर्हरेयुः ), which is found quoted in both the manuscripts, has been ascribed to the ‘हारलतास्मृति’ in one of them and to the ‘हारलतस्मृति’ in the other. The passage, containing this quoted line, runs as follows:

सति सम्भवे प्रामाभिमुखं न निःसारणीयः,

“न<sup>१३</sup> प्रामाभिमुखं प्रेतं निहरेयुः”

इति हारलतास्मृतेः ( v. 1. ‘हारलतस्मृतेः’ in Ms. B. )

As this line has been quoted in Aniruddhabhāṭṭa’s *Hāralatā*<sup>१४</sup> and as Aniruddhabhāṭṭa was a post-Bhāvadeva Nibandha-writer of Bengal,

<sup>१३</sup> The first Ms. (A) omits ‘न’.

<sup>१४</sup> Ed. Pandit Kamalakrishna Smrititirtha (*Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta), p. ११९—हारीतः—न प्रामाभिमुखं प्रेतं निर्हरेयुः ॥

it is quite natural for one to conclude that the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa* was written some time after Aniruddhabhaṭṭa's *Hāralatā* and could not thus be a work of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva. But the use of the word 'स्मृति' after the word 'हारलता', which is the name of a *Smṛti* work (and not that of a *Smṛti*-writer)<sup>15</sup>, and the reading हारलतो (for 'हारलता०') in one of the manuscripts, show that 'हारलतास्मृतेः' or 'हारलतस्मृतेः' must be a wrong reading for 'हारीतस्मृतेः'. As a matter of fact, the *Hāralatā* ascribes the above-mentioned line to the sage Hārīta. So, there can be little doubt about the fact that the mistake was due to a misreading of the word 'हारीत' by one who read or knew Aniruddhabhaṭṭa's *Hāralatā*. Another point which deserves mention here is that in the whole of the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa* we find no mention of any *Smṛti* Nibandha except the *Hāralatā*. There is also no mention of any commentator or Nibandha-writer individually. The only word which has been used to mean the Nibandha-writers is 'अन्ये', but that also has been employed only once<sup>16</sup>. So, there can be no possibility of the use of the *Hāralatā* in the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa*.

Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva seems to have written the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa* in the earlier part of his life. According to his Bhuvaneśvara inscription he was the minister of peace and war to king Harivarmadeva of the Varman dynasty, who reigned in Eastern Bengal with his capital at Vikramapura. In a chapter-colophon of the Calcutta Sanskrit College manuscript of the *Prāyaścitta-prakarāṇa* also, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva has been mentioned in the same capacity (as 'महासांधिविप्रहिक')<sup>17</sup>, although the name of the king has not been given there. But in the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa* Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva has been said to have been a 'Dharmādhyakṣa under the king of Vaṅga' (वङ्गाधिपथर्माद्यक्षः). So, it seems that Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva had written the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa* before he attained the position of the minister of peace and war to Harivarmadeva and wrote the *Prāyaścitta-prakarāṇa*.

<sup>15</sup> We say 'मनु-स्मृति', 'याज्ञवल्क्य-स्मृति', 'नारद-स्मृति', etc., but not 'कृत्यकल्पतरु-स्मृति', 'कालविवेक-स्मृति', 'चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि-स्मृति', and so on.

<sup>16</sup> See *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa*, Ms. A., fol. 27b—अन्ये तु सपिण्डपदाध्यव-चित्रद्य योनिसंबन्धं नयन्ति ।

<sup>17</sup> See Ms. No. स्मृ॒ 258, fol. 26a—इति महासांधिविप्रहिकश्रीभवनदेवकृतो प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकरणे ( ? श्रीभवदुवकृतौ प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणे ) वधपरिच्छेदः समाप्तः ॥

It will be interesting here to discuss the propriety and significance of a word used in connection with Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva in the colophons of both the manuscripts of the *Śava-sūtakāśaṅca-prakaraṇa*. In one of them Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva has been mentioned as ‘०श्रीवङ्गाधिराजश्रीभट्टाचार्यभवदेव०’ and thus said to have been ‘a paramount ruler of Vaṅga’. But the other manuscript (B) omits the word ‘०श्री०’ immediately preceding ‘०भट्टाचार्य०’ and reads ‘०श्रीवङ्गाधिराजभट्टाचार्यभवदेव०’, an expression which may be taken in either of the two senses, viz., (i) Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva was a paramount ruler of Vaṅga, and (ii) he was a revered teacher to the paramount ruler of Vaṅga or a learned scholar attached to him. Although, from the mention of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva as a ‘Dharmādhyakṣa under the king of Vaṅga’ in the concluding verse of the *Śava-sūtakāśaṅca-prakaraṇa* and from the complete absence of any express statement anywhere about Bhavadeva’s attainment of regal power, the second meaning seems to be more plausible, the first meaning cannot be ruled out as wholly impossible, and this will be evident from certain statements made about Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva in his Bhuvaneśvara inscription mentioned above. The relevant verses of this inscription are the following :

(Verse 15—)

लक्ष्मीन्दक्षिणदोषिण मन्त्रविभवे विश्वम्भरामण्डलं  
जिह्वाग्रे च सरखतीं रिपुतनौ नागान्तकं पत्रिणः ।  
चक्रम्पादतले निवेशितवता दिव्यन्तदायम्बपु-  
निंहोतुन्निजचिह्नमेतदमुना नूनम्बिपर्यासितं ॥

(Verse 16—)

यन्मन्त्रशक्तिसचिवः सुचिरं चकार  
राज्यं स धर्मविजयी हरिवर्मदेवः ।  
तश्चन्दने वलति यस्य च दण्डनोति-  
वर्त्मानुगा बहलकल्पतेव लक्ष्मीः ॥

(Verse 17—)

सत्पातस्य महाशयस्य कमलाधारस्य यस्य चमा-  
म्बिभ्राणस्य गुणाम्बुधेरकलितस्यान्तर्भदोनात्मनः ।  
मर्यादामहिमप्रसादशुचितागाम्भीर्यधैर्यस्थिति-  
प्रायाः प्रायश इव वाक्पथमतिकान्ताः स्वदन्ते गुणाः ॥

(Verse 18—)

महागौरी कीर्तिः स्फुरदसिकराला भुजलता  
रणकीडा चण्डी रिपुहधिरचर्चा रणभुवः ।

महालक्ष्मीभूर्त्सिः प्रकृतिललितास्ता गिर  
इति प्रणशः शङ्कीनां यमिथ परमेशं प्रस्तयति ॥<sup>18</sup>

N. G. Majumdar translated these verses thus:

(Verse 15—)

“By that one was truly revolutionised (the usual order of) his own characteristic marks, since he placed Lakṣmī on his righthand side, the Earth under the influence of his counsel, Sarasvatī on the tip of his tongue, the bird Garuḍa (Nāgāntaka) in the body of his enemies, and the discus on (the soles of) his feet, in order to conceal his divine, primordial body.

(Verse 16—)

“With him as his minister in matters relating to peace and war, that king Harivarmadeva, who gained lawful victory, ruled the kingdom for a long time. In his garden (son) flourished his Fortune goddess who followed the path laid out in the principles of government, like the luxuriant Kalpalatā creeper.

(Verse 17—)

“There was no limit to that undivided ocean of virtues, (namely) that humble-minded one. He was a worthy and magnanimous being, the support of Lakṣmī and the upholder of the earth. His virtues, (for instance), self-respect, dignity, gentleness, purity, gravity, patience and steadfastness, which were beyond the range of verbal expression, were as a rule appreciated (by the people).

(Verse 18—)

“(The goddess) Mahāgaurī, (namely his) Fame, (the goddess) Caṇḍī revelling in warfare and besmeared with the blood of enemies in the field of battle, (namely his) creeper-like arms fearful on account of the flashing sword, (the goddess) Mahālakṣmī, (namely his own) appearance, and that Speech (of his) beautiful by nature—this assemblage of the different Female energies (goddesses) reveals him to be ‘the paramount lord’ (Parameśa) in this world”.<sup>19</sup>

A glance through the above translation will show that, besides overlooking some words and misunderstanding some others and their grammatical relations here and there, N. G. Majumdar took verses 16b and 17 to be in praise of king Harivarmadeva and consequently

<sup>18</sup> N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, pp. 33-34.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 37, (The italics are mine).

translated them by employing verbs in the past tense. But the use of the present tense in 'वलति' and 'स्वदन्ते' (in verses 16b and 17 respectively) in spite of the past tense in 'चकार' (which occurs in verse 16a and has 'हरिवर्मदेवः' as its subject) and the employment of the conjunction 'च'<sup>20</sup> (meaning 'and') immediately after 'यस्य' in verse 16b, show definitely that verses 16 and 17, like those immediately preceding and following them, relate to Bhāṭṭa Bhavadeva and not to king Harivarmadeva. The above translation being thus found defective and unsatisfactory, we should like to render verses 15-17 into English as follows:

(Verse 15—)

"By placing, with a view to concealing his divine, primordial body, Lakṣmī (the goddess, or fortune) on his righthand side (or, in his right arm), the circle of the Earth (or, the kingdom) under the power of his counsel, Sarasvatī (the goddess of speech, or learning) on the tip of his tongue, the 'नागान्तक पत्रिन्' (the Serpent-killing bird Garuḍa, or the elephant-killing<sup>21</sup> arrow) in the body of his enemies, and the discus (or, an auspicious circular sign) on the sole

20 This word ( च ) cannot be taken with any other word except 'यस्य' because, if it is so taken, we are at a loss to find out the second word connected by it.

21 The word 'नाग' (in 'नागान्तक'), when taken with the word 'पत्रिन्', meaning 'an arrow', seems more probably to signify 'an elephant' than to refer to a Nāga king of Utkala (as held by N. G. Majumdar in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, p. 30) or the hill-tribes, called Nāgās, of Assam (as surmised by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 203, footnote). It is only an extremely powerful arrow which can kill an elephant; and such arrows are simply unbearable to one's human enemies, who have weak and frail bodies ( ततु ). In order to express this great killing power of Bhavadeva's arrows, they have been called 'नागान्तक' (i.e. capable of bringing death to elephants). Even if Bhavadeva had ever any war with the Nāgas or the Nāgās (but we have got no evidence to prove the occurrence of any such war), the word 'नाग' (in 'नागान्तक') could not be taken to mean these people, because they also would then be Bhavadeva's 'enemies' and consequently the meaning of the word 'रिपु' (in 'रिपुतनौ') would have to be limited, excluding the Nāgas or the Nāgās from among the enemies of Bhavadeva. Further, we are not told anywhere that the Nāgas or the Nāgās were invincible and required very powerful arrows to kill them.

of his foot, his own characteristic marks have been truly revolutionised by that (great being Bhavadeva).

(Verse 16—)

"By having whom as his minister in matters relating to peace and war, that (famous) king Harivarmmadeva, who gained lawful victory, ruled the kingdom for a pretty long time; and whose Fortune, following the path of the principles of government (दरडनीति), flourishes in his (i. e. Harivarmadeva's) son (नन्दन) like the luxuriant Wish-granting Creeper (कल्पतरा) which grows up in (the heavenly garden called) Nandana by following the path for leading up, in the form of a post (दगड)."<sup>22</sup>

(Verse 17—)

"Who is a worthy person, a magnanimous being, an abode of (the goddess of) Fortune, an upholder of the earth, and an ocean of virtues, is inwardly unstained (अन्तः अकलितस्य)<sup>23</sup>, and possesses a not-mean mind (नदीनात्मनः)<sup>24</sup>, and whose virtues, abounding in self-respect, dignity, gentleness, purity, gravity, patience and steadfastness and going beyond the range of verbal expression, are oftentimes appreciated by all."

<sup>22</sup> A creeper, being naturally weak, cannot grow up independently beyond a certain limit. In order to rise higher it requires a post to support itself.

<sup>23-24</sup> Taking the word 'अन्तः' (following 'अकलितस्य') to have been derived from 'अन्त' (limit) with the first case-ending, N. G. Majumdar considered the part 'गुणाम्बुधेरकलितस्थान्तर्नदीनात्मनः' to be a separate sentence, construed it as 'अकलितस्य गुणाम्बुधे: (तथा) दीनात्मनः अन्तः न (आसीत्)' and thus made the construction of the whole verse cumbrous and ungrammatical. We should, therefore, like to break it up into three parts, viz.. 'गुणाम्बुधे:', 'अन्तः अकलितस्य' (in which the word 'अन्तः', meaning 'internally', has been derived from the word 'अन्तर्'), and 'नदीनात्मनः' (which is a Sahasupā Compound formed with the words 'न' and 'दीनात्मन्'), all of which qualify the word 'यस्य' occurring in the first line (of verse 17).

G. T. Marshall translated the expressions 'अकलितस्यान्तः' and 'नदीनात्मनः' as 'the undisturbed in mind' and 'ocean-souled' respectively. (According to Marshall the word 'नदीनात्मनः' has three component parts, viz., 'नदी', 'ईन' and 'आत्मन्').—See JASB., VI, 1837, p. 95.

For the same rendering see also R. L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 86.

In the word ‘नाग’, as occurring in verse 15 quoted above, N. G. Majumdar found a reference to a Nāga king of Utkala. But we have already shown<sup>25</sup> that the actual wordings of the verse do not bear out such a meaning. The only fact which appears to add a shade of possibility to the word ‘नाग’ meaning the Nāgas or their king, is that in verse 44 of Saṃdhvākata Nandin’s *Rāma-carita*, chap. 3, a ‘Varman (king) of the eastern country’ has been said to have conciliated, ‘for his own safety’ (स्वप्रित्याणुभिर्भिर्), king Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty by presenting to the latter ‘an excellent elephant and his own chariot’. As this verse has been placed between verse 43, on the one hand, (in which Rāmapāla is said to have exterminated or driven off the Nāgis from Bhogāli) and verse 45, on the other, (which speaks of Rāmapāla’s favour to the vanquished king of Utkala), it is sure that Rāmapāla met the unfriendly ‘Varman’ king somewhere in Orissa, which was then in a state of political disintegration. The *sequence of events* described in verses 43-45 shows that parts of Orissa must have been occupied by the Nāgas and the Varmans and that the Nāgas were more powerful and the part of Orissa occupied by them was considerable (otherwise Rāmapāla would not feel the necessity of waging war against them before fighting with the ruler of Orissa proper and occupying at least a part of his territory). So, Rāmapāla first defeated the Nāgas, whom he followed as far as Bhogāli and ousted them even from there. Then he curbed the ‘Varman’ king and showed favour to the king of Utkala, the parts of whose territory the Nāgas and the Varmans occupied per force. It may be that the Nāgas first occupied a part of Orissa; then the ‘Varman’ king, desiring to extend his own kingdom and also to check the further expansion of the Nāgas, wrested a part of Orissa from the clutch of the latter; and after that Rāmapāla made his appearance there, curbed both the Nāgas and the Varmans and showed favour to the king of Utkala, who was subjugated presumably by Rājarāja Devendravarman, an Eastern Gaṅga. But, in order to make Bhavadeva the exterminator of the Nāgas, we are to assume, without any evidence whatsoever, that the ‘Varman’ king seeking Rāmapāla’s favour was Harivarman, king of Vaṅga, and that

he sent an army against the Nāgas under the leadership of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.

If, of course, the sequence of events in Orissa was exactly as stated above and the 'Varman' king was the same as Harivarman, we could explain satisfactorily the presence of the 'Varman' king there and also the extermination of the Nāgas by Bhaṭṭa Bhavedeva. But even then, as we have already shown, the word 'र्वग्' (meaning enemy in general), as used in verse 15 of the Bhuvaneśvara inscription, would stand against our taking the word 'नाग' in the sense of the Nāgas or their king.

It may be mentioned here that Hari, who, as Saṃdhyākara Nandin's *Rāma-carita* tells us, was at first a faithful ally or officer of Bhīma and then became a helpful friend of Rāmapāla, cannot be the same as the 'Varman' king spoken of in *Rāma-carita* 3.44. We are told in verses 32 and 39-40 of chap. 3 of the same work that immediately after the battle with Bhīma had been over, Rāmapāla established Hari in a position of great influence in appreciation of the latter's valuable services and that Rāmapāla and Hari 'met together and shone for a long time in each other's close embrace' in the palace at Rāmāvatī (before the former's advance towards Orissa). So, there is no doubt that cordial relations between Rāmapāla and Hari had been established before the former extended his victorious arms to Orissa. *Rāma-carita* 3.44, on the other hand, tells us that after Rāmapāla had defeated the Nāgas, the 'Varman' king conciliated him, 'for his own safety' ( स्वस्थिताणनिमित्तं ), by presenting to him 'an excellent elephant and his own chariot'<sup>26</sup>. This shows that the 'Varman' king, who met Rāmapāla for the first time in Orissa, was not friendly to the latter even during his war with the Nāgas.

Although the Bhuvaneśvara inscription does not help us in any

<sup>26</sup> In the line 'वरवारणेन च निजस्यन्दनदानेन वर्मणाराधि' (*Rāma-carita* 3.44b), the word 'निज', being compounded with the word 'स्यन्दन', has no syntactical relation with the word 'वारण', which is qualified by another adjective, viz., 'वर'. So, this line simply tells us that of the two things presented to Rāmapāla the 'chariot' belonged to the 'Varman' king himself (and was most probably the same as that used by him), but the elephant was procured for the purpose from somewhere. There is thus no reference in this line to the 'Varman' king's offer of any part of his army to Rāmapāla.

way to conclude that Bhavadeva ever fought with the Nāgas or their king, it contains much information about that great scholar and warrior which is very important for our purpose. From the verse of this inscription quoted and translated above we learn that after Harivarma-deva's death or abdication of the throne of Vaṅga, his son became king, and under the latter's regime Bhāṭṭa Bhavadeva's fortune flourished to the greatest possible extent by following the path of 'dāṇḍa-nīti'. It is remarkable as well as strange that the Bhuvaneśvara inscription is completely silent about the name of this new royal patron of Bhāṭṭa Bhavadeva, nor does it say a single word in praise or honour of him. On the other hand, it mentions 'dāṇḍa-nīti' as a means of Bhavadeva's earning fortune and states that Bhavadeva placed Lakṣmī in his right arm (i.e. earned his fortune by means of his own heroism),<sup>27</sup> that he was an upholder of the earth ( ज्ञमस्त्रियाण्य )<sup>28</sup>, and that his stainless fame, crushing heroism, graceful appearance and charming speech gave him out to be the 'paramount lord' ( परमेश ) in this world.<sup>29</sup> From these statements it is very natural to conclude that Bhavadeva's new patron, whatever his name may have been, dwindled into insignificance, and it was Bhavadeva who exercised unrestrained regal power and was the uncrowned king of Vaṅga. Under these circumstances it does not seem to be impossible for the common people, at least of later days, (who must have heard of Bhavadeva's unique position in the state) to designate him as 'श्रीवङ्गाधिराज' and insert this word into the colophons of the manuscripts of the Śava-sūtakāśaṅca-prakaraṇa.

This work, as its title indicates, deals with impurity caused by miscarriage, birth and death. For want of space here I do not like to say anything about its contents. These may be known from the critical edition of this work which is going to be published very shortly.

Being perhaps a work of Bhavadeva's early age and consequently poorer in the number and variety of the authorities quoted, the Śava-sūtakāśaṅca-prakaraṇa failed to attract the notice of the post-Bhavadeva

<sup>27-29</sup> See verses 15, 16 and 17 respectively.

The word 'परमेश' in verse 17 ( प्रपञ्चः शक्तीना यमिह परमेशं प्रथयति ) has clearly a double meaning, viz., (i) 'the highest god (Viṣṇu)', and (ii) 'the paramount ruler'.

Smṛti-writers of Bengal and other provinces. As a matter of fact, I have not yet been able to find out any mention of or reference to this work in any commentary or Nibandha. The authorities quoted or utilised in it include Dakṣa, Yama, Saṅkha, Saṃvarta and Hārīta, many of the verses ascribed to whom are found to occur respectively in the Smṛtis of Dakṣa, Yama, Saṅkha, Saṃvarta and Laghu-hārīta as printed in the Ānandāśrama Press collection (entitled *Smṛtinām Samuccayab*). On one occasion the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa* anonymously quotes a verse defining 'देशान्तर'<sup>30</sup> and exemplifies the serious difference in speech between two countries by saying :

“वचनमेदथ प्राच्यानामित्र दाक्षिणात्यैः,  
न तु कथंचिद्देशान्तरम् ॥ ”

This shows that the author of the *Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakarāṇa* was an easterner (प्राच्य).

R. C. HAZRA

30 यथा—

वाचो यत्र विभिन्नते गिरिर्वा व्यवधायकः ।  
महानद्यन्तरं यत्र तदेशान्तरमुच्यते ॥

Ms. A, Fol. 34a.

## Early History and Archaeology of Kurukṣetra and Ambala Division\*

### XV. Religious Conditions :—

The region round about Kurukṣetra has been regarded as extremely sacred from times immemorial. It was on the banks of the Sarasvatī, the Dr̥ṣadvatī and the Āpagā rivers that the *Rg-Vedic* people kindled the sacred fire and chanted the Vedic hymns. The Vedic literature is replete with numerous quotations testifying to the fact that this place was very much dear to the gods who also liked to perform sacrifices here at Kurukṣetra.<sup>82</sup> The *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*<sup>83</sup> informs us that Vṛddhadyumna erred in a sacrifice when a Brāhmaṇa uttered a curse that the error would result in the expulsion of the Kurus from Kurukṣetra, an event which actually came to pass (H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 44).

The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* too regarded the region as equally holy in various aspects.<sup>84</sup> In fact Kurukṣetra has continued to attract millions of people (adhering to different creeds and philosophies) even up to the present day. It was really a meeting ground of so many trends of thought, Buddhist, Jaina, Brahmanic etc. It is now proposed here to discuss in brief the growth and development of the different cults as evident from the literary, epigraphic, numismatic and iconographic data so far known to us.

#### 1. Buddhism

(a) Reference to the Toparā Pillar Edict of Aśoka has already been made above. It is not possible to ascertain how far Kurukṣetra region was influenced by the Buddhist creed at so early a period. Yuan Chwang of course refers to the existence of the Buddhist *stūpas* (at Thānesar, Sugha etc.) which were said to have been constructed by Aśoka in the 3rd century B. C.

\* Continued from vol. XXXI, No. 4.

82 For Kurukṣetra in the Vedic literature, see my paper in the *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, April 1955, pp. 85-90.

83 XV, 16. 10-13.

84 My paper on "the History of the Kurukṣetra region as depicted in the later Sanskrit literature," in the *I.H.Q.*, Calcutta, June 1955, pp. 1-31.

The account of Thānesar as given by the Chinese pilgrim runs thus :—

"To the North West of the city, 4 or 5 li is a *stūpa* about 300 feet high, which was built by Aśoka-rāja. The bricks are all of a yellow red colour, very bright and shining; within is a peck-measure of the relics of Buddha. From the *stūpa* is frequently emitted a brilliant light and many spiritual prodigies exhibit themselves".<sup>85</sup>

Yuan Chwang also states (*ibid.*, pp. 183-4) the existence of 3 *Saṅghārāmas* (Buddhist monasteries) where lived about 700 priests, all devoted to the *Hinayāna* creed of Buddhism.

(b) Faḥien, who visited India in the Gupta period (two hundred years before Yuan Chwang), did not visit Kurukṣetra but reached Mathurā direct from the Bhida country. His reference to the existence of the *saṅghārāmas* on both sides of the river Yamunā suggest that the region to the south and south-east of Kurukṣetra<sup>87</sup> was sufficiently influenced by the Buddhist way of life in contemporary times.

(c) It is interesting to note that the royal princes too adhered to the Buddhist religion with great devotion. The Sonepat copper seal of Harṣavardhana (606-47 A.C.), the ruler of Thānesar, states that his elder brother Mahārājādhīrāja Rājyavardhana was a *parama-sangata*<sup>88</sup> (i.e. an ardent devotee of Lord Buddha).

(d) During his explorations in this region, Rodgers discovered the lower portion of the image<sup>89</sup> (of a standing Buddha) lying on the bank of the tank of Kurukṣetra. The description, as given by Rodgers (*Report*, p. 9, plate XIII, fig. 1), runs thus: "on either side of the legs are 3 images. Below are two central *nāgas* with hands clasped in devotion (*ibid.*, fig. 2)".

85 S. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

86 The other sect of the Buddhists was *Mahāyāna* (Great Vehicle).

87 Giles H. A., *Records of Buddhist Kingdoms*, 1923, Cambridge, pp. 19-20.

88 Cf. परमसौगतस्तुगत इव परहितैकरतः in line 5 of the Bānskherā copper Plate of Harṣa; *Harṣacarita Eka Adhyayana*, p. 113.

89 This image is said to have been transferred to the Provincial Museum at Lahore.

(e) Speaking of his forward journey from Thānesar, Y. Chwang (*op. cit.*, p. 18) states that—"going south of the city about 100 *li* we come to a convent called *Kubwancha* (Gokanṭha). There are here a succession of towers with overlapping storeys with intervals between them for walking. The priests are virtuous and well mannered, possessed of quiet dignity".

(f) Going about 400 *li* towards north east, the Chinese pilgrim reached the country of *Suto-kin-na*, i.e. ancient Srughna or modern Sugha (cited above). This locality too was once a centre of the Buddhist monastic life for Y. Chwang gives sufficient account of the religious conditions of the times. Speaking of the country he says (*op. cit.*, pp. 187-8):—

1. The people are sincere and truthful but honour the heretical teachings. They esteem the pursuits of learning, principally religious one.
2. There are 5 *saṅghārāmas* here with 1000 priests residing there. The majority of these priests study the *Little Vehicle*. A few of them "exercise themselves in other (exceptional) Schools."
3. There are 100 *deva*<sup>90</sup> temples with very many sectaries.
4. After the *nirvāṇa* of *Tathāgata*, this country was the seat of the heretical teaching. The faithful were converted to false doctrine and forsook the orthodox views. Now there are 5 *saṅghārāmas* in place where masters of treatises from different countries holding controversies with the heretic and the Brāhmaṇas, prevailed; they were erected on this account.

As regards the capital city of Sugha too, he adds (*ibid.*, p. 187):—

1. To the south west of the capital and to the west of river Yamunā is a *saṅghārāma*, out of the eastern gate of which is a *stūpa* built by Aśoka-rāja.
2. *Tathāgata*, when in the world in former days, preached the Law in this place to convert men.
3. By the side of the Aśoka's *stūpa* is another *stūpa* in which there are relics of *Tathāgata*'s hair and nails.

90 i.e. Śaiva shrines perhaps.

4. Surrounding this, on the right and left, are *stūpas* enclosing the hair and the nails of Sāriputta and Mutekialo (i.e. Maudgalāyana) and other *arhatas* several tens in number.

## 2. *Viṣṇu Worship*

(a) The region of Kurukṣetra was closely associated with Viṣṇu-cult as early as the times of the *Mahābhārata* which refers to the various *tīrthas*<sup>91</sup> called after Viṣṇu (the prominent deity of the Hindu pantheon) i.e. Viṣṇu *Tīrtha*, Varāha *Tīrtha*, Vāmanā *Tīrtha*, Cakra *Tīrtha* etc. The memory of these ancient places has been preserved to this day in the shape of the names of several places as Barāha-kālān (17 miles s. w. of Safidon, a Varāha temple existing here), Barāha-Bana (Tanks and places associated with *man-lion* incarnation of Viṣṇu) etc.<sup>92</sup>

(b) The famous idol in the temple of *Cakrasvāmin* at Kurukṣetra was taken to Ghazni by the Muslim invaders who got the same trodden under feet in the streets there<sup>93</sup>. The same famous image of Viṣṇu has also been referred to by Alberuni in very beautiful words: —

"The city of Tāneshar is highly venerated by the Hindus. The idol of that place is called *Cakrasvāmin* i.e. owner of the *cakra* (a weapon). It is made of bronze and nearly the size of a man. It is now lying in the Hippodrome in Ghaznā, together with the lord of Somanāth. This *Cakrasvāmī* is said to have been made in the time of Bharata as a memorial of wars connected with this name" (Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117). "Part of it (image of Somanāth) has been thrown in the hippodrome of the town together with the *cakrasvāmin*—an idol of bronze that had been brought from Tāneshar" (*ibid.*, II, p. 103).<sup>94</sup>

91 *Āranyakā Parva*, Sukth. ed., III, 81, 8-9 and 15, 86-7; *Journal of Indian History*, XIV, p. 275; *CARS.*, XIV, p. 97 ff.

92 *Indian Antiquary*, XXIII, pp. 291-300.

93 Elliot, *op. cit.*, II, p. 454.

94 Cf. *ibid.*, I, pp. 117, 317; II, p. 103, 145, 147 etc., for a complete account of Thānesar as furnished by Alberuni.

(c) The Pehoā inscription (dated *sāmvat* 276; *El.*, I, pp. 184-90) discovered from the Garibanath temple records that one of certain pious horse-dealers, who met at Pr̥thūdaka (mod. Peheoā) at the time of a horse-fair held there, had constructed the temple of *Yajña Varāha* on the spot (line 13—*Pr̥thūdake Bhūvaka (Kāri)ta Yajña Varāhasya*. The same epigraph informs us that this town was situated to the east of the river Sarasvatī.

(d) Another inscription (i.e. the undated *praśasti* of the time of Mahendra Pāla, cited above; *El.*, I, pp. 242 ff.) from the same locality is still more important for it opens with two benedictory verses in the praise of Viṣṇu:—i.e. verse 1—“*Om!* Adoration to Mādhava!⁹⁵ May that chief male (*puruṣa*) Viṣṇu protect you, he who alone sleeps when the regent of night (i.e. moon) has disappeared, when the mountains have completely crumbled away, when the foil of darkness (i.e. sun) has been destroyed, when mankind has been annihilated and when the host of stars has tumbled down, when the circle of earth has fallen and thus the oceans have become one” (*El.*, I, p. 248).

The above verse thus identifies Viṣṇu with supreme Brahman in accordance with the Vaiṣṇava philosophy. It also refers to Viṣṇu during the period of the destruction of the universe. Verse 2 runs thus—“May lovely Viṣṇu’s beautiful eye that is pleasing through the quivering of the brow and charming with its resplendent....., protect all the three worlds—(the eye) of whom who plunges into the ocean of nascent deep love, (of him), whose lustre (is increased by) the great splendour of Lakṣmī’s moonlike face, (of him) whose cheek is dimpled with smiles” (*ibid*).

Then the same inscription (verse 20) states that the three brothers built a Viṣṇu temple as they were overawed by the dreadful ocean of the existence which is difficult to be crossed by the persons of little wisdom. Viṣṇu has also been stated here to have been endowed with unrivalled greatness. From verse 21 it appears that the temples, built by these brothers, were separate but verse 22 speaks only of one single temple. This led Bühler (*El.*, I, p. 243, fn. 3) to opine that “the structure was a triple temple containing three statues

⁹⁵ An epithet of Viṣṇu. This verse also refers to *śāringa*, the bow of Visnu.

and three adyta, united under one roof. Temples of this description do occur and we still have a fine specimen of it in the famous *Vastupāla-vihāra* at *Girnāra Parvat* (*A.S.W. India*, II, pp. 169 ff.; Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 232). The verse no. 24 adds that three villages were also assigned for the services of the temple.

(e) The *Sitsā* (Hissār) Stone Inscription of 9th century A. C. presents all the more interesting information. Verses 30-1 show that the Siva temple was even adorned with the images of Kṛṣṇa (enemy of Mura) united with Lakṣmī...etc., thus testifying to the importance of the Vaiṣṇava cult even for the Saivites<sup>96</sup>. As a matter of fact, the cult of Viṣṇu was quite popular in the whole of ancient East Panjab. The *Bhaṭīṇḍā* Stone Inscription of Rājā Satrughnadeva (of about the 10th century A.C.) also invokes Viṣṇu and refers to the weapons held by him in his hands : — “Hari (Viṣṇu), who with his hands holds a mace (*gadā*) and the spotless *Pāñcajanya* (conch) and supports the three worlds with ease, and who is ever-lasting”.

Not only this. We have definite epigraphic evidence of the popularity of Viṣṇu-cult in this region as early as the times of the Guptas. The *Tushām*<sup>97</sup> Rock Inscription (*CII.*,<sup>98</sup> III, pp. 269-70), belonging to about the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century A.C., is definitely a Vaiṣṇava document recording the construction of two reservoirs (*kūndas*) by an ācārya named Somatrātā for the sake of Lord Viṣṇu under the name of *Bhāgavat* or Divine One. Then it goes to trace the genealogy of Somatrātā whose great grandfather is also addressed here as “a highly esteemed *Sātvata*, an ācārya of the *Yoga* philosophy and a devotee of the Divine One etc. About a foot below the centre of the last line of the inscription is also engraved (on the rock) an emblem which has been interpreted to be a Buddhist *dharmacakra* or *Sūrya* symbol or Viṣṇu’s *cakra*. Dr. Fleet (*CII.*, III, p. 269) thinks that “it may belong to one of the shorter records”.

96 The inscription is edited in *El.*, xxi, pp. 294 ff. Viṣṇu is also called *Murāri* and *Lakṣmipati*. Numerous Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa images have been discovered throughout India.

97 About 14 miles to the n. w. of Bhiwāni, Hissār.

98 i.e. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

(f) Reference to Viṣṇu-worship and the Tūṣām Inscription has already been made above.

(g) *Some Interesting Viṣṇu Images* :—The region of Kurukṣetra has yielded some very important sculptures which can also be regarded as fine pieces of the Indian art. The following sculptures<sup>99</sup> from the Rājā-Karṇa-kā-Kilā are to be noted with great interest here :—

- (i) *Trivikrama*<sup>100</sup> Viṣṇu :—The āyudhapuruṣas, on both the sides of the main figure of *sthānaka* Viṣṇu, are holding a cakra and a śaṅkha. The ladies, standing by their side, appear to be Lakṣmī and Bhūmi while the Nāga and the Nāgī are also visible standing at the extreme ends. On both the sides of Viṣṇu's head may well be recognised seated Brahmā, Maheśa and Indra (riding on the elephant—his *vāhana*). The relief at the top of the slab depicts 7 sages (*Saptarṣis*) sitting in a row in a uniform posture. This refers to the association of Viṣṇu's cult with that of Sūrya.
- (ii) The image of three faced Viṣṇu has got the additional faces of a boar and a lion; while the weapons held in the hands can be identified as the mace, the lotus, the conch and the wheel in the *pradakṣinā* order (ASR., 1922-3, plate V.d). The use of such images in India began in the Gupta period and they have been found in various parts of the country<sup>101</sup>, specially in Gujrāt, Rājputānā, Kashmir etc.
- (iii) An image of 2 armed *sthānaka* Viṣṇu, about 5' 9" in height, has also been recovered from Daulārā, situated 17 miles from Thānesar (ARS., 1922-3, p. 91). But it is considered as a very late image, about 5 or 6 hundred years old.

99 ASR., 192-3, p. 89.

100 Dr. J. N. Banerjee (*Age of Imperial Kanauj*, 1955, Bombay, p. 335) states that this image comes from Siwan and is now being worshipped in the Kāśipuri temple at Kaithal (ancient Kapisthala).

101 Cf. JUPHS., XXII, 1949, pp. 111 ff; IHQ., XVI, 1940, pp. 306-19; My paper "Some Interesting Viṣṇu Sculptures from Rājapūtānā" in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Adyar, xviii (3-4), 1954.

### 3. Sun Worship

(a) There is absolutely no material sepigraphic or archaeological pertaining to Sun-worship in the Kurukṣetra region, up to the early centuries of the Christian era. It is only in the *Mahābhārata* that we find references to the popularity of Sun-cult in the Kurukṣetra-cakra. It is believed that Aditi had given birth to Sūrya at *Sūrya-kuṇḍa* situated at Amīn, about 5 miles from Thānesar. There still exist a temple of Aditi and also the *Suraja-kuṇḍa* nearby (cf. Cunningham's *Geog. of An. India*, 1924, p. 386). Kurukṣetra was of course a very sacred place specially during the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon. Millions of people used to assemble there in order to bathe in the holy tank on those particular occasions.

(b) The Sonepat seal of Harṣa (cited above) informs us that Harṣa's ancestors (i.e. Rājyavardhana, Āditya-vardhana and Prabhākara-vardhana) were ardent devotees of Sun (*paramādityabhaktāḥ*). One of these was even named after Sun (*āditya*). That shows that the princes and the rulers of the House of Thānesar were traditional devotees of Sun up to the end of the 6th century A.C. It was Prabhākara's eldest son who made a departure from his family creed (*kula-dharma*) and sought refuge in the sacred lore of the Buddha. His example was further followed by Harṣa who was inclined towards Śaivism in the beginning and was later on influenced by the Buddhist philosophy.

(c) The discovery of two early mediaeval sculptures of Sūrya<sup>102</sup> at Hānsī (Hissar) is equally important. One of these has been illustrated in *ASR.*, 1922-3, plate V and the description noted on p. 92. The other bears an inscription, probably *Śrī Āditya-pratimā*, on the folio in the left hand of Piṅgala.

(d) Seven *r̥sis* are depicted in an image of Trivikrama recovered from Siwan and worshipped in the Kāśipurī Temple at Kaithal, near Kurukṣetra [cf. *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, 1955, p. 335].

### 4. Śiva Worship

(a) The region of Kurukṣetra was closely associated with Śiva-

<sup>102</sup> It is the same as *Āsikā* of the Hānsī epigraph dated *samvat* 1224, D. R. Bhandarkar, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, no. 329, p. 49.

worship in very ancient times. According to the *Paurāṇic* literature and the *Mahābhārata*, the famous *Sthāṇu Tīrtha* existed there and the place was so called<sup>103</sup> after Sthāṇu (i.e. Śiva). Pilgrimage to the *Sthāṇu-tīrtha* had a great sanctifying effect.

(b) This tradition of the region continued to be preserved for a considerable period. It was at the mound of Rājā-Karṇa-kā-Kilā, that an early terracotta sealing, having a bull (*vāhana* of Śiva) and a *Kharoṣṭhī* legend on it, was discovered about thirty years ago (*ASR.*, 1922-3, pp. 87-8). Reference to some later Gupta seals (from Karnāl),<sup>104</sup> having the *trisūla* and the inscription as *Kāśīśvara* inscribed on them, has also been made above (Cf. *ASR.*, 1930-4, pt. I, pp. 144-5). Besides this, D. B. Spooner referred to a stone slab from Amin (5 miles from Thānesar) depicting 4 armed Gaṇapati with Śiva and Pārvatī. This sculpture has also been assigned to the later Gupta period (*ASR.*, 1922-3, pp. 89-90).

(c) It is equally interesting to study the coins of the Yaudheyas who were devout worshippers of Skanda-Kārtikeya. We have already cited above that Rohitaka—the capital seat of the Yaudheyas—was very dear to Skanda Kumāra. In fact the whole of the Yaudheya state lay at the feet of their tutelary deity.<sup>105</sup> The Yaudheya coins represent 6 headed Kārttikeya holding a trident and nearby a peacock on obverse; and a corresponding goddess along with 6 heads on the reverse. Dr. V.S. Agrawala (*JNSI.*, V, pp. 29ff) suggested that the goddess on the reverse here is Śaṣṭhī (or Devasenā) as the wife of Skanda. The Brāhmaṇas designate her as Śaṣṭhī i.e. Lakṣmī personifying ‘Auspicious Hope.’

(d) On the top of the Sonepat seal of Harṣavardhana (*CII.*, III, p. 230) has been carved a bull recumbent to the proper right, a fact which bears testimony to the Śaiva leanings of the mighty emperor. The *Harṣacarita* also refers to “a seal having a bull as its emblem which was presented to Harṣa on the day before he launched

<sup>103</sup> Sthāṇviśvara or Sthāneśvara, a name which was changed into modern Thānesar or Tāneshar of the Muslim writers.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. *JRAS*, London, 1901, pp. 98 ff. for somewhat similar and interesting seals from Sunet, district Ludhiana (E. Panjab).

<sup>105</sup> J. N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, pp. 154-8. Reference to the Yaudheya coin-hoards from Kurukṣetra and Rohtaka has already been made above.

on his victorious march for *digvijaya*<sup>106</sup> Mr. Jackson<sup>107</sup> thinks that the presentation of this seal "took place near a temple of the reeds erected not far from the royal capital of Sthānesvar and close to the bank of the Sarasvatī" river.

The *Harṣacarita* informs us that when the condition of Prabhākara-vardhana became serious, his courtiers and relatives began to offer oblations of their own flesh to ensure recovery of their lord. This led Dr. A.S. Altekar<sup>108</sup> to suggest that "the Pāśupata religion in the Mathurā region was preaching some of the extreme practices associated with it." In fact the cult was so much popular (in the contemporary period) at Thānesar that Śiva used to be worshipped almost in every house. Bāṇabhaṭṭa has furnished an extremely vivid account of the Pāśupata sect and its popularity in the Kurukṣetra region.<sup>109</sup>

Yuan Chwang, during his visit to Thānesar, also records (S. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 183) that "there are some 100 *deva* temples and sectaries of various kinds in great number." Thus the Chinese pilgrim too was fully aware of the existence of Śaiva temples in the locality of Kurukṣetra.

(c) The popularity of Śiva cult in the 9th century A.C. is attested from the contents of the Sirsā inscription of Bhoja (*El.*, XX, pp 294ff.) for it throws considerable light on the prevalence of the Pāśupata sect in the contemporary times. After referring to the great qualities of a leader of this sect, it enumerates the names<sup>110</sup> of his disciples and records the erection of a magnificent temple (of Yogiśvara Śiva). Built with burnt bricks and thick slabs of stone (verses 25 and 26.), this temple is said to have been as high as the sky and attained the height of the summit of the Kailāśa mountain. Still more interesting is to note the fact that it was also adorned with the images of Viṣṇu and his consort Lakṣmī, of other gods, demons, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, *kinnaras*, *siddhas* etc., and "thus emulated as it were the universal form of the Lord of Lakṣmī". This refers to a harmonious relation

<sup>106</sup> A. V. W. Jackson, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 50, 1930, pp. 129-131; cf. *Harṣacarita eka Adhyayana*, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>107</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>108</sup> *A New History of the Indian People*, VI, Lahore, 1946, p. 374.

<sup>109</sup> *Harṣacarita Eka Adhyayana*, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 106 ff.

<sup>110</sup> A chain of the teachers and the taught in fact.

between the followers of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava creeds. The above epigraph, besides referring to Siva as *Pinākī* (verse 15) and as *Himaśailasutāpati* (verse 16), states that the way leading to Śaṅkara is free from mundane existence and, one having followed that path has destroyed the cause of birth and death (verse 18). Then it also refers to the philosophy which preaches that "worldly happiness is of no use, youth is worthless and life itself is unstable like the ripple of the sea" [Verses 21-22]. Thus the Sirsā inscription is an important relic.

The Sirmaur inscription<sup>111</sup> of the 10th century A.C. also records the erection of a religious edifice and refers to Siva the Lord of Snakes. The sixth line of the epigraph also refers to the valour of Indra. The mediaeval inscription from Pañjaur opens with a benedictory stanza in the praise of Gaṇapati<sup>112</sup>. Several Śaiva sculptures have also been noticed as far as Kapālamocana (*Report*, p. 27).

### 5. Hindu goddesses

It is gathered from the literary sources that there was a *devī-piṭha* at Kurukṣetra and also the abode of Bhavānī :—

- (a) *Puṇya tīrthe Kurukṣetre Devī Piṭha catuṣṭaye.*<sup>113</sup>
- (b) *Sthāneśvare tu Bhavānī.*<sup>114</sup>

There also existed the temple of Devamātā on the river Sarasvatī (*ibid*, XII, 44). The archaeological finds too bear testimony to the worship of *Sakti* in Ambala Division during the mediaeval period. Reference to the goddess *Śaṣṭhī* on the Yaudheya coins has already been made above. Some sculptures from various places too are important to be noted here e.g. a four armed goddess (seated on lion and having a sword, a shield and a bottle in her hands) from Kapālamocana;<sup>115</sup> image of Kālī from Kaithal;<sup>116</sup> idols of Mahiṣasuramardini from Bohr<sup>117</sup> (near Rohtak) and Hānsī<sup>118</sup> etc.

<sup>111</sup> *Annual Progress Report of Arch. Sur., Punjab and U.P. (for year ending March 1904)*, part II, pp. 59-60.

<sup>112</sup> *CASR.*, XIV, p. 72. This inscription has not been properly edited by Cunningham who has of course illustrated it on plate XXII of *CASR.*, XIV.

<sup>113</sup> Yamala as cited in *Tantrasāra* (Cf. *JASB.*, Letters, XVI, 1948, p. 14).

<sup>114</sup> *Matsya Purāṇa*, XII, 31. <sup>115</sup> *Report*, p. 27. <sup>116</sup> *Ibid*, p. 18.

<sup>117</sup> *Report of the Working of the Central Museum of Lahore*, 1930-1, p. 4, plate I. <sup>118</sup> *ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 92.

### 6. Nāga Cult

We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that Takṣaka, the *nāgarāja*, formerly used to live in the Khāṇḍava forest but later on shifted to Kurukṣetra and made his abode there. This led J. Ph. Vogel (*Indian Serpent Lore*, 1926, London, p. 205) to conjecture that the "Original home of the cult of Takṣaka was Indraprastha, from where it was carried northward to Kurukṣetra". E. W. Hopkins (*Epic Mythology*, 1925, Strassburg, p. 149) also remarks that "the connection with the *nāgas* as treasure-hiders appears in the description of the gatekeepers of the *nāga tīrtha* at Kurukṣetra". It is really interesting to note that some of the holy places of the region have been named<sup>119</sup> after *nāga* or *sarpa*, thus denoting the popularity of the *nāga* cult. These ancient names have been preserved even to this day.<sup>120</sup>

### 7. Yakṣa-guardians

(a) *Yakṣa* worship in ancient India<sup>121</sup> can be traced back to very remote times. We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that the Arantuka, Tarantuka, Macakruka (also read as Macakraka or Maṅkaṇaka) were the *Yakṣa* gatekeepers as well as the holy places bounding the *cakra* of Kurukṣetra (Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 149; CARS., XIV, pp. 88-9).

The *Mahāmāyūri*<sup>122</sup>, a treatise dealing with the *Yakṣa*-guardians of various places, towns and countries, refer to the following *Yakṣas* associated with ancient Kuru realm and the region on its borders:—

<i>Names of place or country</i>	<i>Names of Yakṣas</i>
1. Bahudhānyaka	—Kapila (XV. 4)
2. Agrodaka	—Mālyadhara (XVIII. 1)
3. Rohitaka	—Kumāra (XXI. 1)

<sup>119</sup> i.e. *Sarpadarvi*, *Nāgabradā*, *Nāgodbheda* etc.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Hindi *Viśva Koṣa*, V, Calcutta, 1922, sv. *Kurukṣetra*; CARS., XIV, pp. 87 ff; *Indian Antiquary*, XXIII, pp. 298-300; CARS., II, pp. 215-6 for details.

<sup>121</sup> A. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 17, 47-8; *Journal of the Museums Association of India*, IV, 1948, p. 33; JU'PHS., XXIV-XXV, 1951-2, pp. 186-95; *Modern Review*, Calcutta, May 1950, p. 375 f.

<sup>122</sup> The text as edited by S. Levi and translated by P. C. Bagchi in the *Sino-Indian Studies*, III, 1947, p. 12 ff; in his paper "A Geographical Catalogue of the *Yakṣas* in the *Mahāmāyūri*".

4. Śrughna	—Duryodhana <sup>123</sup> (XXIII. 1)
5. Yaudheya	—Purañjaya <sup>124</sup>
6. Kurukṣetra	—Tatārka and Kutatārka <sup>125</sup>

The Jaina<sup>126</sup> canonical literature refers to a garden named Pudhavivadinsaya in the city of Rohidiya (i.e. mod. Rohtaka) with a shrine of Dharaṇa Yakṣa in it.

(b) *Yakṣī of Kurukṣetra* :—

A Yakṣī used to live near the Rāmabrada at Kurukṣetra (*Āranyaka Parva*, Sukth. ed. 81. 19-20). This Yakṣī is addressed as Paiśācī in chapter 129 of the same *Parva*. Here she is described as putting on the *Ulūkhala*<sup>127</sup> ornaments. The *Mahāmāyūrī* (VIII, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-9) also describes the Yakṣī of Kurukṣetra as *Mahā-Ulūkbalamekhalā*. She is said to have warned the pilgrims not to stay there for more than a day (*MBH.*, *Aran. Parva*, 129. 8-11). Dr. V. S. Agrawala feels that she was perhaps the tutelary deity of some primitive tribe and lived on non-vegetarian diet.

## XVI. Social and Economic Conditions :—

(i) Bāṇabhaṭṭa has furnished a graphic picture of the religious, social and economic conditions of the Śrīkaṇṭha country which then included the Kurukṣetra *Janapada* too. In a separate note about Thānesar, Bāṇa records that Kurukṣetra was a very holy place, a hermitage indeed. His description of the ladies of the town is

<sup>123</sup> This deification of a person like Duryodhana seems to very strange. Arjuna too was elevated as a Yakṣa; cf. *Arjunāścārjunāvane* (XXIII, 2).

<sup>124</sup> Thus Bahudhānyaka and Yaudheya country had separate *Yakṣas*.

<sup>125</sup> LVII. They seem to be the variants of the names as depicted in the *Mahābhārata* as cited above. It has also been opined that the Ayāti forest was perhaps situated between Kurukṣetra and Sugha for the Yakṣa of the place has been enumerated after Kurukṣetra and before Śrughna (P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

<sup>126</sup> J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jaina Canons*, 1947, Bombay, p. 328 and f.n. 695.

<sup>127</sup> In the Skt. language, the word *ulūkhala* denotes a "particular ornament for the ear" (Monier-Williams, *Skt. Eng. Dictionary*, 1899. Oxford, p. 218).

all the more charming. The common dress that they usually put on, to cover the upper portion of their bodies, was a bodice (*kañcuka*)<sup>128</sup>.

(ii) Yuan Chwang has also left a note on the social and economic conditions of the place during his visit to the holy town (S. Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 ff). He stated (*ibid*, p. 183) that "the soil is rich and productive and abounds with grains (cereals). The climate is genial, though hot. Manners of the people are cold and insincere. The families are rich and given to excessive luxury. They are much addicted to the use of magical arts and greatly honour those of distinguished ability in other ways. Most of the people are after the worldly gain; a few give themselves to agricultural pursuits. There is a large accumulation here of rare and valuable merchandise from every quarter."

The Sonepat seal (cited above) refers to Prabhākara-vardhana as *Varnāśrama-vyavasthāpanapravṛttaḥ* indicating thereby that the rulers of Thānesar were vigilant enough in maintaining the ancient *Varna* and *Āśrama* orders in the contemporary society.

Reference to the *Yakṣī* of Kurukṣetra has already been made above. She is said to have warned (*Mahābhārata*, *Āraṇī Parva*, chap. 129, verses 8-11) the pilgrims about the low morals of the people in that very region.<sup>130</sup> The people seem to have become addicted to meat, wine etc. This led Dr. V. S. Agrawala to suggest that these verses perhaps refer to the social condition of the region after the advent of the Indo-Bactrian rulers. That seems quite plausible. With the penetration of these foreigners into the Indian society, there might have ushered in some looseness of morals and behaviour of the people of that region. A few other verses of the *Mahābhārata* too bear testimony to this fact and prohibit any visit to the land of the *Madra* etc.

<sup>128</sup> *Harṣacarita*, chapter III, p. 43 ff. for the text, edition of P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1918. For English translation see F. W. Thomas and E. B. Cowell, 1897, London, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>129</sup> Dr. Agrawala (*Harṣacarita Eka Adhyayana*, p. 56) states that the use of bodices in India began in the post-Gupta period, perhaps in the 6th century A.C.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

### XVII. *Later Coinage* :—

Rodgers obtained the coins of Sāmantadeva at Kaithal (Thānesar; *Report*, p. 21), Paṭīlā, Nāraingarh (Ambala district; *ibid*, p. 28) and other places. Reference to some mediaeval Hindu and Muslim coins from Sugha has already been made above.

### *Muslim Coinage* :

H. L. Srivastava (*ASR.*, 1930-4, pp. 142-3) also discovered some copper coins (of the Sultans of Delhi) at Theli Polar site of district Karnāl. These included coins of Shamsu-d-din Altumush (1210-35 A.C.), Jalāluddin Firoz II (1290-95 A.C.) and Alau-d-din Muhammed Shah II (1295-1315 A.C.). From another trench (*ibid*, p. 144) were also recovered two hoards of coins i.e.

- (i) A hoard of 542 copper coins belonging to Ghiyāsuddin Balban.
- (ii) A hoard of coins [188 copper and 1 silver] belonging to Balban and Nasīruddin Mahmūd (1246-63 A.C.) respectively. Other coins found here belonged to Feroz Shāh Tughlak (1351-88 A.C.), Jalāluddīn Firoz II (1290-1295 A.C.) and Shamsuddin Altumush (1210-35 A.C.)

One copper quarter *anna* belonging to Sikandar Begum of Bhopal (1847-68 A.C.) was also discovered on the surface of the mound overlooking the Sarasvatī river. A huge hoard of Muslim coins along with some of Hindu rulers was discovered at Ghamrauj, tahsil Gurgaon (*ASR.*, 1930-4, pt. II, pp. 308-9). The latter included 2 coins of Sāmantadeva, 2 of Aśata Pāla, 5 of Sallakṣaṇapāla, 28 of Madanapāla Rāṭhod, 6 of Someśvara Deva, 7 of Pr̥thvī Rāja, 56 of Cāhaḍa Deva; and two bearing the legend *Kuta* on the bull side, perhaps of Raja Pīpal (?) of Mācāri according to M. S. Vats (*ibid*, p. 309).

### XVIII. *Ancient Large-size Bricks* :—

The region of Kurukṣetra was explored by Cunningham and Rodgers who reported about the discovery of large size (baked and unbaked) bricks which were usually made in ancient times. Archaeological excavations at Thānesar, Karnāl and other places too corroborate the truth of this statement. Some of the modern structures of the re-

gion have been built with the ancient bricks taken from the ancient mounds. Following is a short account of the varying sizes of these bricks:—

- (i) *Asthipura site*:—It lies to the west of Thānesar and to the south of the Aujasa Ghāṭa and marks the place where the bodies of the persons slain in the *Mahābhārata* were put to fire. Yuan Chwang, visiting this place in the seventh century A.C., also bears testimony to this fact. He states<sup>131</sup> that “now the plains are everywhere covered with their bones...and the bones are very large ones.” Cunningham excavated the site<sup>132</sup> as a result of which appeared “an extensive platform of unbaked bricks still 364 feet in length.” The unbaked bricks measure  $14\frac{3}{4}$  “ x 8” x  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ”; some others being of different sizes such as 13” to 15” in length, 9” to 10” in breadth and 2” to  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ” in thickness (*CASR.*, XIV).
- (ii) *Amin*:—Bricks measuring  $13\frac{1}{2}$ ” x 8” x  $2\frac{1}{4}$ ” and 9” x 4” were seen by Rodgers (*Report*, p. 14; cf. *ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 90).
- (iii) *Rājā Karṇa-kā-kilā*:—Excavations here show the size of bricks as 14 to  $14\frac{1}{2}$ ” x 9 to  $9\frac{1}{2}$ ” x  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ” to 3” (*ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 88; *ibid.*, 1921-2, p. 48). D.B. Spooner (*ASR.*, 1922-2, p. 88) states about the recovery of two *wedge-shaped* bricks about 2 or 3 feet above the virgin soil in one of the trenches excavated here. He also informs that such bricks have been used from the most ancient times of which we are aware on ancient sites in North India in the construction of the wells.
- (iv) *Thānesar Fort*:—Excavations here reveal that the size of bricks as 14” x  $8\frac{1}{2}$ ” x  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ” (*ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 90).
- (v) *Bhor or Bhore*:—18 miles west of Thānesar, half way between Pehoā and Thānesar. Size of bricks used in houses is  $12\frac{1}{2}$  x  $9\frac{1}{2}$ ” x 2” (*CASR.*, xiv).

<sup>131</sup> S. Beal, *Records of the Buddhist World*, vol. I, book IV, p. 186; cf. *CASR.*, XIV, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>132</sup> The mound measures about 700 feet x 500 feet.

- (vi) *Pebéoā* :—There is a huge mound here, about 30 to 40 feet in height, size of bricks being 18" x 12" x 2½ to 3" (*CASR.*, xiv, pp. 101-2; *ibid*, II, p. 224). Rodgers (*Report*, p. 16) noted 13½" x 9" x 2½" as the size of the bricks used in the walls of the ancient temples.
- (vii) *Kaithal* :—In the wall of the tomb of Lakhadātā have been used bricks measuring 20" x 12" x 4" (*Report*, p. 20).
- (viii) *Kilāyat* :—About 13 miles from Kaithal. Temples are made of bricks measuring 12" x 8½" x 3½" (*Report*, p. 42).
- (ix) *Theb polar* :—Carved bricks and terracottas were found on the surface here (*ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 88-9).

#### XIX. *Miscellaneous important Sites, Antiquities and Monuments of Kurukṣetra Region* :—

- (i) *Rājā Karna-kā-Kilā* :—Here were also found<sup>133</sup> some other objects such as a flesh-rubber, a terracotta reel, a mould for printing cloth, a human head, a double inkpot, a hollow rattling terracotta, a flattened bronze object appearing to be a late derivative of a celt with crescentic circle, an earthen cāti (pot) having a line of *Trisūla* and wheel carved on it, one earthen pitcher<sup>134</sup> (11" in height) ornamented round the shoulder etc. Some pieces of the glazed pottery of Muslim period too were found on the surface here (*ibid*, p. 48).
- (ii) *Amīn* :—Some minor antiquities from Amīn include a slab (3'3") and a round stone lid (2'3½") of a large size box (*ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 90). Reference to the bricks and pillars of the Śunga period has already been made above.
- (iii) *Ancient Fort* :—There exists a ruined fort (measuring 1200 feet square at the top) at Thānesar which has been said to have been built by Rājā Dilīpa, a descendant of Kuru; but this is a mere conjecture. The existing

<sup>133</sup> *ASR.*, 1921-22, p. 49.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*, plate XXI, figure C.

remains, comprising 3 mounds, occupy a space of about 3 miles and D. B. Spooner (*ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 90) is of the opinion that this agrees with Yuan Chwang's 20 *li*. As regards the ruined fort, Spooner states that it was most probably founded by Harṣavardhana.<sup>135</sup> All visible structures here measure 14" x 8½" x 2½". The fort is said to have had 52 towers or bastions, some of which are still existent.

- (iv) *Stūpa Area* :—Another important mound is “situated about  $\frac{1}{4}$ th mile to the north west of Thānesar. Here Cunningham recognised the remains of a Stūpa built by Aśoka-rājā which was said to have contained a peck-measure of the relics of the Buddha and was standing to a height of about 300 feet when Yuan Chwang visited it” (Spooner, *ibid*). The modern town of Thānesar still stands on an ancient mound and that is the case with Pānipat and some other villages (between Kurukshetra and Delhi) also. It is extremely essential to expose them with the help of the scientific spade of some expert archaeologist.
- (v) *Madrasā Area* :—It is situated on the north eastern corner of the fort and comprises a stone building 174 feet square outside with a deep arcade of 9 openings on each side. The building has been built of the spoils of the Hindu temples, the arcades being supported on plain Hindu pillars. In the courtyard Cunningham found some ancient sculptures, and he is of the opinion that one of these finds might have formed part of a pinnacle of some Hindu temple (*CASR.*, II, p. 222).
- (vi) *Theb Polar*<sup>136</sup> site (situated on the south bank of the Sarasvatī, about 5 miles above the town of Siwan or 11 miles from Kaithal in the Karnāl distt.) has yielded some very important antiquities.

<sup>135</sup> In fact it is nothing but a conjecture. See Cunningham, *Geography of Ancient India*, 1871, London, pp. 130-1 for the existing remains of the town, the front and its ramparts etc.

<sup>136</sup> *ASR.*, 1921-2, p. 89; *ibid*, 1930-4, pp. 143 ff.

- (vii) *Daulara* is a site situated about 17 miles from Thanesar, close to the road leading from Thanesar to Rādaur.
- (viii) *Gunān* is the site of ancient Gokanṭha monastery as cited above.
- (ix) *Pehoā*. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* furnish a lot of important information about the sanctity of the place, called Pr̥thūdaka in ancient times.<sup>137</sup> This place has also been referred to in the epigraph from the Garibnāth temple of Pehoā itself. The mound called the *ṭīlā* of Viśvāmitra covers an area about a mile in measurement and seems to have marked the ancient site of some mediaeval temple, partly constructed in stone (cf. *ASR.*, 1921-2, p. 47).

We have already described some noteworthy antiquities recovered from Pehoā and its precincts. They include sculptures, terracottas, stone inscriptions etc. Other interesting sculptures, noted by Rodgers (*Report*, pp. 15-17), may briefly be referred to here : —

- (a) A carved doorway (*Report*, plate XXVII). In the centre of the lintel is a four armed seated figure (in a cross legged posture) on two lions. The two hands are folded in front. Here Rodgers disagrees with the views propounded by Cunningham (*CASR.*, xiv, p. 103). He also adds that "above the central image and its accessories is an elaborate entablature while the central band of the lintel has 4 musicians on each side of the central figure. These musicians are two males and two females. At the end of these bands of musicians is a large female figure, one on each side. The uppermost band of the lintel has on the right hand side one male figure, 6 seated female figures, one with a horse's head, one other male and one of Gaṇeśa. To the left are, first the *nāga*,

<sup>137</sup> Cf. *CASR.*, XIV, pp. 131-2; *Report*, pp. 15-17; *CASR.*, II, p. 225, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya Mimānsā*; C. V. Vaidya, *Downfall of Hindu India*, 1933, Bombay, p. 9; *Vāmana Purāṇa* Venk. Press, XXII, verses 44 ff; *Vana Parva*, P. C. Roy ed., chap. 83, verses 140 ff., p. 223; *Salya Parva*, Sātavalekara ed., Chap. 38, verse 33 etc., for Pr̥thūdaka in ancient Indian literature.

then one head and then 7 figures. Cunningham (*CASR.*, xiv, p. 103) thought that "to the left were the *navagrahas* (nine planets) and to the right were *aṣṭāśaktis* or eight female energies of gods". At the bottom of the innermost band of the sculpture, on each jamb there is a *nāga* figure.

- (b) Part of the capital of a pillar deeply carved lying in the field.
- (c) Rodgers also noticed an old "gargoyle" lying on the way to Haveli. It measures 5'9" in length. The head had horned eyes and large tusks.
- (x) *Bhor*—It lies between Thānesar and Pehoā. Some sculptures were also noticed lying hither and thither (*ibid.*, plate XLVI, fig. b).
- (xi) *The famous Tank of Kurukṣetra*—According to a Vedic myth, the horseheaded Dadhiyāñca was a constant source of terror to the demons who, after his death, overspread the whole of earth. On enquiry into the lot of sage Dadhiyāñca (or Dadhīca), Indra informed that his head still existed but none knew its whereabouts. A thorough search was therefore conducted with the result that the head was ultimately found on the outskirts of the lake, called Sāryaṇāvat, situated in the Kurukṣetra region. Sāyana, in his commentary on the *Rg-Veda* (viii. 6. 39; cf. *ibid.*, viii. 7. 29, I. 84. 13), states that Sāryaṇāvat lake is not very far from Kurukṣetra. The weapon of Indra was thus prepared out of the bones of this Dadhīca and it was then possible to kill the demons. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>138</sup> (xi. 5. 1. 4) describes how, wailing with sorrow, the lover Pururavas wandered throughout the whole of Kurukṣetra region and ultimately found his beloved (i.e. Urvaśī) at the lake called Anyataḥplakṣā. It was in this lotus pool that the nymphs were swimming about in the forms of swans. On the

<sup>138</sup> This is a summary of the tour report as published by Rodgers.

<sup>139</sup> Venkateswara Press ed., p. 2576, vol. iv.

basis of the above evidence Cunningham<sup>140</sup> seems to be justified in considering the pool as old as the *Rg-Veda* itself and in identifying it with the existing tank at Thānesar. Abu Rihān<sup>141</sup> (Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 287) and Alberuni (E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, II, p. 145) have also presented vivid descriptions of this pool. The Vedic Sāryanāvat lake has been identified with the Rāmahrada<sup>142</sup>—so often referred to in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.

- (xii) *Kaithal* :—It is situated about 18 miles west of Pehoā. Rodgers discovered some doorways, pillars, sculptures of goddesses etc. He also obtained some coins of Sāmantadeva (*Report*, pp. 18-21) in the bazars here.

This is, in nutshell, an account of some archaeological finds from the region of Kurukṣetra and the neighbouring area, now covered by the Ambala Division of the East Panjab. It is essential to conduct scientific excavations at some of the important sites of this part of the country<sup>143</sup>.

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<sup>140</sup> *CASR.*, III, pp. 218-1 and *Geography of Ancient India*, 1871, London, p. 335; also see *Report*, p. 8.

<sup>141</sup> An Arab writer of the early mediaeval period.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *Hindustan Weekly*, *op. cit.*, p. 19; *ABORI*, Poona, 1937, XVIII, pp. 5-6; also my paper 'Kurukṣetra in the Later Sanskr̥t Literature' published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, March 1955, pp. 1-31.

<sup>143</sup> The question of the identification of places and towns of the region of Kurukṣetra as mentioned in the literary texts will be dealt with in a separate article.

## Some forgotten Smṛti-writers of Bengal

A glance over the pages of the Smṛti-nibandhas<sup>1</sup> of Bengal reveals that a number of earlier authors has been cited in them. Of these authors, many are well-known while there are a few less known, of whom the following are worth notice :—

Bālaka, Jikana, Yogloka, Jitendriya

The above authors are not known from any other source nor is any MS. of their works known to exist. It is, therefore, necessary to examine all the references to these works contained in the Smṛtinibandhas of Bengal in order to make an estimate of the nature of their works and the approximate time in which they lived. We take up here these authors one by one, collect the references to them, and finally set forth such conclusions about them as are permitted by the references.

### Bālaka

The Nibandha writers of Bengal, referring to this author, are chronologically as follows :—

Bhavadeva, Jimūtavāhana, Sūlapāṇi, Raghunandana

1 The names of the Smṛti-nibandhas, used for the present purpose, are noted below with their corresponding abbreviations used in this paper :—

- 1 P.P.=Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa of Bhavadeva, ed. G. Vedāntatīrtha, Rajshahi, 1927
- 2 V.M.=Vyavahāra-māṭrakā of Jimūtavāhana, ed. Asutosh Mukherji, Calcutta
- 3 D.B.=Dāya-bhāgī of Jimūtavāhana, ed. J. Vidyasagar, Calcutta
- 4 D.V.=Durgotsava-Viveka of Sūlapāṇi, Skt. Sāhitya Parīṣat Series, Calcutta
- 5 V.T.=Vyavahāra-tattva of Raghunandana (in J. Vidyasagar's ed.)
- 6 P.V.=Prāyaścitta-viveka of Sūlapāṇi, ed. J. Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1893
- 7 S.V.=Śrāddha-viveka of Sūlapāṇi, ed. C. Vidyabhusan, Calcutta, 1299 B.S.
- 8 T.V.=Tithi-viveka of Sūlapāṇi, ed. S.C. Banerji, Poona Orientalist, Vols. VI, VII
- 9 S.K.=Śrāddha-kriyā-Kaumudi of Govindānanda, Bib. Indica ed., Calcutta
- 10 M.T.=Malamāsa-tattva of Raghunandana (in J. Vidyasagar's ed.)
- 11 S.T.=Suddhi-tattva of Do. (Ibid)
- 12 T.T.=Tithi tattva of Do. (Ibid)
- 13 K.V.=Kāla-viveka of Jimūtavāhanī, Bib. Indica ed., Calcutta, 1905

The following are the references to Bālaka :—

1. बालकेन तु गौडी-पैषो-माण्डीध्वेव सुराशब्दो  
सुह्य इति यदुकूम् तत् तन्त्र-टीकापरिक्षानेनैव । P. P. p. 42
2. न तु मुखमात्रप्रवेशविषयमिति बालकेनाभिहितमादरणीयम् Ibid., p. 44
3. यत् बालकेन वस्त्रादि-निवद्ध सुवर्णं-नयनेऽप्यज्ञानतः  
सुवर्णस्तेय इत्युकूम् तत् स्तेयशब्दार्थपरिक्षानेनैव Ibid., p. 74
4. अतो बालकेन यदुकूं तद्देयमेव Ibid., p. 81
5. यदपि बालकेन लिखितं.....तदपि सर्वेसंहिताष्वदृष्टत्वात्...हेयमेव  
Ibid., pp. 81-82
6. यद् बालकेन.....तद्देयमेव Ibid., p. 83
7. यत् बालकादिभिः...उक्तम् तत्  
खक्षोलक्षिप्तमिति नादरणीयम् Ibid., p. 109
8. समानपूर्वतया बालोऽपि निरस्तः V. M. p. 346
9. बालकेनाप्युकूम्...अन्तेन D. B., p. 120
10. यच्च बालकेनोक्तं...आत्मनो बालरूपत्वमेव प्रकटीकृतम् Ibid., p. 169
11. यत् व लक्षवचनम्...बालवचनमेव Ibid., p. 183
12. अतो यद् बालकवचनम्.....न शक्यते वक्त्रम् Ibid., pp. 227-228
13. बालकेन तु देवीपूजाधिकारे...इत्यभिहितम् D. V., p. 9
14. बालकेनात्र विषये...यदुकूं...तद्देयमेव Ibid., p. 16
15. श्वीकर-बालक...प्रभृतयः V. T., p. 223

From the above references we can draw the following conclusions about the life and works of this author.

(1) The earliest writer to cite him is Bhavadeva Bhatta the lower terminus of whose date is fixed approximately at 1100 A.D. This is, therefore, the lowest limit of Bālaka's date.

(2) Bālaka is cited in the works on *prāyaścitta*, *vyavahāra*, *dāya-bhāga* and *durgotsava*. Therefore, we can infer that this writer also wrote on these subjects.

(3) Bhavadeva cites Bālaka only to refute him by holding that his views are '*beyā*' (to be disregarded), etc. Jīmūtavāhana once cites him in support of his own views, but in all other cases rails at his views as *bālaka-vacana* (words of a child). Śūlapāṇi once mentions him respectfully, but, in the other case, rejects his view. Raghunandana cites him among the recognised authorities. These facts tend to prove that Bālaka was yet to establish his authority when Bhavadeva and Śūlapāṇi wrote their works, and that by the time of Raghunandana his authority was considerably acknowledged in Bengal. The anxiety of the earlier writers, however, to refer to

Bālaka, although it was only to refute his view, is itself an evidence of the fact that even at their times Bālaka's views were not so insignificant as to be passed over in silence.

(4) The facts that Bālaka is not cited by writers outside Bengal and that the Bengal writers betray great concern for his views tend to prove that he was a writer of Bengal.

### Jikana (or Jikana)

The writers of Bengal, who cite Jikana, are chronologically the following : —

Bhavadeva, Śūlapāṇi, Raghunandana and Govindānandana

The references are : —

1. अत जिकन...महापातकयुत्पन्नापि कन्या...महापातकिनोति *P. P.*, p. 102
2. शारदीयामहापूजामुपकम्य जिकनः *D. V.*, p. 2
3. जातशुद्धिर्बोध्यतिकमो मोह इति जिकनः । तत्र... *P. V.*, p. 19
4. जिकनस्तु पापकर्मण द्रव्यं जन्यते *Ibid.*, p. 21
5. जिकनस्तु तिधा पापमुत्पयते...तदसंगतम् *Ibid.*, p. 22
6. जिकनस्तु लिविभमाह *Ibid.*, p. 50
7. अत जिकनोक्तं यथा *Ibid.*, p. 86
8. मोहशब्दोऽत बुद्धिपरइति जिकनः *Ibid.*, p. 94
9. अत जिकनोक्तं...तत्र *Ibid.*, p. 97
10. एतत् संहितायामदृष्टत्वात्...जिकनः *Ibid.*, p. 102
11. मयपदं चात्र सुरापरं...इति जिकनः *Ibid.*, p. 105
12. तत्रापि प्रयोजकादीनां...इति जिकनः *Ibid.*, p. 106
13. जिकनस्तु भविष्यपुराणवचनविरुद्धमेतदेवाह *Ibid.*, p. 112
14. ...इति जिकनव्याख्यानं निरस्तम् *Ibid.*, p. 118
15. अत्र जिकनोक्तं... *Ibid.*, p. 126
16. जिकनस्तु आचार्य...गुरुशब्देनोपादानम् *Ibid.*, p. 133
17. जिकनकल्पतरुकारादयस्तु...सर्वत्र व्यवहितयोनिसम्बन्धः *Ibid.*, p. 144
18. जिकनादयस्तु यदि...चत्वारि वाक्यानि स्युः *Ibid.*, p. 151
19. जिकनस्तु...संवत्सरेण पातः *Ibid.*, p. 156
20. जिकनस्तु अनकेब्राद्यावधवत्...तन्तता...तत्र *Ibid.*, p. 164
21. इति सामान्येनाभिधानात् इति जिकनः *Ibid.*, p. 175
22. जिकनस्तु सोपवासा...न ज्ञियः *Ibid.*, p. 176
23. जिकनस्तु...प्रथमं प्राजापत्यम् *Ibid.*, p. 533
24. अत जिकनप्रभृतयः ब्रह्मपुराणादिवचनैरेवात् व्यवस्थामाहुः *S. V.*, p. 130
25. अत जिकनः । दौहितो द्विविधः पुत्रिकापुलोऽपुत्रिकापुत्रश्च *Ibid.*, p. 261
26. अत जिकनः पूर्ववचनेन...तदसंगतम् *Ibid.*, p. 286

28. अत जिकनः अन्त्यमृताहे...इत्युपादानात् *Ibid.*, p. 372
29. तदा च वृद्धिनिमित्तेन सविरणीकरणापक्षे  
...इति जिकनप्रभृतीनां सम्मतम् *Ibid.*, p. 375
30. अग्निसाध्यत्वान्नात्र निरग्नेरधिकार इति जिकनः...तदसंगतम् *Ibid.*, p. 458
31. यत् जिकनप्रभृतिभिरुक्त...सम्बन्धात् *T. V.*, p. 235
32. ...यथाकालं तु कार्याणीति जिकनादीनां मतमपास्तम् *S. K.*, p. 351
33. जिकनोऽप्येवम् *M. T.*, p. 774
34. जिकनीयान्त्येष्टि विध्यनुग्रहणविवेकयोर्व्यासः *S. T.*, p. 237
35. ...इति जिकनपृतपैठीनसिवचनात् *Ibid.*, p. 238
36. अत एव जिकनधनञ्जयसंग्रहयोः *T. T.*, p. 66

The above references lead us to draw the following conclusions:—

(1) The earliest writer to cite his name is Bhavadeva. Hence, the lower limit of Jikana's date, like that of Bālaka, is 1100 A.D. The upper limit of Jikana's date appears to be much higher than that of the previous writer. This seems to be borne out by the respectful attitude with which even the earlier writers mention him as well as by the copious references to this writer made by Śūlapāṇī—facts which tend to prove that, about the time of Bhavadeva, Jikana's authority was already established in Bengal, so much so that Bhavadeva had to recognise his views. It is true that Śūlapāṇī differs from him occasionally, but the cases of agreement are far more than those of disagreement.

(2) Jikana is cited in the works on *prāyaścitta*, *durgotsava*, *śrāddha*, *śuddhi*, *tithi* and *malamāsa*—subjects on which Jikana also presumably wrote. That the *Antyeṣṭi-vidhi* was the name of one of the works of Jikana seems undoubted in view of the fact that Raghunandana mentions it as 'Jikaniya' (written by Jikana) in his *Śuddhi-tattva* (p. 237). From the same reference by Raghunandana it appears that the *Anu maraṇa-viveka* is also ascribed by Raghunandana to Jikana. Had he intended the *Anu-maraṇa-viveka*, ascribed to Śūlapāṇī<sup>2</sup>, he would have, perhaps, associated with the work the name of Śūlapāṇī without attributing both the works to Jikana.

From the testimony of Raghunandana, in his *Tithi-tattva* (p. 66), we can conclude that there was some sort of compilation (*samgraha*), made by Jikana, although we cannot definitely say with what particular subject the same work dealt.

<sup>2</sup> See S. C. Banerji, "Śūlapāṇī the Sāhuḍiyān, NIA, Vol. V, p. 140

(3) The same considerations as in the case of Bālaka lead us to believe that Jikana belonged to Bengal.

### **Yogloka (or, Yoglauka or Jogloka)**

The following are the writers, arranged chronologically, who mention this author :—

Jīmūtavāhana, Raghunandana

The following are the references :—

1. अतएव स्वल्प एव ग्रन्थे योगलौकेनोक्तम्... *K. V.*, p. 221
2. तस्मात्...योगलौकस्य बृहद्‌ग्रन्थे प्रक्षिप्तम्। तस्यैव स्वल्पग्रन्थं.....योगलौकीय बृहद्‌ग्रन्थपुरातनपुस्तीष्व-भावात्।...योगलौकेनापि बृहद्‌ग्रन्थे लिखितम् *Ibid.*, p. 273
3. योगलौकेन तु स्वल्पबृहद्‌ग्रन्थभेदेन द्वयमेवोक्तम् *Ibid.*, p. 365
4. ...इति योगलौकीय व्याख्यानमादरणीयम् *Ibid.*, pp. 378-369
5. ...ध्वल योगलौकैः कृतमपि कालनिरूपणम् *Ibid.*, p. 380
6. योगलौकेन तूकं...तदतीव हेतुशून्यम्... *Ibid.*, pp. 394-395
7. यत्...योगलौकेन लिखितम्...अतो योगलौकमतं हेयम् *Ibid.*, p. 454
8. यच्च योगलौकेन लिखितम्...तदसंगतम् *Ibid.*, p. 457
9. यथोक्तं योगलौकेन...तदसंगतम् *Ibid.*, p. 465
10. ...योगलौकादीनां मतमपास्तम् *Ibid.*, p. 483
11. बृहद्‌योगलौकग्रन्थे च...इति तेनाप्युक्तम्।  
स्वल्पयोगलौकेन तूकं...इत्यन्तम्।  
तच्च वहुतरप्रकारं दृष्टिमेव *Ibid.*, p. 490
12. यत् पुनरस्य वचनस्य योगलौकीयं व्याख्यानं...तदसंवद्धम् *Ibid.*, p. 503
13. यच्च स्वल्पयोगलौकेनात्मोक्तम्... *Ibid.*, p. 505
14. बृहद्‌योगलौकेनाप्युक्तम्... *Ibid.*, p. 505
15. यदप्युक्तं योगलौकेन...तदप्यहृदयं व्याख्यातम् *Ibid.*, p. 506
16. एतेन यत्ताकिंकमन्येन योगलौकेनाभिहितम् *V. M.* p. 291
17. इति ताकिंकमन्ययोगलौकमतम् *Ibid.*, p. 293
18. तस्माद् विरोधिप्रतिषेधक...योगलौकेन व्याख्यातः *Ibid.*, p. 295
19. यत्...ताकिंकमन्यस्य योगलौकस्य...इति श्रीकरदत्तोदाहरण...स्त्रीकरणं तदसंगतम् *Ibid.*, p. 302
20. उपायप्रचयस्य...तस्मादिति व्याख्यानं योगलौकस्य *Ibid.*, p. 310
21. यत्...ताकिंकमन्येन योगलौकेन...तदसंगतम् *Ibid.*, p. 312
22. तस्मात् ताकिंकमन्यस्य योगलौकस्य उदाहरणं हेयम् *Ibid.*, p. 313
23. मज्जरीकारस्यापि...समानमेव दूषणम् जोगलौकेन तु  
कारणोत्तरप्रकरणे दर्शितम् *Ibid.*, p. 347

- 24. एष विशोभिजोग्लोकः सर्वस्थाने समानियतवादात् *Ibid.*, p. 348
- 25. इति जोग्लोकमतानुसारिमैथिलमतं युक्तमिति वाच्यम् *V. T.*, p. 217
- 26. एवमेव श्रीकरबालक जोग्लोक...प्रभृतयः *Ibid.*, p. 223

From the above references we can draw the following conclusions about this author:—

(1) Jīmūtavāhana is the earliest author to cite Yogloka. At one place he refers to old MSS. (*putrātanapustī*) of Yogloka's works—a fact which tends to prove that Yogloka lived much earlier than Jīmūtavāhana. Jīmūtavāhana is placed roughly between the 11th and the 12th century A.D. Therefore, the lower terminus of Yogloka's date can be fixed at the 11th century, although we can reasonably assume that this author flourished at least a century earlier than Jīmūtavāhana.

(2) Yogloka is referred to in the works on *kāla* and *vyavahāra*—subjects on which he also may be supposed to have written. That he wrote a treatise on *vyavahāra* appears to be proved by a reference contained in the *Vyavahāra-mātrikā* (p. 347) in which one of the chapters of a work of Yogloka has been styled *Kāraṇottara-prakarana*. From the reference no. 6 above we may safely conclude that he wrote a treatise on the determination of time (*Kāla-nirūpana*) for various rites.

(3) That there were two versions—one longer and the other shorter of some work of Yogloka—possibly of his work on *Kāla*—seems to be proved by many a reference to Bṛhad-yogloka and Svalpa-yogloka.

(4) Jīmūtavāhana often jeers at him by saying that he is *tārkikamanya* (priding himself on being a logician) and *nava tārkikamanya* (new-fangled logician), and rejects his views as *asaṅgata* (improper), *beyo* (to be discarded) etc. Raghunandana, from whose reference in the *Vyavahāra-tattva* (p. 217) we learn that Yogloka's views found favour with the writers of Mithilā, refers to Yogloka in a respectful manner. From Jīmūtavāhana's anxiety to refute some of the views of Yogloka, we may conclude that, already in Jīmūtavāhana's time, Yogloka's was an authority to reckon with.

(5) The same considerations, as in the case of previous writers, would lead us to infer that Yogloka was a writer of Bengal.

### Jitendriya

He is mentioned by Jīmūtavāhana only<sup>3</sup>

The following are the references:—

1. …तत्र वाच्य इति जितेन्द्रियः K. V., p. 78
2. तदयमतिमन्दतमवादः कथं सुन्दरमतिना  
जितोन्द्रियेणाभिनन्दितः ? Ibid., p. 255
3. अत एवोक्तं जितेन्द्रियेण Ibid., p. 367
4. अत एव जितेन्द्रियेण... Ibid., p. 370
5. जितेन्द्रिय...कृतमपि कालनिरूपणं निःसारता याति Ibid., p. 380
6. तथा जितेन्द्रियेणाप्युक्तं...इत्यन्तम् Ibid., p. 489
7. अतः...जितेन्द्रियोक्तं आदरणीयः D. B., p. 166
8. तस्माद् विश्वलयजितेन्द्रिय...निरूपित आदरणीयः Ibid., p. 183
9. ...अत एव...इति जितेन्द्रियेण लिखितम्... Ibid., p. 193
10. अत एव प्रायश्चित्काण्डे जितेन्द्रियेण भणितम् Ibid., p. 224
11. अत एव जितेन्द्रियेण...इत्युक्तम् V. M., p. 302
12. जितेन्द्रियेणापि...प्रतीयते Ibid., p. 334

From these references we can conclude as follows:—

(1) Jīmūtavāhana respectfully acknowledges his authority at every step. This shows that, about the 11th-12th cent. A.D., Jitendriya's authority was firmly established in Bengal, so much so that even a jurist like Jīmūtavāhana had to recognise his views. Thus we can, perhaps justly, place Jitendriya between the 9th and 10th century A.D.

(2) Jitendriya is mentioned in the work on *kāla*, *dāya-bhāga* and *vyavahāra* so that we may presume that he also wrote on these subjects. The reference No. 10 above appears to indicate that Jitendriya wrote a work on *prāyāscitta* also. This reference makes us infer that either his work on '*Prāyāscitta-kāṇḍa*' was styled *Prāyāscitta-kāṇḍa* or that *Prāyāscitta-kāṇḍa* was the name of a section (*kāṇḍa*) of a general treatise.

3 Kane maintains that Jitendriya is mentioned by Raghunandana in his *Dāya-tattva* (*Smṛti-tattva*, II, p. 182). But the text, on which Kane bases his assumption, reads thus:—*Jinendra-dāya-bhāga-prāyāscittavivekakṛṇmatam*, etc. The name is Jinendra so that it does not seem to be safe to read Jitendra or Jitendriya in his place. Moreover, his mention by Raghunandana does not seem to be likely in view of the fact that no writer of Bengal, intervening between Jīmūtavāhana and Raghunandana, mentions Jitendriya.

(3) Barring the doubtful reference by Raghunandana (foot note 3 —*supra*), Jitendriya is not mentioned by any writer of Bengal succeeding Jīmūtavāhana down to Raghunandana. From this it seems that Jitendriya was a fairly old writer whose views counted up to the time of Jīmūtavāhana whose dazzling brilliance completely overshadowed this old writer.

(4) Being mentioned by no writer outside Bengal Jitendriya seems to have belonged to this province.

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

## A Study of the Prājāpatya form of Marriage

The forms of marriage according to which a girl could be married in ancient India are no less than eight, enumerated by Manu as Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa and Paśāca<sup>1</sup>. From a strict legal point of view these eight forms have been classified under two heads—forms that belong to orthodox group and forms that fall under unorthodox one, on the consideration of the point whether father of the girl exercised supreme power in the marriage of the girl or not. To the orthodox group belongs the Prājāpatya form of marriage, as here the father of the girl had the supreme voice in the selection of the bridegroom. Manu says that the gift of the daughter after the father has addressed the couple with the words—'may both of you perform your religious duties together' and after he has honoured the bridegroom, is declared to constitute the Prājāpatya form of marriage.<sup>2</sup> Yājñavalkya has defined this form almost in identical manner differing only in one point that here the groom-designate should be a willing party and aspirant for the hands of the girl concerned.<sup>3</sup> Devala in this connection makes the point more clear by stating that the girl should be decorated and given away after a condition is procured from the suitor that they would perform religious duties together.<sup>4</sup> Saṅkha is silent on the issue of the imposing of condition and simply states that in this form the girl is given over along with water<sup>5</sup> and same is the condition laid down in Viṣṇu.<sup>6</sup> The definition of this form of marriage by Saṅkha and

1 Manu Sam. III-21.

2 सहोभौ चरतां धर्मेभिति वाचानुभाष्य च ।

कन्याप्रदानमध्यर्थं प्राजापत्ये विधि स्मृतः ॥ Manu Sam. III-30.

3 सहोभौ चरतां धर्मेभित्युक्ता दीयतेभिने ।

स कायः.... .... .... .... ॥ Yāj. Sam. 1-60.

4 सहधर्मेकियाहेतोदर्दनं समयबन्धनात् ।

अलङ्कृत्यैव कन्याया विवाहः स प्रजापतिः ॥

Referred to in *Kṛtyakalpataru*, II. p. 85.

5 प्रार्थिताप्रदानेन प्राजापत्यः प्रकीर्तिः—Saṅkha Sam. IV-5.

6 Vide *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā*, XXIV-22.

Viṣṇu offers us a clue to the supposition that there was a time when the Prājāpatya form of marriage was free from any sort of imposition of a condition on the groom. At that time Prājāpatya form needed only the condition that the suitor would approach the father of the bride.

The definition of this form of marriage as laid down by Manu finds support in the *Arthaśāstra*<sup>7</sup> and in the text of Nārada.<sup>8</sup> Gautama in his *Dharmaśāstra* urges that the formula must express in a sentence that the husband and wife will have to co-operate in the performance of their duties.<sup>9</sup> Baudhāyana lays more stress on the wearing of ornaments by the girl.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, from a study of the majority of definitions as furnished by different law-makers the condition that the husband must be promise-bound to perform his duties along with wife married according to the form, is usually noticed. The purpose behind this promise to be extracted from the suitor offers an interesting study. In his *Dharmaśāstra* Āpastamba has declared in a forceful language that in all forms of marriage both the parties are to act in a united way<sup>11</sup> because no division between the husband and the wife is possible.<sup>12</sup> The *Saṃskāra Kaumudi* has tried to explain the intricacies of the whole problem by stating that the special injunction refers to the household affairs of life. The groom who undertakes such a contract is barred from entering into any stages of life other than the household one. Again during the life-time of the wife married according to Prājāpatya form, a husband is not allowed to contract marriage elsewhere, nor is he entitled to enter into another stage of life except the Gārhyaṣṭha. But all these restrictions are not imposed on the husband after the death of the wife.<sup>13</sup> Sri P. V. Kane

7 सहधर्म एष्यप्राजापत्यः—Adhikarāṇa III, Sūtra III.

8 सहधर्मं चरेत्युक्ता प्राजापत्यो विधीयते—Nārada XII-40.

9 संयोगमन्तः प्रजापत्ये सह धर्मं चरतामिति—Gau. Dh. Sū. IV-4.

10 आच्छ्रायालङ्कृत्यैषा सहधर्मं चर्यतामिति प्राजापत्यः—Bau. Dh. Sū. 1.11.20.3.

11 पाणिग्रहणाद्वि सहत्वं कर्मसु—Ap. Dh. Sū. 2.6.14.17.

12 जायापत्योविभागो न विद्यते—*Ibid.*, 2.6.14.16.

13 अन्येष्वपि विवाहेषु धर्मस्थाचरणं सह ।

यदप्युक्तं तथाप्यत विशेषोक्तिर्गृहाश्रमात् ॥

आश्रमान्तर संत्रासे निषेधार्थतिं गम्यते ।

in his *Dharmaśāstra* quotes another opinion that this promise on the part of the groom is meant for joint performance of actions in such religious duties as 'pūrta' etc., which require no fire.<sup>14</sup> Thus it may be easily understood that Prājāpatya form of marriage was meant for restricting the husband to monogamous marriage which is defined in Hyde *vs* Hyde (1866) P and M (p. 130) 'as the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others'.<sup>15</sup>

It is for this reason that according to modern opinion this Prājāpatya form of marriage is regarded as the most satisfactory form of marriage because the rights of husband and the wife are equally well secured in this form. Dr. A. S. Altekar<sup>16</sup> has commented on the views of Haradatta which is identical with the opinion of *Saṃskāraprakāśa*.<sup>17</sup> He writes 'This view, however, is not correct, for the same corollaries can be drawn from the usual exhortation in the Brāhma marriage, enjoining the husband and the wife to be inseparable companions of each other in all their activities in the spheres of religion, love and wealth'. But it may be said in this connection that in all the definitions of the Brāhma form of marriage, there is not the slightest scope for a supposition that in Brāhma form, provision is made for the husband and wife to be inseparable companion in all activities of life—religious and secular. If Dr. Altekar had in his mind the directions of Āpastamba<sup>18</sup> that through marriage the couple gets right of joint performance of duty, then also it must be agreed that Āpastamba's direction was not meant only for any special form of marriage. Thus it may be stated that the opinion of Dr. Altekar is not based on sound argument. He says, 'Brāhma and Prājāpatya are synonymous words

न चात तस्यां जीवन्त्यां विवाहस्य परिप्रहः ।

आथ्रमान्तरयोगो वा मृतायां भवतस्तु तो ॥ *Saṃskāra Kaumudi*, p. 732.

Referred to in P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. II, part I.

<sup>14</sup> 'अन्ये तु पूर्तदावनमिसाध्येत् साहित्यनियमाद्य'—*History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. II, part I, p. 513 f.n.

<sup>15</sup> Vide Bālambhaṭṭa's commentary on Yājñavalkya, I-60.

<sup>16</sup> *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, p. 55.

<sup>17</sup> On Gautama Dharma Sūtram, 1.4.5.

<sup>18</sup> 2. 6. 14. 17.

and it is quite possible that the Brāhma marriage was originally identical with the Prājāpatya one. The conclusion is supported by the fact that two of the early writers like Vaśiṣṭha and Āpastamba do not mention Prājāpatya marriage at all.<sup>19</sup>

Leaving aside the problem of the terms, Brāhma and Prājāpatya, which are stated to be synonymous, it can be asserted that there is fundamental difference between the two. Though in the text of Hindu Law, of Sri Golap Chandra Sarkar, supporting words are available<sup>20</sup>, though it is stated that 'Prājāpatya does not materially differ from the Brāhma', yet we must note that similarity between the two forms even are not too much. This is of course a fact that both of them belong to the orthodox type and as such father or guardian of the girl concerned exercises supreme control in the selection of the groom, leaving no scope for her to behave independently.

In spite of this similarity between the two forms, there is no denying the fact that dissimilarities can also be clearly noticed between the two forms. In the Brāhma form of marriage, the father selects the son-in-law mainly on the basis of learning and other qualifications and offers his daughter to him after inviting him to his house, along with such presents as he could conveniently give on account of natural affection. The definition of Manu shows however that the groom in Brāhma form of marriage was not a suitor for the girl.

Again the gift of the girl to the groom in Brāhma form was an unconditional one. The entire act of betrothal was inspired by no other purpose than the happiness of the couple concerned and there also nothing was directly stated.

In the Prājāpatya, on the other hand, we have noticed that the groom was himself a suitor. Sri Gurudas Banerjee<sup>21</sup> also admitted the fact when he stated—'It is the fact of the bridegroom being a suitor, an applicant for the bride's hand, that distinguishes this form (Prājāpatya) from the Brāhma'. The vital point that distinguishes Prājāpatya from Brāhma form is that while in the latter the gift is unconditional, in the Prajāpatya form it is restricted by condition that

<sup>19</sup> *Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, p. 55.

<sup>20</sup> P. 96.

<sup>21</sup> *Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana*, p. 83.

the married couple should be partners for performing together secular and religious duties. Medhātithi has made it clear that though the term 'dharma' has been distinctly mentioned in the definition of Prājāpatya form of marriage, yet the signified meaning is this that the secular activities are also to be included in it.<sup>22</sup>

It is for this reason that orthodox writers criticised this form as inferior to Brāhma form of marriage. Sri G. D. Banerjee has shown the comparative inferiority of this form to Brāhma form on the ground that marriage with the Hindus, being a gift, 'a gift loses a portion of the merit if the gift is not voluntary, but has to be applied for'.<sup>23</sup> But properly speaking the inferiority of this form is to be judged in the light of the problem that a gift, in order to be a free and ideal one, should not be limited by any condition. As in Brāhma form of marriage, the gift is unconditional it is to be regarded as superior to Prājāpatya form of marriage. Dr. R. B. Pandey also has expressed the same opinion. He says "According to the Hindu point of view it is inferior to the first three methods. The reason is that here, the gift is not free but is bent low under conditions, which should not have been according to the religious conception of a gift".<sup>24</sup> But when Dr. Pandey argues that this form of marriage requires a society, in which there was no seclusion of women and it was meant for the grown-up parties, for the implications of the condition were to be intelligible to both of them, he must have sufficient fact to substantiate his proposition. The question of the bride being grown-up in age does not arise at all inasmuch as in no definition of this form of marriage as furnished above, we come across any reference to age of the girl. Moreover, the question does not arise at all, for the fact that these conditions that were imposed on the groom by the father of the bride, was only an affair of the two, the father and the suitor. The girl had absolutely no say in the matter.

<sup>22</sup> धर्मग्रहनमुपलक्षणार्थम् । धर्मं चाथ च कामे च तुल्ययोगक्षेमतेति मिथोऽस्य परिभाषावचनस्यार्थः । धर्मशब्द एवोच्चार्यते सहधर्मश्चर्यतामिति ननु धर्मार्थकामाः सहेति, सतु धर्मशब्दः स्मृत्यन्तरवशादर्थकामयोरुपलण्<sup>+</sup>र्थो व्याख्यातः—Medhātithi's commentary on Manu III-30.

<sup>23</sup> *Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana*, p. 83.

<sup>24</sup> *Hindu Saṃskāras*, p. 287.

Hence it mattered very little if the girl followed the implication of the condition or not.

Dr. P. V. Kane has furnished a new information that even in Brāhma form of marriage there is no condition laid down by the father of the girl but the bridegroom promises that he will not break faith with his wife in the matter of three Puruṣārthas—Dharma, Artha and Kāma.<sup>25</sup>

Medhātithi also argues that Prājāpatya form is inferior to Brāhma.<sup>26</sup>

Sarvajñanārāyaṇa makes it clear that the words of address as well as the intention of the benefit to be conferred on the girl and the condition laid down that the girl should not be decorated with ornaments, make it inferior not only to Brāhma and Daiva but also superior to Ārṣa. He further adds that no money is taken in this form and the purport of the address is inspired by compassion towards the girl.<sup>27</sup>

Rāghavānanda in his commentary on *Manusamhitā*, in an interesting way distinguishes this form from Brāhma by way of explanation that there is no necessity of presentation of cloths and ornaments as in Brāhma form.<sup>28</sup> But we may add that this explanation does not find support in other texts, as we have already noticed. Nandana, however, makes it a point to refute the opinion of Sarvajñanārāyaṇa that Prājāpatya is inferior to Daiva. He argues that if the groom is only caused to utter that he would perform religious duties together, then there is no reason of this form being treated as inferior to Daiva.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Kane in the footnote of (p. 519) *His. of Dharmasāstra*, vol. II, pt. I has referred to the quotation from Śvara on Jaimini—‘एवं हि स्मरन्ति । धर्मं चार्थं च कामेच नातिचरितव्येति ।’ The *Saṁskāra Prakāśa* (VI. 1. 17) (pp. 848, 852) says that the words occur in the *Kāthakagṛhyapariśiṣṭa* on Brāhma form.

<sup>26</sup> ‘अनयैव संविदा दोषेणास्य न्यूनता । अस्ति ह्यत्र दातुर्वरादुपकारलिप्सा—Medhātithi’s Commentary on Manu III-30.

<sup>27</sup> एतच्चैताद्वरिभाषणेन दृष्टाखार्थभिसंविनिमित्ततया कन्यालङ्घारहितया च ग्राम्य-दैवाभ्यां हीनमार्षीचोत्कृष्टम् । अतार्थप्रहणाभावात् कन्यानुकम्पामातक्त्वाच परिभाषणास्य । vide his commentary on Manu, III-30.

<sup>28</sup> ब्रह्मादेरनावश्यकत्वाद्वाश्यादेभेदः—vide Rāghavānanda’s commentary on Manu III-30.

<sup>29</sup> यदि सहधर्मैचरणानुभाषणमेवात् विवद्यते, ततो दैवविवाहात् प्राजापत्यस्य न्यूनता वद्यमाना नोपपत्यते—vide Nandana’s Commentary on Manu III-30.

Regarding the designation of Prājāpatya form of marriage there are various explanations. Yājñavalkya has named it as 'Kāya' because in the Brāhmaṇa works 'Ka' means Prajāpati.<sup>30</sup> Rāghavānanda has argued that the form derives its name either for the reason that the main purpose of this form of marriage is the procreation of sons or the reasons that Prajāpati is the presiding deity of this form of marriage.<sup>31</sup> But against the opinion of Rāghavānanda it may be stated that his argument is not based on sound logic at least so far as the first item of it is concerned. Prājāpatya form, as has been defined in various legal text books, has got no special reference to the procreation of sons. It was rather the general idea behind each and every form of marriage that through it the couple may procure a son who can save the family line from extinction.

Nandana's explanation is more logical. He says that Prājāpatya marriage seeks to establish the married pair in household affairs of life specially as the condition provided there was that the groom should not marry again till the death of the married wife. It has further been conditioned that the groom should not enter into monkhood (Pravrajyā) during the life-time of the wife married according to this form. The point has been made clearer by stating that Prajāpati is the foremost of the deities in the household affairs of life.<sup>32</sup> Sri G. D. Banerjee in his *Hindu Law of Marriage and Strīdhana*<sup>33</sup> says—'It is called the Kāya or Prājāpatya as being the ceremony of the 'Ka's or Prajāpati, that is, lords of created beings or progenitor of mankind'. The opinion of Dr. Ludwik Sternbach<sup>34</sup> on this form of marriage needs mention. He says 'In this form of marriage called also Kāya vivāha, the delivery of the girl to the wooer by the father or guardian was probably held to be equivalent to the wedding ceremony (similar to the Ancient Germanic Law),

30 Yāj. Sam. 1-60.

31 प्रजामात्रोद्देश्यत्वात् प्रजापतिदैवत्याद्वा प्राजापत्यः—Rāghavānanda's Commentary on Manu III-30.

32 गार्हस्थ्यप्राधान्यनिवन्धनं प्राजापत्यत्वम् ।...गार्हस्थ्यप्राधानो हि प्रजापतिः—vide Nandana's Commentary on Manu III-30.

33 P. 83.

34 Vide his paper in Bhāratiya vidyā, vol. XII (1951), p. 88.

so that it was not necessary to perform a further ceremony in the presence of a priest'. The learned scholar however has not adduced any reason for substantiating his proposal. As regards the last part of the proposition we must say that wedding ceremony is necessary in all forms of marriage, even in Gāndharva, as is evident from the story of Duṣmanta by whom Śakuntalā was finally taken in hand after due performance of ceremonies.

HERAMBA CHATTERJEE

## On a Verse of the Pāla Inscriptions

In five of the copper-plate grants hitherto discovered of the Pāla kings of Bengal we have the following verse:

*Deśe Prāci pracura-payasi svaccham = āpiya toyam  
Svairām bhrāntvā tad = anumalaya = opatyakā candaneṣu ।  
Kṛtvā sāndrais = taruṣu (or r = maruṣu)  
jadatām ūkararair = abhra-tulyāḥ =  
Prāley = ādreh Kātakam = abhajan yasya senā-gajendrāḥ ॥*

In course of editing the Bāngad copper-plate inscription of Mahīpāla I, which was the first record found to contain the verse and which applies the contents of the verse to Vigrahapāla II, father of Mahīpāla I, Kielhorn translated it as:—

“When the huge elephants of his army had drunk pure water in the water-abounding eastern land, and had roamed about at will in the sandal forests at the foot of the Malaya range (or “in the sandal forests of the valleys of the Malaya (country)”,<sup>1</sup> they like clouds took possession of the ridges of the snowy mountain, cooling the trees with showers of drizzling rain (viz. the water discharged from the elephants’ trunks)”.<sup>2</sup>

When three of these inscriptions were unknown to exist, A. K. Maitreya surmised that, “This verse rather (than testifying to any campaign of conquest) seems to indicate the efforts of Mahīpāla’s father (who was dispossessed of his kingdom) to secure shelter in various places”.<sup>3</sup>

And this is the idea that has since gained ground. We were led to believe that the ill-fated king, Vigrahapāla II, whose kingdom

1 R.D. Banerji’s tr. in *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 330.

2 *JASB.*, lxi, part I, p. 80. With the reading *r = mmaruṣu* (for *s-taruṣu*), the clause would mean “(and) having caused a coolness in the Maru lands.....”. But the emphasis that the verse lays on the co-relation between what were cooled with water discharged from the elephants’ trunks and “the enjoyment of the slopes of the Himalayas” is so pointed as to rule out that reading, which must be taken as scribal mistake in all the records wherever it occurs. It does not at all befit the context, and we have no warrant to make it a separate clause.

3 *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 100 n.

had been liquidated but yet whose army comprising the elephant-forces was retained intact, was wandering in search of shelter hither and thither, now in the eastern country, then in the Malaya region of South India, and from there again right up to the Himalayas in the north.

But things have now taken altogether a different outlook in view of the fact that the verse is applied to no fewer than four generations of Pāla kings, including the mighty Mahipāla I, in the five different inscriptions, all found in North Bengal. Thus while in the Jājilpārā grant of Gopāla II the verse is applied to him,<sup>4</sup> it is put upon Vigrahapāla II in the Bāngad copper-plate of Mahipāla I,<sup>5</sup> who thirteen years later uses it in his Belwa grant for himself;<sup>6</sup> again, in both the grants of Vigrahapāla III found at Belwa<sup>7</sup> and Āmgāchi<sup>8</sup> he (Vigrahapāla III) claims the verse for him. This not merely "weakens the force of the argument in favour of the above interpretation" (of A. K. Maitreya), as Dr. Majumadar puts it<sup>9</sup> with cautious reservation, but it does throw the interpretation overboard.<sup>10</sup> It is impossible to imagine a state of affair which Maitreya's interpretation would envisage in relation to the reigns of these four generations of kings. Kings destitute of their kingdoms and, therefore, without their civil existence, and yet granting, with full-fledged imperial titles, lands in Varendra, which was by this time characteristically the nerve-centre of their royalty, and, on the other hand, their inscriptions fondly referring only to the disastrous catastrophe that befell each of them and without a word to say about the recovery of the lost kingdom before one king could bequeath it to his

4 *JAS.*, xvii, 1951, p. 142.

5 *JASB.*, lxi, part I, p. 80; *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 326; *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 95.

6 *JAS.*, xvii, 1951, pp. 127-28.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 132.

8 *Gaudalekhamālā*, pp. 125-26.

9 *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, part I, p. 136.

10 The editor of the two Belwa inscriptions of Mahipāla I, and Vigrahapāla III remarks on this verse; "The śloka is well composed and hence this is claimed by different kings. Or in those days these kings kept their paternal kingdom to themselves only by marching their army here and there constantly." *JAS.*, Letters, xvii, 1951, p. 128, footnote. The remark is of course wholly wide of the mark, but tacitly or explicitly contradicts Maitreya's interpretation.

successor. On the contrary, be it noted that three of these four kings called for the application of the verse to themselves. The verse, therefore, necessitates to be reckoned as one encomiastic, seeking to recount the expeditions undertaken by these different kings, one after another, and, as the verse says, in identical regions.

But what are the regions? As regards the 'eastern country', it is doubtless East Bengal. So far as Malaya is concered, I should mention that there are two Malayas in India, one in south India being the southern part of the Sashyādri, and the other in Nepal. On the latter Malaya the late Mr. Burgess wrote as early as in 1885; "Lastly in Nepal, on the upper waters of Gaṇḍaka and Rāpti, is a district known as Malayabhūmi, whose chief town Deorā or Malebhūm is in lat.  $28^{\circ}33'$  N., long.  $83^{\circ}6'$  E. On referring to Lassen (*Ind. Ant.*, 2nd. ed., vol. i, p. 75) we find that he calls this district also Pārvata.....Malayabhūmi or Pārvata with its capital on the Gaṇḍaka, would seem to answer best to the Malaya of the Mudrārākṣasa, Mahābhārata, etc——"<sup>11</sup>. Can it not also answer to the Malaya valley of the present issue? The *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* evinces that *candana* or sandalwood was not a monopoly of southern Malaya but used to grow in various parts of India including Kāmarūpa, which is in so close proximity to Nepal. It is not unlikely that there was at least a sporadic growth of sandal trees also in Nepal, and that the verse in its desire to liken this Malaya with its more celebrated name-sake of the south brings into play the imagery of *candana* with it.

If the identification of the Malaya valley of the verse with the Malayabhūmi of Nepal be not untenable, the verse would simply mean that these kings after their military operations in East Bengal, led campaigns in Nepal, where indeed their war-elephants cooling the trees with water emitted from their trunks enjoyed the slopes of the Himalayas. This would, on one hand, add to our knowledge to the political relation that Bengal had with Nepal during the Pāla period,<sup>12</sup> and, on the other hand, disprove the theory, hitherto

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.* xiv, p. 320.

<sup>12</sup> The relation seems to have started in the reign of Dharmapāla, as is borne out by the identification of Gokarṇa-tīrtha and Gaṅgā-sāgara of Devapāla's inscriptions with Gokarṇa and Gaṅgā-sāgara of Nepal. Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, iv, pp. 264-67.

held, of the disintegration or disruption of the Pāla monarchy from the days of Nārāyaṇapāla till its restoration by Mahīpāla I. Perhaps we have gone, I am afraid, a long way in misunderstanding and misrepresenting the history of Pālas from Rājyapāla to Vigrahapāla II, and we need now retrace our steps. So far as Rājyapāla is concerned, we have now the evidence of his Bhāturiyā inscription as to how the Pāla monarchy under him, far from showing any sign of decadence or feebleness, was vigorously active in fighting many tribes and countries, such as the Mlecchas, Aṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas, Oḍras, Pāṇḍyas, Karṇāṭas, Lāṭas, Gurjaras, etc.<sup>13</sup> As for Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II, we may infer from the verse under discussion that they were also anything but weaklings, each of them being the hero of at least two expeditions, one in the east and the other in the north.

But at the same time there is no attempt to overestimate their power or achievements. Vigrahapāla II, rather than his son Mahīpāla I, must have suffered some territorial loss in North Bengal, and this, as it seems now as before, to the Kāmbojas,<sup>14</sup> the identity of whom still remains a baffling problem.

The Kāmbojas of north-western India, the Tibetans, or the Kāmbojas of the Lushai Hill tracts of Assam<sup>15</sup> may solve the puzzle. It may be suggested that those Kāmbojas were a people of the Nepalese stock belonging to the Malayabhūmi of Nepal, and against whom the Pālas again and again went to war, either on the defensive or offensive?

APARNA BANERJI

13 *IHQ.*, xxxi. 1955, p. 227.

14 It is rather difficult to deny a Kāmboja invasion of North Bengal, only in view of the similarity of two or three personal names of the Kāmboja kings with those of the Pāla kings. There are other factors to be considered before we come to any definite conclusion.

15 *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, Index, p. 10.

## Husain Shah in Bengali Literature

Some idea about the reign of Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah who is said to have ruled Bengal from 1493 to 1519<sup>1</sup> can be gleaned from the Persian sources. This can, of course, be supplemented by the side-lights thrown by the contemporary Bengali sources which have incidentally referred to the socio-political aspects of Husain Shah's reign. The historical value of these literary works can hardly be over-estimated inasmuch as they give us genuine information about the history of this country. In this paper, we shall discuss the political aspects of the reign of Husain Shah with special reference to some of the political works of Bengali literature produced in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries A.D.

### *Early Life of the Sultan*

Good deal of controversy has centred on the early life of Husain Shah. Kṛṣṇadāś Kavirāj tells us that Sayed Husain Khan who was serving under a Revenue Officer of Gaur, named Subuddhi Rai, was once severely whipped for a fault of his own, by the latter, during the excavation of a tank. When Husain Khan became the king of Gaur, he did not fail to show favour to his former master. But the Sultan's wife, finding the clear marks of whipping on his body, requested him to put the Rai to death. Although he did not comply with this ill advice, he finally desecrated the caste of Subuddhi Rai who, however, left for Benares.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *History of Bengal*, Dacca University Publication, 1948, vol. II, pp. 143, 150.

<sup>2</sup> Kṛṣṇadāś Kavirāj : *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* ed. Atul Krishna Goswami, Calcutta, 1325 BS. Madhya Lilā; pp. 255-56:

পূর্বে যবে স্মৰুক্তি রায় ছিলা গোড়-অধিকারী ।  
হসন থা সৈয়দ করে তাহার চাকুরী ॥  
দীর্ঘ খোদাইতে তারে মনসাৰ কৈল ।  
ছিদ্র পাঞ্জা রায় তারে চাবুক মারিল ॥  
পাছে যবে হসন থা গৌড়ের রাজা হৈল ।  
স্মৰুক্তি রায়েরে তেঁহো বজ বাঢ়াইল ॥  
তার শ্রী তার অঙ্গে দেখে মারণের চিহ্নে ।  
স্মৰুক্তি রায় মারিবারে কহে রাজস্থানে ॥

It is difficult for us to ascertain if the story contains any historical truth at all. While the poet on his own admission followed previous writers, Murari Gupta, Damodar Swarup and Brindaban Das<sup>3</sup> in matters of other details of the subject of his work, he is silent about the source of this story. Whatever might have been the source, it seems quite apparent that the details of the early life of Alauddin Husain tally in material points with other known versions of it, Joao de Barros maintains that there landed at Chittagong an Arab merchant of noble birth of Aden accompanied by a number of soldiers with whose help the Sultan of Gaur conquered Orissa and that the merchant ultimately became the ruler of Gaur, having killed the Sultan. Depending on this statement, Blochmann has inferred that the Arab merchant mentioned by de Barros is Sayed Husain Sharif Makki.<sup>4</sup> Again according to Martin, Husain who was the native of Rangpur was the grandson of Sultan Ibrahim, the deposed king of Gaur.<sup>5</sup> Thus we find that the above views on the early life of Husain Shah have little connection with Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj's statement that he had served a Hindu revenue official before he became the king of Gaur. According to a popular tradition found in the district of Murshidabad, Husain served in his boyhood as a shepherd in the house of a Brahmin of Cāndpura, a village of Murshidabad, to whom he showed, on becoming the king of Gaur, much gratitude by offering him the village of Cāndpura on a nominal rent of one anna, so that the Brahmin's Zamindari became known as Ekāni Cāndpura. It is said that the wife of Husain Shah, bent on desecrating his caste, compelled the Brahmin to take beef so that he had to become a convert

রাজা কহে—আমার পোষ্টা রায় হয় পিতা ।  
তাহারে মারিব আমি ভাল নহে কথা ॥  
স্ত্রী কহে—জাতি লহ যদি আগে না মারিবে ।  
রাজা কহে—জাতি নিলে ইহো নাহি জীবে ॥  
স্ত্রী মারিতে চাহে—রাজা সঙ্কটে পড়িলা ।  
করোয়ায় পানি তার মুখে দেয়াইলা ॥  
তবে সুবুদ্ধি রায় সেই ছদ্ম পাইয়া ।  
বারাণসী আইলা সব বিষয় ছাড়িয়া ॥

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 51. 4 *JASB.*, 1873, Old Series, vol. XLII, p. 287

5 Montgomery Martin: *The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, London, vol. III, p. 448.

to Vaiṣṇavism.<sup>6</sup> This story is almost the same as that mentioned by Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj. It may be conjectured here that the poet, while writing the Caitanya Caritāmrita towards the end of the sixteenth century, probably found this tradition in wide circulation in Rādhā whence he might draw the material for his story. The tradition current in Rādhā towards the end of the sixteenth century had possibly some connection with the events which happened in that part of the country at the end of the fifteenth century A.D. Ghulam Husain Salim holds that Husain, son of one Syed Ashraful Husaini, who was Sharif of Makka, and inhabitant of Tarmuz, a town in Turkestan, came "by chance" to Bengal, stayed in the house of a Kazi of Cāndpura, a village in Rādhā, who gave him education and also the hands of his daughter, because of his noble pedigree, and eventually became the vizier of Muzaffar Shah.<sup>7</sup> Cāndpura, at present a village in Murshidabad district, is known as Ekāni Cāndpura (probably because of the reason already mentioned). Although the above statement of Riaz does not corroborate the story told by Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj, it indicates the association of Husain Shah's early life with that part of Murshidabad—a fact clearly proved by the discovery of a number of inscriptions of the early reign of Husain Shah in the villages around Candpara.<sup>8</sup> If the association of the Sultan's early life with Murshidabad seems so much well-established, then the fact of his serving under a Hindu revenue official before he became the ruler of Gaur, is also highly probable. Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj's statement that he was a Sayed, corroborates the generally accepted view that Husain Shah was a born Arab.<sup>9</sup>

### *The early part of Husain Shah's reign*

Even the earliest part of Husain Shah's reign seems to have made an impression upon the minds of his subjects and captured their imagination to a great extent. Bijay Gupta, a contemporary of

6 Rakhal Das Banerjee: *Bāṅglār Itibās*, II, Calcutta, 1324 BS, p. 243.

7 Riazus Salatin: *Eng. tran.* by Maulvi Abdus Salam; Calcutta, 1902; p. 131.

8 *JASB.*, 1917; pp. 148-150.

9 Some of the inscriptions and coins clearly show that he was the son of Syed Ashraful Husaini. *JASB.*, 1872, p. 338; 1873, pp. 292-93.

Alauddin Husain Shah, who composed in 1494-95<sup>10</sup> the epic of snake-cult popularly known as *Manasā-Maṅgal*, has spoken very much highly of the achievements of the Sultan. "Sultan Husain Shah," he says, "is the crown of kings. He may be compared with Arjun in fighting and as such he resembles the morning Sun. The king rules the earth with the strength of his arm. Because of the protection offered by him, his subjects enjoy happiness regularly. The area of Fatehabad extends up to Bangrora." This is no doubt a vivid picture of the political life of the then Bengal which is supplemented by a piece of social picture running as follows: "The river Ghaghāt is on the West, and the Ghandeswar, on the East. Between the two, there is the village Phullasri, an abode of scholars. The Brahmins there bear the four Vedas. The Vaidyas are well-acquainted with their own Śāstras. The Kāyasthas, living there, are well-versed in the art of writing. The other sects who live there are conversant with their respective Śāstras."<sup>11</sup>

If we deal piecemeal with these pictures, they will possibly lead to certain definite conclusions. The glowing tribute which the poet has paid to the Sultan seems justifiable, if we take into account his subsequent military, administrative and cultural attainments. His conquest of Kāmrūp, his invasion of Assam, and his war with Orissa

10 Dinesh Chandra Sen: *Bāṅga Bhāṣā O Sābitya*; 8th ed. pp. 111-12.

11 Bijay Gupta: *Manasā-Maṅgal*, ed. Basanta Kumar Bhattacharya, p. 4.

সুলতান হোসেন সাহা মৃপতি-তিলক ॥  
 সংগ্রামে অর্জুন রাজা প্রভাতের রবি ।  
 নিজ বাহুবলে রাজা শাসিল পৃথিবী ॥  
 রাজাৰ পালনে প্ৰজা স্বৰ্থ ভুঞ্জেনিত ।  
 মুলুক ফতেয়াবাদ বাঞ্জৰোড়া তকসিম ॥  
 পশ্চিমে ঘাঘৰ নদী পূবে খণ্ডশ্বর ।  
 মধ্যে ফুলক্ষ্মী গ্ৰাম পঞ্চিত নগৱ ॥  
 চাৰি বেদধাৰী তথা আক্ষণ সকল ।  
 বৈঢ়জাতি বসে নিজ শাস্ত্ৰেতে কুশল ॥  
 কায়ম্বজাতি বসে তথা লিখনেৰ সুৱ ।  
 অন্যজাতি বসে নিজ শাস্ত্ৰে সুচতুৱ ॥  
 স্থানগুণে যেই জন্মে মেই গুণময় ।  
 হেন ফুলক্ষ্মী গ্ৰামে বসতি বিজয় ॥

and Tipperah, through which he displayed his military strength, show that he has been rightly compared with Arjuna. Bijay Gupta composed his work approximately two years after the accession of Husain Shah to the throne of Gaur.<sup>12</sup> A pertinent question arises in this connection in our minds—how is it that the Sultan became the Nr̥patitilaka within the short period of two years during which he seems to have fought no great battle at all? How could he be so much popular in Banga separated from Gaur by hundreds of miles? In answering these queries, we may point to certain historical facts about which there are genuine documentary evidences. It is known from an inscription that Barisal, the district of our poet, was included in the kingdom of Gaur as early at least as 870 A.H. (1465-66 A.D.) when a mosque was constructed at Mirganj in the same district by one Azial Khan.<sup>13</sup> So by the time when Bijay Gupta wrote his *Manasā-Maṅgala*, this district was well-connected with Gaur. Moreover, Alauddin Husain Shah had already left his mark on the history of this country as the minister of Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah.<sup>14</sup> In view of these facts the news of his accession might have reached the different regions of the kingdom of Gaur. The consideration of the growing power of the Sultan probably led the poet to compare him to the morning Sun. So there seems to be no poetic superfluity in Bijay Gupta's view that he was the Tilak-mark of all kings. The political glory and the social prosperity of the early period of Husain Shahi Bengal have impelled another poet, Bipra Das of West Bengal, to regard the Sultan as an auspicious sign in Gaur.<sup>15</sup>

Bijay Gupta's view that Fatehabad (modern Faridpur) was a part of Husain Shah's kingdom is supported by the fact that some of his coins were struck there.<sup>16</sup> What is of more interest to us is his view

<sup>12</sup> Husain Shah became Sultan in 1493 and Bijay Gupta composed his *Mangal* poem in 1494-95. Supra, footnotes, 1 and 10.

<sup>13</sup> *JASB.*, Old Series, 1860, vol. XXIX, p. 407.

<sup>14</sup> Riazus Salatin, *Eng. Tran.*, pp. 127-130.

<sup>15</sup> Sukumar Sen: *Bāṅglā Sābītyer Itibās*, pt. I, p. 118 (1948 Publication): Bipra Das quoted: সুলতান হোসেন সাহা গৌড়ে স্বলক্ষণ। Bipra Das wrote *Manasā Maṅgala* in 1495-96.

<sup>16</sup> *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*; Calcutta; vol. II pt II, p. 173, Nos. 169-70, 175, 176, No. 202 of the same work. In fact, Fatehabad was included in Gaur-Kingdom even under some of Husain Shah's

that his native district known at that time as Bangrora division was included in Fatehabad.

The reign of Husain Shah had surely conferred certain advantages on the then society. The above-mentioned social picture given by Bijay Gupta shows that the Brahmins of his locality were Vaidic Brahmins; the Vaidyas possessed much knowledge of the science of medicine; the Kāyasthas formed the clerical class of the society and other castes had adopted similar other professions. This brief description of the Hindu society tells us much about the peace and prosperity enjoyed by the Hindus under Husain Shah whose reign was marked by a spirit of tolerance and liberalism.

### *The territorial extension of his kingdom*

The reign of Husain Shah witnessed the territorial extension of the kingdom of Gaur on every side to which the contemporary Bengali sources have referred. His military activities as gleaned from the native sources may be grouped under three heads: (1) war with Orissa, (2) war with the Maghs for the possession of Chittagong and (3) war with the king of Tipperah.

### *War with Orissa*

There was a state of war between Gaur and Orissa to which the Vaiṣṇava literature has made incidental references. Pratāp Rudra Deb, a devout vaiṣṇava was then the king of Orissa.<sup>17</sup> According to Brindāban Dās, in course of his war with Orissa, Husain Shah

successors and predecessors. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 176, No. 202 and also p. 171, No. 160, pp. 169-70, Nos. 153-54 and p. 165, No. 119 of the same work.

<sup>17</sup> Brindāban Dās: *Caitanya-Bhāgavat*, ed. Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, Calcutta, p. 339:

যে সময়ে ঈশ্বর আইলা নীলাচলে ।  
তখনে প্রতাপরূপ নাহিক উৎকলে ॥  
যুদ্ধরসে গিয়াছেন বিজয় নগরে ।

And also Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj: *op. cit.*, p. 178:

সুস্থ করি রামানন্দ রাজা বসাইলা ।  
কায়মনোবাক্যে প্রভু তারে ঝুপা কৈলা ॥  
ঐছে তাঁহারে ঝুপা কৈল গৌরধাম ।  
'প্রতাপ-রূপ-সংত্রাপ্ত' যাতে হৈল নামা ॥

destroyed a number of Hindu temples.<sup>18</sup> After his renunciation, when Caitanya was proceeding from Navadvip to Puri, Rām Candra Khan, the frontier Governor of Husain Shah, informed him of the frontier hostilities in progress between Husain Shah and the king of Orissa so that he had to depend on the Khan's help to cross the Ganges at Chatrabhog.<sup>19</sup> While returning to Bengal after passing a number of years in other countries, Caitanya was requested to wait, by the Orissan frontier officer, until a truce was concluded with the Muslim king.<sup>20</sup> After this event Husain Shah asked Sanātan to accompany him in his expedition against Orissa—an order which the

<sup>18</sup> Brindāban Dās : *op. cit.*, p. 350, 351 :

যে তৎসেন সাহা সর্ব উড়িয়ার দেশে ।  
 দেবমুক্তি ভাঙ্গিলেক দেউল বিশেষে ॥ (p. 350)  
 স্বভাবেই রাজা মহাকাল যবন ।  
 মহাতমোগ্ন বৃন্দি হয় ঘন ঘন ॥  
 উড়দেশে কোটি কোটি প্রতিমা প্রসাদ ॥  
 ভাঙ্গিলেক কত কত করিল প্রমাদ ॥ (p. 351)

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316 :

সবে প্রভু হইয়াছে বিষম সময় ।  
 সে-দেশে এ-দেশে কেহ পথ নাহি বয় ॥  
 রাজারা ত্রিশূল পুঁতিয়াছে স্থানে স্থানে ।  
 পথিক পাইলে জাণু বলি লয় প্রাণে ॥  
 কোন দিক দিয়া বা পাঠাও লুকাইয়া ।  
 তাহাতে ডরাও প্রভু শুন মন দিয়া ॥  
 মুঞ্চি সে রক্ক এখা সব মোর ভার ।  
 নাগালি পাইলে আগে সংশয় আমার ॥  
 তথাপিও যেতে কেনে প্রভু মোর নয় ।  
 যে তোমায় আজ্ঞা তাহা করিব নিশ্চয় ॥

<sup>20</sup> Kṛṣṇadās Kavīrāj : *op. cit.*, p. 179 :

মঢ়প যবন রাজার আগে অধিকার ।  
 তার ভয়ে পথে কেহ নারে চলিবার ॥  
 পিছলদা পর্যন্ত সব তার অধিকার ।  
 তার ভয়ে নদী কেহ হৈতে নারে পার ॥  
 দিন কথো রহ, সকি করি তার সনে ।  
 তবে সুখে নৌকাতে করাইব গমনে ॥

latter refused to carry out lest the Sultan should kill the Uriyas and destroy the Hindu temples of Utkal.<sup>21</sup>

These events give us an unconnected account of the Sultan's expeditions against Orissa. They indicate that the hostilities between the two countries continued for a number of years from 1509 to 1516 A.D. because Caitanya's *Sannyās* took place in 1509 and in the same year he reached Puri; Sanātan joined him at Benares in 1516.<sup>22</sup> According to *Mādlā Pānji*, Ismail Ghazi, one of the commanders of the Sultan, attacked Puri in 1509 and destroyed a number of temples. Pratāp Rudra who was absent from his kingdom came back and compelled the Muslims to fall back on the Mandaran fortress which was also besieged by the king of Orissa. But for the treachery of one of his Hindu officers named Govinda Vidyādhara, he had to withdraw his troops from Mandaran.<sup>23</sup> Thus the *Mādlā Pānji* corroborates the account given by the Vaiṣṇava literature. Barbosa, the Portuguese traveller who visited Bengal in 1514, has stated that Orissa was for some time at war with the kingdom of 'Bengala'.<sup>24</sup> According to some of the coins of Husain Shah's reign, Kamrup-Kamta and Jajnagar-Orissa were conquered in 1504-5 A.D.<sup>25</sup> Ghulam Husain Salim holds that "subjugating the Rajas of the environs and conquering up to Orissa, he levied tribute".<sup>26</sup> All these indicate that a part of Orissa was conquered by Husain Shah of which there is no indication in Bengali literature. In *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, a river has been mentioned as

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197:

হেনকালে গেল রাজা উড়িয়া মাটিতে।  
সনাতনে কহে তুমি চল মোর সাঁথে॥  
তেঁহো কহে—যাবে তুমি দেবতায় দুঃখ দিতে।  
মোর শক্তি নাহি তোমার সঙ্গে যাইতে॥

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50. D. C. Sen: *Caitanya and his Companions* published by Calcutta University 1922, pp. 164-65, 191 and 220.

<sup>23</sup> *JASB*, Old Series, vol. LXIX, 1900, pt. I, p. 186

<sup>24</sup> The Book of Barbosa: ed. Mansel Longworth Dames, London, 1921, vol. II, p. 134.

<sup>25</sup> A. W. Botham: *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin-cabinet*, Assam, p. 170, No. 18. The date 1504-5 indicates that Sultan's war with Orissa began earlier than 1509, the date mentioned in Vaiṣṇava literature.

<sup>26</sup> Riazus Salatin: Eng. Tran. p. 132.

the boundary between Bengal and Orissa.<sup>27</sup> The same view has also been held by Barbosa according to whom Bengal was separated from Orissa by the Ganges.<sup>28</sup> This river has, of course, been identified with modern Suvarṇarekha.<sup>29</sup>

### *War with Tipperah*

Military operations against the king of Tipperah were in progress. According to the *Rājamālā*, which has given a detailed account of the war between Gaur and Tipperah,<sup>30</sup> Dhanya Mānikya, king of Tipperah, expelled the soldiers of Gaur from Chittagong in 1435 Saka=1513-24 A.D. after capturing it from the Muslims who were probably defeated by him on this occasion. At this, Sultan Husain Shah sent an expedition against Tipperah under his general Gaur Mallik, who, following the course of the Gomti, occupied Meherkul in Comilla, while the opposing army under Rai-Kācāg<sup>31</sup> took up a position in the Candigarh fort. At the time of crossing the dry Gomti, most of the soldiers of Gaur Mallik were drowned, because Rai-Kācāg had released the water of the river held up at a distance by an earthen barrier. After the hasty retreat of the survivors, the king of Tipperah occupied Chittagong in 1437 Saka=1515-16 A.D. To avenge this reverse, Husain Shah sent another expedition against Tipperah under Hatian Khan. Although this general occupied Zamir Khangarh and inflicted an initial defeat on Tipperah soldiers at Caghariāgarh under Gagan Khan, he failed to utilise the experience of his predecessor Gaur Mallik, so that the result of this expedition was the same as that of the previous one. On their way to Rāngāmāti, the soldiers of Hatian Khan were drowned at night in the river. The victory of Dhanya Mānikya was largely due to the same stratagem as that to which he had recourse in defeating the soldiers of Gaur

<sup>27</sup> Supra, footnote No. 20.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 133-35.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135, footnote.

<sup>30</sup> The account has been summarised by R. D. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 251-52. Vide also *History of Bengal*, vol. II, p. 149.

<sup>31</sup> In *Rājamālā*, the name is राष्ट्रकाचाग. So we are in favour of spelling it as Raikachag, and not as Raichachag, as spelt in *History of Bengal*, vol. II, p. 149.

Mallik. Hatian Khan was punished by the Sultan for his inefficiency and lack of foresight.<sup>32</sup>

32 The *Rājamālā*; published in one complete volume from independent Tipperah, on Caitra 28, 1311 (Tipperah era) at Agartala, pp. 108-116.

তারপরে শ্রীধন্যমাণিক্য বৃপবর,  
চাটিগ্রাম জিনিলেক করিয়া সমৰ।  
চৌদশ পাঁচত্রিশ শাকে সমৰ জিনিল,  
চাটিগ্রাম জয় করি মোহর মারিল।  
গৌড়ের যতেক সৈন্য চট্টগ্রেতে ছিল,  
শ্রীধন্য মাণিক্য তাকে দূর করি দিল।  
হোসেন সা গৌড়েশ্বর এ বার্তা শুনিয়া,  
বছল কটক পাঠায় গোড় মল্লিক দিয়া।  
বছতর নৌকা সঙ্গে গোমতী উজাইয়া,  
হস্তী ঘোড়া সৈন্য সেনা সঙ্গে সাজাইয়া।  
মেহারকুল গড়ে আসি প্রথমে যুবাল,  
সেই কোঠে যুদ্ধে তাতে মোগল লইল।  
ত্রিপুর সৈন্যে চণ্ডিগড় পরে থানা করে,  
গোড়াই মল্লিক সেই গড় লৈতে নারে।

\* \* \*

তিনদিন রাখিলেক বাঞ্ছিয়া গোমতী,  
পরদিন ভাঙ্গি নদী হৈয়া বেগবতী।

\* \* \*

আচম্ভিত রাত্রিকালে মহাশূল হৈল,  
ত্রিপুর সৈন্য আইসে বলি গোড় ভঙ্গ দিল।

\* \* \*

গোড়াই মল্লিক ভঙ্গ দিল যুদ্ধ হতে,  
শ্রীধন্যমাণিক্য চলে চাটিগ্রাম লৈতে।

\* \* \*

চৌদশ সাত্রিশ শকে চাটিগ্রাম জিনে,  
শুনিয়া হোসেন সাহা মহাক্রোধ মনে।

\* \* \*

রাঙ্গামাটি জিনিবারে হৈতন থাঁ চলিল,  
হোসেন সাহা আখাসিয়া বহু সৈন্য দিল।

\* \* \*

সরাইল পথে আইসে যুদ্ধ সৈন্য লৈয়া,  
কৈলাগড় হৈয়া আইসে বিশাল গড় দিয়া।  
জামির থাঁ গড়ে প্রাতে চড়িল পাঠান,

\* \* \*

But the Bengali literature of an early period does not corroborate this view. According to Parāgali *Mahābhārat*, written in the reign of Husain Shah<sup>33</sup>, Tipperah had to surrender itself to the Sultan of Gaur.<sup>34</sup> According to the Aśvamedh Parva of Śrīkara Nandī, another contemporary of Husain Shah,<sup>35</sup> the king of Tipperah who lived in a state of chronic fear for Chuti Khan, governor of Chittagong and Tipperah, had to live in a mountain cave because of the onrush of the Muslim soldiers in his country and acknowledged his supremacy by offering him a number of horses and elephants as tribute.<sup>36</sup> This statement is borne out by a documentary evidence

লইলেক সেই গড় হৈতন থাঁ পাঠান,  
ছ'ঘরিয়ায় গড়ে গেল রাজা বিদ্মান।

\* \* \*

তিন প্রহর যুবিলেক গগন থাঁ'র সনে,  
ভঙ্গ দিল গগন থাঁ জিনিলেক হৈতনে।

\* \* \*

হোসেন সাহের ভাগ্যে নদী দিল চৰ,  
চৱেতে রহিল সৈন্য করি বাসা ঘৰ।

\* \* \*

নদী'র শ্রোতে সর্ব সৈন্য প্রলয় করিল,  
ভয় পাইয়া গৌড় সৈন্য সবে ভঙ্গ দিল।

\* \* \*

কাটিতে কাটিতে যায় ত্রিপুরার সেনা,  
সেই রাত্রে ভাগাটিল চারি পাঁচ থানা।

\* \* \*

এ বলিয়া হৈতন থাঁ গৌড়ে চলি গেল,  
গৌড়েশ্বরে তার প্রতি নিষ্ঠুর বলিল।

33 D. C. Sen: *op. cit.*, p. 94 and Sukumar Sen: *op. cit.*, I, p. 224.

34 Sukumar Sen: *op. cit.*, I, p. 225. footnote:

মুলতান হোসেন সাহা পঞ্চ গৌড় নাথ।  
ত্রিপুরার দ্বার সমর্পিল যার হাথ॥

35 D. C. Sen: *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

36 Śrīkara Nandī: *op. cit.*, ed. Binod Bihari Kavyatirtha and D. C. Sen. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, 1312 B.S. pp 3-4.

নপতি ছসেন সাহা পুত্র ক্ষিতিপতি।  
সাম দান দণ্ড ভেদে পালে বসুমতি॥  
তান এক সেনাপতি লক্ষ্ম ছুটিখান।  
ত্রিপুরার উপরে করিল সন্ধিধান॥

also. We have come to know from an inscription discovered at Sonārgāon, that Khawas Khan was the Sirlaskar of Tipperah and Wazir of Eklīm Muazzamabad.<sup>37</sup> Thus the conquest of a part of Tipperah by Husain Shah seems fairly well-established. In the face of so many positive proofs in favour of our conclusion, it is very much difficult for us to rely on the information supplied by *Rājamālā*, written towards the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Moreover the dates of the conquest of Chittagong by the king of Tipperah, as given by the *Rājamālā* have aroused some doubts in our minds. It seems that the *Rājamālā* has referred to the initial stage of Husain Shah's war with Tipperah in course of which the Sultan had to face some reverses; but the hostilities culminated in the conquest of a part of Tipperah by Husain Shah. Kavindra Parameśvara's and Śrīkara Nandī's statement indicates that Paragal Khan and Chuti Khan, Governor of Chittagong, probably exercised some control over a part of Tipperah.

The *Rājamālā* informs us that the Sultan's war with the king of Tipperah took place after the former's expedition against Assam<sup>39</sup>, the date of which has been placed by a modern scholar after 1498 and before 1502.<sup>40</sup> But military operations against Tipperah came probably to an end in 1513, when Khawas Khan became the Governor of Tipperah.

### *The occupation of Chittagong*

According to the *Rājamālā*, the possession of Chittagong was

ত্রিপুর নৃপতি যার ডরে এড়ে দেশ ।  
 পর্বত গহৰে গিয়া করিল প্রবেশ ॥  
 গজবাজি কর দিয়া করিল সম্মান ।  
 মহাবন মধ্যে তান পুরীর নির্মাণ ॥  
 অদ্যাপি অভয় না দিল মহামতি ।  
 তথাপি আতঙ্কে বৈসে ত্রিপুর নৃপতি ॥

37 *JASB.*, Old Series, vol. XLI, 1872, pt. I, pp. 333-334.

38 *Rājamālā*, ed. Kaliprasanna Sen: Agartala, Tipperah; 1336, Tipperah era, part I, Introduction.

39 *Op. cit*, p. 111:

যুক্তে আসাম কোচ মারিয়া লইল,  
 ত্রিপুরার সৈন্য আমা অপমান দিল ।

40 *History of Bengal*, vol. II, p. 147.

disputed by the kings of Gaur, Tipperah and Arakan.<sup>41</sup> The foregoing account shows that the hostilities between the Sultan and the king of Tipperah centred on the occupation of Chittagong, and that on several occasions, the former was defeated by the latter. But it came under the Sultan ultimately—a fact which is borne out by the incidental references made by Kavīndra Paramēśvar and Śrīkara Nandī to Chittagong affairs. According to the Parāgali *Mahābhārat*, Paragal Khan was appointed military governor of Chittagong where he began to live permanently.<sup>42</sup> According to the Aśvamedh Parva, Paragal Khan was succeeded by his son Chuti Khan in the governorship of Chittagong.<sup>43</sup>

In fact, Chittagong was a regular bone of contention between Gaur and Arakan.<sup>44</sup> Alauddin Husain Shah sent prince Nasrat Khan together with Paragal Khan to conquer Chittagong from the hands

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 111 and Rajani Kanta Chakrabarti: *Gaurer Itibās*, Malda, 1909 A.D., Part II, p. 119.

<sup>42</sup> Parāgali *Mahābhārat* quoted by D. C. Sen: *op. cit.*, p. 94.

নৃপতি হুসেন সাহ গৌড়ের ঈশ্বর ।  
 তান হক সেনাপতি হস্তন্ত লক্ষ্ম ॥  
 লক্ষ্ম পরাগল খান মহামতি ।  
 সুবর্ণ বসন পাইল অশ্ব বায়ুগতি ॥  
 লক্ষ্মী বিষয় পাই আইবন্ত চলিয়া ।  
 চাটিগ্রামে চলি গেল হরষিত হৈয়া ॥  
 পুত্র পৌত্রে রাজ্য করে খান মহামতি ।  
 পুরাণ শুন্মুক্ত নীতি হরষিত মতি ॥

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 3:

নৃপতি অগ্রেতে তার বহুল সম্মান ।  
 ঘোটক প্রসাদ পাইল ছুটিখান ॥  
 লক্ষ্মী বিষয় পাইয়া মহামতি ।  
 সম দান দণ্ড ভেদে পালে বসুমতী ॥

<sup>44</sup> The hostilities between the independent Sultans of Bengal and the Arakanese kings were long-drawn. Chittagong was conquered by Jalaluddin Muhammad (1418-31). Again it was captured from the Arakanese by the Muslims in the reign of Ruknuddin Barbak Shah when in 1473-74 a mosque was built at Chittagong by Rasti Khan at the order of Majlis-i Ala. The renewal of the hostilities between Arakan and Gaur in the reign of Husain Shah ended on the recovery of Chittagong by the latter. *History of Bengal*, II, pp. 129, 135 and 149-50. R. D. Banerjee: *op. cit.*, II, 214-15.

of the Arakanese.<sup>45</sup> Paragal Khan became, later on, the governor of this newly conquered territory and after his death, his son, Chuti Khan, succeeded him. These explain why Joao de Silveiro, the Portuguese emissary, found Chittagong in 1517, in the possession of the king of 'Bangala'.<sup>46</sup>

### *Some Features of Husain Shah's Administration*

Hardly anything is known about the administrative system built up by Husain Shah. Some features of his administration can, of course, be gleaned from the then Bengali literature. It seems that he placed the different areas of his kingdom, particularly the frontier regions, under some military governors. The title 'Laskar' or 'Sir Laskar' held by Paragal Khan, Chuti Khan, Rām Candra Khān and Khawas Khan indicates the military nature of the offices they used to hold. The administrative structure was probably modelled on feudalism. Zamindars seem to have been directly responsible to the king whose minister used to realise revenues from them with rigour and strictness. To illustrate this, we may cite the case of Rām Chandra Khān who was mercilessly tortured by the Muslim Wazir for his arrear rent.<sup>47</sup> Hindus particularly the Kāyasthas enjoyed Zamindari after making the usual payment of revenue. Majumdar Hiranya Dās and his brother Govardhan Dās enjoyed

45 Rajani Kanta Chakrabarti : *op. cit.*, II, pp. 117-18.

46 J. J. A. Campos : *History of Portuguese in Bengal*, London and Calcutta, 1919, p. 28.

47 Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj : *op. cit.*, p. 278 :

দস্যুবৃত্তি করে রামচন্দ্র না দেয় রাজকর ।  
 ক্রুদ্ধ হওঁ মেছ উজীর আইল তার ঘর ॥ ১  
 আসি সেই দুর্গামণ্ডপে বাসা কৈল ।  
 অবধ্য বধ করি মাংস সে ঘরে রাঙ্কাইল ॥  
 শ্রীপুত্র সহিতে রামচন্দ্রেরে বাঞ্ছিয়া ।  
 তার ঘর গ্রাম লুটে তিনদিন রহিয়া ॥  
 সেই ঘরে তিনদিন করে অমেধ্য রক্ষন ।  
 আর দিন সভা লঞ্চ করিল গমন ॥  
 জাতি ধনজন খানের সব নষ্ট হৈল ।  
 বছদিন পর্যন্ত গ্রাম উজাড় রহিল ॥

great Zamindary from which they collected twenty lakhs of rupees as revenue and paid twelve lakhs to the royal treasury.<sup>48</sup>

There was no military governor in Gaur which was probably under the direct control of the Sultan who was assisted by his Prime Minister, Chief Secretary and Private Secretary in running its administration. In his dewan, there were other officers such as Kotwal and Kazi. It appears that the function of these officers was not well-defined. The Kazi was probably the administrator of justice, and the Kotwal, the custodian of peace and order. Sikdar was in charge of administrative units probably smaller than those held by the governor. Bengali sources have referred incidentally to the officials mentioned above.<sup>49</sup> In the *Manasāmaṅgala* of Bijay Gupta, we find reference to another officer, viz. Hawaldar who was possibly a police officer.<sup>50</sup> These officers generally lived in the towns and cities. According to Barbosa, the king kept the governors and receivers of customs and revenues in the towns.<sup>51</sup>

### *Attitude towards the Hindus*

His treatment of the Hindus was marked by tolerance and liberalism. Some of the most important offices under him were held by the Hindus. On this point, Bengali sources are clear and certain. Rūp was the Chief Secretary, and Sanātan, the Private Secretary, of the Sultan. Rām Candra Khān was the military governor of South-West Bengal. Jagāi and Mādhāi were the Kotwals of Navadvip. Again Gopināth Basu, his minister, Mukunda Dās, his private physician, Keśava Khān Chatri, the chief of his body

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 279, 223:

হিরণ্য গোবিন্দন তৃষ্ণ—মুলুকের মজুমদার।

...      ...      ...      ...

বার লক্ষ দেন রাজায় সাধেন বিশ লক্ষ॥

49 Rūp and Sanātan were respectively the Chief Secretary and Private Secretary of the Sultan: *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*: p. 76; Infra. footnote No 52, for the mention of Kazi, Sikdar and Kotwal, vide *Caitanya Bhāgavat*, pp 98, 205, 274 and 379 and also *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*: pp. 64, 195.

50 Bijay Gupta: *op. cit.*, p. 54:

এক বেটা হাবিলদার নাম তার ছুলা।

বড়ই অহঙ্কার করে হোসেনের শালা॥

51 *Op. cit.*, II, 148.

guards, Anup, in charge of mint, were Hindus.<sup>52</sup> According to *Rājamālā*, Gaur Mallik was in charge of the second Tipperah expedition<sup>53</sup>. Some of the Sultan's generals patronised Hindu poets and writers.<sup>54</sup>

Alauddin Husain Shah is alleged by some writers to have oppressed the Hindus occasionally.<sup>55</sup> They base their arguments generally on the story of Subuddhi Rai, destruction of the temples of Orissa by the Sultan and on Jayānanda's account that the Hindus of Navadvīp suffered at the hands of the ruler and his Muslim subjects. But it seems that their argument is based on a superficial account of facts. The Subuddhi Rai episode does not indicate any persistent policy adopted by the Sultan, but shows only the influence exerted on him by his wife. As regards the destruction of the Hindu temples of Orissa by the Sultan, this could have happened in the wake of military operations attended by chaos and confusion.

Jayānanda says, "All of a sudden, there was the fear for the royal authority in Navadvīp. Arresting the Brahmins, the king was taking their lives and desecrating their castes. If the sound of conch-shell was heard at any body's house in Navadvīp, the king used to desecrate his caste and destroy his life and wealth. If he found Tilak-mark on anybody's forehead and holy thread in the shoulder, he plundered his hearth and home, arresting him at the same time. He broke the temples and deities and uprooted Tulsi plants. The people of Navadvīp were restless lest they should lose their lives. The bath in the Ganges and marketing were stopped. They cut down fig trees and Panas plants by hundreds. The Yavanas living in the village of Piralyā got rid of the Brahmins. The quarrel between the Yavan and the Brahmins in the terrible village of Piralyā had been

52 Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj: *op. cit.*, p. 76. Brindāban Dās: *op. cit.*, pp. 205, 315-16. Sukumar Sen: *Madhya Juger Bāngalā O Bāngāli*, 1352 B.S. Cal. pp. 14-15. *History of Bengal*, vol. II, p. 152.

53 *Rājamālā*: pp. 109-111. Supra, footnote No. 32.

54 Kavindra Paramēśvar, quoted by D. C. Sen: *op. cit.*, pp. 94-96, 74. Śrikara Nandi: *op. cit.*, p. 4.

55 Rajani Kanta Chakrabarti: *op. cit.*, II, pp. 103, 106, 107, 123. R. D. Banerjee: *op. cit.*, II, pp. 306-307. D. C. Sen: *op. cit.*, p. 93 and Tamo Nath Das Gupta: *Aspects of Bengali Society from old Bengali Literature*: 1935. C. U. Pub. p. 92.

going on for ages together. They misled the lord of Gaur by telling him that, 'The Brahmins of Navadvīp will create danger for you. It is said that a Brahmin will become the king of Gaur. If you remain passive, you will face calamity. The Brahmin is sure to become the king of Gaur. It is written in the Gandharva that the subject will carry arches.' The king believing this ordered Nadia to be destroyed. Leaving the kingdom of Gaur, Sārvabhauma Bhātṭāchārya, son of Bisārad, went to Utkal with his whole family. Pratāp Rudra, king of Utkal, who was the bearer of arches, respected Sārvabhauma, placing him on his throne studded with jewels. While his brother Vidyā Vācaspati lived in Gaur, he lived in Benares."<sup>56</sup>

If we analyse the above account, we find that the Brahminical

56 Quoted by D. C. Sen: *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205.

আচম্বিতে নবদ্বীপে হৈল রাজভয় ।  
 ব্রাক্ষণ ধরিয়া রাজা জাতি প্রাণ লয় ॥  
 নবদ্বীপে শজাধৰনি শুনে ঘার ঘরে ।  
 ধনপ্রাণ লয়ে তার জাতিনাশ করে ॥  
 কপালে তিলক দেখে যজ্ঞমৃত্র কাঙ্ক্ষে ।  
 ঘর দ্বার লোটে তার সেই পাশে বাঙ্কে ॥  
 দেউলে দেহারা ভাঙ্গে উপাড়ে তুলসী ।  
 প্রাণভয়ে হ্রিয় নহে নবদ্বীপবাসী ॥  
 গঙ্গাস্নান বিরোধিল হাটঘাট যত ।  
 অশ্বথ পনস বৃক্ষ কাটে শত শত ॥  
 পিরলা গ্রামেতে বসে যতেক যবন ।  
 উচ্ছব করিল নবদ্বীপের ব্রাক্ষণ ॥  
 ব্রাক্ষণে যবনে বাদ যুগে যুগে আছে ।  
 বিষম পিরলা গ্রাম নবদ্বীপের কাছে ॥  
 গৌড়েশ্বর বিদ্যামানে দিল মিথ্যাবাদ ।  
 নবদ্বীপ বিপ্র তোমার করিব প্রমাদ ॥  
 গৌড়ে ব্রাক্ষণ রাজা হবে হেন আছে ।  
 নিশ্চিন্তে না থাকিও প্রমাদ হবে পাছে ॥  
 নবদ্বীপে ব্রাক্ষণ অবশ্য হবে রাজা ।  
 গন্ধর্বের লিখন আছে ধনুর্ময় প্রজা ॥  
 এই মিথ্যা কথা রাজাৰ মনেতে লাগিল ।  
 নদীয়া উচ্ছব কৰ, রাজা আজ্ঞা দিল ॥  
 বিশারদ সূত সার্বভৌম ভট্টাচার্য ।

section of Navadvīp believed that the throne of Gaur would be occupied by the Brahmins—a fact corroborated also by Brindāban Dās.<sup>57</sup> In fact, the rumour was strong in the air that Brahmin Rāj would be established in Gaur at the cost of the Muslim rule.<sup>58</sup> The Sultan wanted to put an end to the spirit of sedition pervading the Brahminical society of Navadvīp. This may explain why the above account speaks of oppressing the Brahmins to the exclusion of other classes of Hindu population. When the Sultan realised that the Brahmins had paid heavily for their seditious spirit, he did not fail to show them favour by repairing their temples and walls which were broken as a result of the Sultan's hostility directed towards them.<sup>59</sup> Thus the Brahmins of Navadvīp were oppressed by the Sultan for political and not for religious reasons.

The fact that the Sultan appointed a large number of Hindus to some of the key-posts under him, is a clear indication of the liberalism with which he treated the Hindus. It is mentioned in some of the Vaiṣṇava works that he had much respect for Śrī Caitanya whom he regarded as an incarnation of God.<sup>60</sup> Does it not contradict most clearly the idea that he oppressed the Hindus?

The kindness and consideration which he showed to the Hindus have probably impelled the Hindu poets of the day to speak highly of the Sultan. In the opinion of Bijay Gupta, he was the Tilak-mark of all kings.<sup>61</sup> According to Kavīndra Parameśvar,

সবংশে উৎকল গেলা ছাড়ি নিজ রাজ্য ॥  
উৎকলে প্রতাপকুন্ত ধর্মার্থ রাজা ।  
রত্ন সিংহাসনে সার্বভৌমে কৈল পূজা ॥  
তবে ভাতা বিদ্যাবাচস্পতি গৌড়ে বসি ।  
বিশারদ নিবাস করিল বারাণসী ॥

57 *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

58 Sukumar Sen: *Madhya Juger Bangla O Bangali*, p. 25.

59 D. C. Sen: *op. cit.*, p. 205. 60 Brindāban Dās: *op. cit.*, p. 350:  
হিন্দু যারে বলে কৃষ্ণ খোদায় যবনে ।  
সেই তিঁহ নিশ্চয় জানিহ সর্বজনে ॥

and Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj: *op. cit.*, p. 76:

বিনাদানে এত সোক যার পাছে হয় ।  
সেইত গোসাঙ্গি—ইহা জানিহ নিশ্চয় ॥

61 Supra, footnote No. 11.

he was the incarnation of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.<sup>62</sup> Śrīkara Nandī holds the same view about the Sultan.<sup>63</sup> The inscriptions and coins of his reign do not ascribe to him any title indicating that he was the propagator of Islam or he had any missionary zeal.

Although the Sultan was just and liberal to the Hindus, some of his Muslim officials seem to have oppressed them. In the *Manasāmaṅgala* of Bijay Gupta, we find that the Kazi and his associates are harrassing the Hindus by interfering with the worship of Manasā.<sup>64</sup> In the Caitanya Bhāgavat we find the Kazi of Nadia stopping Hari-Saṅkīrtan as a result of which he had an altercation with Śrī Caitanya who, on one occasion, went to the extent of attacking the Kazi.<sup>65</sup> This is corroborated also by Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj.<sup>66</sup> Mention of isolated instances of this kind of oppression is not rare in the Bengali literature of the time. But they seem to have no real connection with the general policy of Husain Shah who was as liberal as Akbar the great. It was not always possible for him to suppress the oppression of the officials, because he could not always get direct knowledge of the happenings in the distant parts of his kingdom due to lack of the means of communication in those days.

#### *Governors and other officials of Husain Shah*

Bengali sources have immortalised some of the officials of the Sultan by throwing some light on their careers and achievements.

As already mentioned, Parāgal Khān was made the Governor of Chittagong and also put in charge of Tipperah affairs<sup>67</sup>. His father's

62 Quoted by D. C. Sen: *op. cit.*, p. 94.

নৃপতি হুসেন সাহ হএ মহামতি ।  
পঞ্চম গৌড়েতে যার পরম সুখ্যাতি ॥  
নৃপতি হুসেন সাহা হএ ক্ষিতিপতি ।  
সাম দান দণ্ড ভেদে পালে বশুমতী ॥

63 Śrīkara Nandī: *op. cit.*, p. 3:

নসরত সাহ তাত অতি মহারাজা !  
রামবৎ নিত্য পালে সব প্রজা ॥  
নৃপতি হুসেন সাহা হএ ক্ষিতিপতি ।  
সামদান দণ্ড ভেদে পালে বশুমতী ॥

64 *Op. cit.*, pp. 54-56.

65 *Op. cit.*, pp. 266-277.

66 *Op. cit.*, pp. 64-67.

67 Supra, footnote No. 42.

name was Rāsti Khān who, according to an unpublished inscription, built a mosque in Chittagong in 1473-74, at the command of Mazlis-i-Ala in the reign of Ruknuddin Barbak Shah (1459-74).<sup>68</sup> Parāgal ordered Kavīndra Parameśvar to translate the *Mahābhārat* into Bengali. He established a village in Chittagong which is still known as Parāgalpur, situated on the bank of the Feni, in the Jowarganj Thana. There is still there a tank known as Parāgal-dighi. His descendants are still living in Chittagong<sup>69</sup>.

Parāgal was succeeded by his son Chuti Khān in the governorship of Chittagong and Tipperah. He seems to have become famous even in his early life for his learning and other excellent qualities which impelled Husain Shah to appoint him as the governor of the newly conquered Chittagong<sup>70</sup>. It appears that he was able to bring Dhanya Mānikya, king of Tipperah, to submission who probably acknowledged his supremacy<sup>71</sup>. He ordered the Aśvamedh Parva of the *Mahābhārat* to be translated by Śrīkara Nandī, a Hindu poet who has not failed to eulogise Chuti Khān, under whom people were probably

68 Sukumar Sen: *Bāīgālā Sābityer Itibās*: I, p. 224 footnote 5: Parāgali *Mahābhārat* quoted: রাষ্ট্রিয়ান তনয় বহুল শুণনিধি. R. D. Banerjee: *op. cit.*, II, pp. 214-15. *History of Bengal*, II, p. 135.

69 D. C. Sen: *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

70 Śrīkara Nandi: *op. cit.*, p. 3:

লক্ষ্মণ পরাগল খানের তনয় ।  
 সমরে নির্ভয় ছুটিখান মহাশয় ॥  
 আজান্তুলস্থিত বাহু কমল লোচন ।  
 বিলাস হৃদয়ে মন্ত্র গজেন্দ্র গমন ।  
 চতুঃষষ্ঠি কলা বসতি গুণের নিধি ।  
 পৃথিবী বিখ্যাত সে যে নির্মাইল বিধি ॥  
 দাতা বলি কর্ণ সম অপার মহিমা ।  
 শৌর্যে বীর্যে গাঞ্জীর্যে নাহিক উপমা ॥  
 তাহান যতগুণ শুনিয়া নৃপতি ।  
 সমাদিয়া আনিলেক কুতুহল মতি ॥  
 নৃপতি অগ্রেতে তার বহুল সম্মান ।  
 ঘোটক প্রসাদ পাইল ছুটিখান ॥  
 লক্ষ্মী বিষয় পাইয়া মহামতি ।  
 সামদানদণ্ড ভেদে পালে বস্তুমতি ॥

71 Supra, footnote No. 36.

happy<sup>72</sup>. Probably he lived in the quarter built by his father, which was situated on the Feni river and surrounded by mountain walls<sup>73</sup>.

Rām Candra Khān, a Kāyastha was the governor of the South-west frontier of Bengal<sup>74</sup>.

The two brothers, Rūp and Sanātan held important offices under Husain Shah. Rūp was the Sakar Mallik or Chief Secretary, and Sanātan the Dabir Khas or Private Secretary of the Sultan<sup>75</sup>. It has been mentioned in the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* that Rūp oppressed the subject, of Husain Shah<sup>76</sup>. Sanātan was a great helping hand

72 *Šrikara Nandi*: *op. cit.*, p. 4:

আপনে গ্রাপ্তি সন্তুষ্যিয়া বিশেষে ।  
 স্মৃথে বসে লক্ষ্ম আপনার দেশে ॥  
 দিনে দিনে বাড়ে তার রাজসম্ভান ।  
 যাবত পৃথিবী থাকে সন্তুতি তাহান ॥  
 পশ্চিমে পশ্চিমে সভাখণ্ড মহামতি ।  
 একদিন বসিলেক বাস্তব সংহতি ॥  
 শুমন্ত ভারত তবে অতি পুণ্য কথা ।  
 মহামুনি জৈমিনি কহিল সংহিতা ॥  
 অশ্বমেধ কথা শুনি প্রসংগ হৃদয় ।  
 সভাখণ্ডে আদেশিল খান মহাশয় ॥  
 দেশী ভাষায় এহি কথা রচিল পয়ার ।  
 সঞ্চারোক কীর্তি মোর জগৎ সংসার ॥  
 তাহান আদেশ মাল্য মন্তকে ধরিয়া ।  
 শ্রীকরণ নন্দী কহিলেক পয়ার রচিয়া ॥

73 *Ibid.*, p. 3:

চাটিগ্রাম নগরের নিকট উত্তরে ।  
 চন্দ্রশেখর পর্বত কল্দরে ॥  
 চার লোল গিরি তার পৈতৃক বসতি ।  
 বিচিত্র নিশ্চিল তাক কি কহিব অতি ॥  
 চারিবর্ণ বসে লোক সেনাসন্ধিত ।  
 নানা গুণে প্রজা সব বসয়ে তফাত ॥  
 ফনী নামে নদী এ বেষ্টিত চারিধার ।  
 পূর্বদিকে মহাগিরি পার নাহি তার ॥

74 *Supra*, footnote No. 19.

75 *Supra*, footnote No. 52.

76 *Op. cit.*, p. 197:

জীব পশু মারি কৈল চাকলা সব নাশ ।

of Husain Shah who depended much on him for conducting the administration of the country<sup>77</sup>. After their meeting with Śrī Caitanya in the village of Rāmkeli, probably in the year 1513 A.D., ascetic tendency took possession of their minds as result of which they gave up royal service<sup>78</sup>. Rūp went to Brindāban<sup>79</sup>. Sanātan was subsequently imprisoned by Husain Shah for his refusal to accompany him in an expedition against Orissa<sup>80</sup>. He escaped from the jail by bribing the guard,<sup>81</sup> and finally joined Caitanya at Brindāban. The two brothers were great Sanskrit scholars and as such they wrote some valuable works on Vaiṣṇava philosophy<sup>82</sup>. Thus they made remarkable contribution to the Neo-vaiṣṇava movement which greatly influenced Indian life in the sixteenth century A.D.

Two Brahmin brothers, Jagāi and Mādhāi, who served as Kotwals of Navadvīp, practised all that was against the principles of Hinduism and the rule of morality.....a fact much deplored in the Vaiṣṇava

77 *Ibid.*, p. 197:

আমাৰ যে কিছু কার্য সব তোমা লঞ্চ।  
কার্য ছাড়ি রহিলা তুমি ঘৰেতে বসিয়া॥

78 *Ibid.*, p. 197:

শ্ৰীৱৰ্ষ সনাতন রামকেলি গ্ৰামে।  
প্ৰভুকে মিলিয়া গেলা আপন ভবনে॥  
দুইভাই বিষয় ত্যাগের উপায় ন্তৃজিল।  
বহু ধন দিয়া দুই ব্ৰাহ্মণ বৱিল॥

and also pp. 76 77. *History of Bengal*, II, p. 148, footnote No. 3.

79 Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj: *op. cit.*, p. 78.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 197:

হেনকালে রাজা গেল উড়িয়া মাৰিতে।  
সনাতনে কহে—তুমি চল মোৰ সাথে॥  
তেঁহো কহে—যাৰে তুমি দেবতাৰ দুঃখ দিতে।  
মোৰ শক্তি নাহি তোমাৰ সঙ্গে যাইতে॥  
তাৰে বাকি রাখি কৱিলা গমন।

81 *Ibid.*, p. 207.

82 Tapan Kumar Rai Choudhury: *Bengal under Akbar and Jahāngir*: 1953, Calcutta, p. 84.

literature of the sixteenth century<sup>83</sup>. It appears that they were greatly influenced by the manners, customs and language of the ruling class<sup>84</sup>. They were later on converted to Vaiṣṇavism<sup>85</sup>.

### *Cultural and economic trends*

Before concluding this paper, we may mention some of the cultural and economic trends of the reign of Husain Shah. It marks the beginning of Vaiṣṇavism, a great religious movement, which revolu-

83 (a) Lochan Das: *Caitanya Maṅgala*, ed. Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, 444 Gauranga Era, Calcutta, 2nd ed. Madhya Kanda, p. 26:

মহাপাপী ব্রাহ্মণ সে আছে দুই ভাই ।  
নবদ্বীপের ঠাকুর সে জগাটি মাধাটি ॥  
ব্রাহ্মণী যবনী গুর্বঙ্গনা নাহি এড়ে ।  
সুরাপান পাটলে সকল কর্ম ছাড়ে ॥  
দেবগুর ব্রাহ্মণ হিংসায নিরন্তর ।  
বাহির হইলে বিনি বধে না যায ঘর ॥  
গোবধ স্তীবধ ব্রহ্মবধ শত শত ।  
লিখিতে না পারি নর বধ কৈল কত ॥  
গঙ্গাকূলে বাস গঙ্গাজ্ঞান নাহি করে ।  
দেবতা পূজয়ে নাহি আজন্ম ভিতরে ॥  
নিরন্তর স্বজন বাঙ্গবে করে দণ্ড ।  
কৃষ্ণনাম সকীর্ণনে পরম পাষণ ॥

(b) Brindaban Dās: *op. cit.*, p. 205:

একদিন পথে দেখে দুই মাতোয়াল ।  
মহাদশ্ম্য প্রায দুই মদাপ বিশাল ॥  
সে দুইজনার কথা কহিতে অপার ।  
তারা নাহি করে হেন পাপ নাহি আর ॥  
ব্রাহ্মণ হইয়া মদ্য গোমাংস ভক্ষণ ।  
ডাকাচুরি পরগৃহ দাহে সর্বক্ষণ ॥  
দেয়ানে না দেয় দেখা বোলায কোটাল ।  
মদ্য মাংস বিনা আর নাহি যায কাল ॥  
দুইজন পথে পড়ি গড়াগড়ি যায ।  
যাহারেই পায সেই তাহারে কিলায ॥

(c) Jayānanda's *Caitanya Maṅgala*, quoted by R. D. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 294-95.

84 Sukumar Sen: *Madhya Juger Bānglā O Bāngālī*, p. 27.

85 Brindāban Dās: *op. cit.*, pp. 211-12.

tionised the life of the sixteenth century Bengal. It appears from a study of the Vaiṣṇava literature of the time that some of the Muslims also were converted to Vaiṣṇavism. The cases of Haridās Yavan, the Muslim tailor of the house of Śrības and Bizuli Khān are clear instances in point<sup>86</sup>. In fact the Bengali and Sanskrit literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries bears clear testimony to the influence of Vaiṣṇavism and Neo-Vaiṣṇavism. The latter, a corollary of Caitanya's Vaiṣṇavism, had its origin in Husain Shah's reign. Rūp and Sanātan who contributed much to its theological aspects were important officials of Husain Shah.

Islam and Brahminism contended with each other for social, if not also political, supremacy in the land. With the decline of Buddhism and its degeneration into Tantrikism the field was open to either to assert itself. In the contest however Islam had a natural advantage. The Hindu political power had gone down with the Senas; attempts at its revival in the fifteenth century also had failed completely. Besides the political advantages enjoyed by Islam, its liberalism as against Brahmanical casteism had a natural social appeal to the Bengalees, who were coming to the fold of Islam also for economic advantages. The social appeal of Islam was greatly minimised when Vaiṣṇavism grew in Bengal, took the sting out of Brahmanism and this saved the country for Hinduism. The clash that had been going on between Brahmanism and Islam was thus taken up later by Vaiṣṇavism and against Islam.

By this time, Navadvīp became the centre of intense classical learning<sup>87</sup>. The liberalism of the Sultan was felt in the patronage of vernacular literature. We have already seen that his generals, Parāgal Khān and Chuti Khān had patronised Kavīndra Paramēśvar and Śrīkara Nandī to render the *Mahābhārat* into Bengali<sup>88</sup>. Towards

86 Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj: *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 196 and 274.

87 Brindāban Dās: *op. cit.*, pp. 11 & 43. Sukumar Sen: *Madhya Juger Bānglā O Bāgāli*, p. 24.

88 Supra, footnote Nos. 69, 72. Abdul Karim Sahitya Visharad's conjecture that Parāgal Khān was one of the translators of *Mahābhārat* can hardly be circumstantially established. (*Pracīn Puthir Vivarāṇa*) part I/I, pp. 10-12.

the end of the fifteenth century, Bijay Gupta and Bipra Dās composed poems on the story of snake-cult<sup>89</sup>.

The wonderful progress made by the country in the field of trade and commerce is reflected in the Maṅgal Kāvyas written in this period. Duarte Barbosa, corroborating the account of the Maṅgal poems, maintains that the city of 'Bengala' was frequented by Arab, Persian, Abyssynian and Indian merchants. He further observes : "They sail to Charamandel, Malaca, Camatra, Peguu, Cambya, and Ceilam and deal in goods of many kinds."<sup>90</sup>

To sum up, the reign of Husain Shah constitutes a brilliant epoch in the history of Medieval Bengal. Besides waging wars against the adjoining kingdoms, he conferred all sorts of advantages on his subjects, who acknowledged this by holding him in high esteem so that he is remembered even at present as a legendary hero of Medieval Bengal.

MOMTAZUR RAHMAN TARAFDAR

89 Supra, footnotes, Nos. 10, 15.

90 *Op. cit.*, pp. 139, and 145-146

## Akbar was Literate

Recently Sir Jadunath Sarkar has made a categorical assertion in his Introduction to a book—*Glimpses of Mughal Architecture*—that “Akbar was illiterate” (p. 5). In the text of the same book Sri S. K. Saraswati writes in a subdued language that “Akbar was perhaps an unlettered person” (p. 20). Mr. J. C. Powell-Price in his *History of India*, published some time ago from New York, writes, “Akbar never learnt to read or write though his tutor Mir Abdul Latif did his best” (p. 249).

One can understand the spirit behind the observation of Powell-Price, an ex-I.C.S. of U.P. who writes at times in the strain of Dr. V. A. Smith. But it is unfortunate that Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who is regarded as an authority on the Muslim period of Indian History, has not been able to change his opinion that Akbar was illiterate. One may expect that he has read the addendum of Dr. N. N. Law in reply to Dr. Beveridge’s observation in the Introduction of Dr. Law’s *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule*, Maulana Mahfuzul Huq’s article in *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, vol. IV, pp. 39-50, my article in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, vol. XVI. No. 4, pp. 726-736 and Dr. Ibn Hasan’s observation in his book *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Oxford University Press, p. 94. In Mahfuzul Huq’s article a facsimile of the handwriting of unlettered Akbar has been published. I do not like to repeat the arguments and reproduce the facts mentioned by those scholars. But as a student of history, I feel it my duty to dispel the wrong impression which might have been created in the minds of unsuspecting readers about one of the greatest monarchs of history of all times by the writings of an eminent historian like Sir Jadunath. I shall place before my readers only the contradictory statements made by the authorities on whom Sir Jadunath might have relied for his conclusions. I presume that Sir Jadunath drew upon

i *A'in-i-Akbari* and *Akbar Namah of Abū'l Faḍl* (Akbar's Prime Minister,—*wazir*)

- 2 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Abdul Qadir Badauni (Akbar's *Imām* for Wednesday prayers)
- 3 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizamuddin (Akbar's *Bakshi* or paymaster)
- 4 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Autobiography of Jahāngir)
- 5 Father Monserrat and Father X'avier (Visitors to Akbar's Court) as published in the JASB, 1912 by Beveridge\*

Abū'l Faḍl writes in *Akbar Nāmah* that Akbar was sent to school at the age of 4 years, 4 months and 4 days as was the custom with the Muslims. That great care was taken for the education of the royal child by his father Humāyūn and guardian Bairām for over 15 years is proved by the fact that he was placed under very learned scholars both Indian and Persian. These teachers were:

- 1 Mullazāda Mullā 'Asam'uddin Ibrāhim (*Akbar Nāmah*, Text, p. 270)
- 2 Maulānā Bāyazid [*Akbar Nāmah* (Beveridge), I, p. 588]
- 3 Mullā 'Abdul Qādir (*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Nawal Kishore, Text, p. 392)
- 4 Pīr Muḥammad Khān ('Ain, I, 325)
- 5 Hājī Muḥammad Khān (*Ferista*, II, p. 293)
- 6 Mullā 'Alā'u'ddin (*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 390)
- 7 Mīr 'Abdul Laṭif of Persia invited by Bairām Khān,—  
[*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Lowe) Trans. II, p. 24.]

Abū'l Faḍl writes, "Maulānā Bāyazid performed as a tutor excellent service during the illness of Humāyūn".

Nizāmuddin says in his *Tabaqāt* (p. 392), 'Abdul Qadīr "imparted instructions for a number of years and finally retired to Hijāj."

Badauni in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* says that Mīr 'Abdul Laṭif was appointed to teach *Diwān-i-Hafiz* to Akbar (Lowe II, p. 24). It is well-known to the students of Persian that books like *Diwān-i-*

\* The authenticity of the statement of the Jesuit writers has been discussed in my work on the Religion of Akbar (*Din-i-Ilahi*), Introduction, pp. XVII-XX. Did not father Xavier say that Christians ruled near Delhi when Timūr invaded India (JASB, 1912, p. 202)? The Jesuit writers of his period should not be relied upon unless corroborated by other evidences.

Hafiz are taught when a student has made sufficient progress in Persian.

و درین ایام پیش قرۃ الاکابر میر عبد اللطیف که از اعاظم سادات صحفی گزدین انسن داز رایس عراق در سال نهم و شصت و سه بیان خوازند  
آمد و بود شاهنشاهی دیوان لسان الغیب نجفان کرد سبق فی خوازندزی

That Akbar, who had a very faithful memory and who could remember anything 'in gross and detail from the age of four' would not know how to read and write till the end of his life, as Dr. Smith says, reads like a myth.

It requires a good deal of imagination to think that in the family of Mughals in India where every member before Akbar and after him is endowed with literary gifts including ladies like Gulbadan, Hamidā Bānū, Jahānārā, Zeb-u'nissa, Akbar would turn out to be too thick-headed and refuse to remember even the alphabets which must have been repeated numberless times to his ears.

Abū'l Faḍl further mentioned in connection with readers before him, "at whatever page the reader daily stops, His Majesty marks with his own jewelled pen numerical figures according to the number of leaves read." And he ordered payments from red metal (gold) or white metal (silver) according to number of pages read. ('Ā'in, Blochmann. Bib. Indica text BK I, 'Ā'in 34. p. 115, lines 11-12). This shows that he used to write numerals also as Abū'l Faḍl would have his reader to believe.

And he ordered payments of remuneration from red metal (gold) or white metal (silver) according to number of pages read.

روز بروزگار دانایان آگاه دل آنرا بموقوف عرض همایون رسانند و هر کتاب را از آغاز تا بازجام شدند . و هر روز که بداین جا رسید بشماره ان هند سه بقلم گوهر بار نقش کنند .  
ربعد از این خوازند را نقد از سوی و سفهی بخشنوش شود

My conclusion is that Akbar not only knew how to write but he was conversant with different styles of writing including pictorial and ornamental writings. Islamic calligraphy is an art; it admits of various forms and styles. Competition in calligraphy was a feature of Akbar's Darbār. Abū'l Faḍl says in his 'Ā'in No. 34, "His Majesty takes a great interest in different systems of writing". He often

awarded prizes, honours and titles for beautiful writing and for excellence in calligraphy after personal examination. This proves that Akbar was an expert in different forms of writing. Otherwise the whole of the 'Ā'in No. 34 becomes meaningless.

کوئی خدارند فراوان توجه برگمارد و در صورت و معنی ژرف نگمی فرماید  
راز قدرن افی را ز شذائی کش-ور خدامی گوناگون خطها پایه والا گرفت هنر  
پرندگان نادره کار را در روز بازار شد خاصه نستعلیق روالی دیگر یافت -

That Akbar used to sign documents by his own hand is testified by Abū'l Faḍl in the following words:

"Some *Sanads* are merely sealed with imperial seal. Other *Sanads* are first signed and sealed by Ministers of State, and are afterwards laid before His Majesty for signature." ('Ā'in No. 41, p. 270).

بدین ترتیب مهر ثبت احديان پس از مسدوفی در دیوان و بخشش  
و به ثبت رمه احمدی باشی رسد - چنانچه از مهربانی : آسان گهربی  
قبض مهر گفته خدارند فرسد -

This is a clear proof that Akbar could sign and he did sign documents.

A question may be asked why Abū'l Faḍl, generally eulogistic about his master, was so reticent about Akbar's literary attainments? An answer may be found in a statement of Abū'l Faḍl in connection with the schooling of His Majesty: "For him who is God's pupil, what occasion is there for teaching by creatures, or for application to lessons? Accordingly, Akbar's holy heart and his sacred soul never turned towards external teaching".

چون (در مکتب خانه الہی (که او حافظ رقوم ازلی (ابدی  
است و جمیع علم و فهیم در آن حرم حضور اطفال مکتب تعلیم (زد)  
مثبت شد که صاحبان عقل هیولانی را در مبدعی ظاهراً نقط تعلیم حروف  
مرکبده و اتساب علوم مکتبده (بتلا حق امکار و تجرب افهام فرام  
امن در آرند .

Abū'l Faḍl contradicts himself when he says that Akbar reads fluently the Maulavi's *Masnavi* and *Diwān* of the mystic language and takes delight in their beauties.

از متن کتاب مثنوی مولوی و دیوان لسان الغیب خود بعادت روان  
فی خواندن و از حقالق و لطائف آن التذاذ یابند .





**THE FRONT PAGE OF THE ZAFAR NAMA WITH THE HANDWRITING OF THE EMPERORS AKBAR, JAHANGIR AND SHÂH JAHÂN**

The front page of the MS. *Zafar Nama* of Timur, with illustrations by the famous Persian painter, Cavid Behzad, presented to Akbar by Jamal-ud-din Husayn Anju.

- (1) The word 'Furvurdin' as endorsed by Jahangir, was written by Akbar himself.
- (2) a and b. Jahangir's handwriting. He records the importance, the date and the authenticity of the MS.
- (3) Shah Jahan's handwriting. He acknowledges the importance of the MS., and orders it to be kept in his personal library so that he may at times study it.
- (4) is Shah Jahan's seal and (5) that of 'Alamgir.

This is a unique page for its contents. The illustration is from Behzad and his Paintings in the *Zafar Nama* (See T. W. Arnold). The MS. is the possession of Mr Robert Garrett.

**EMPEROR**

**AK BAR'S handwriting**

This is the reason why Abū'l Faḍl studiously represented Akbar his master (the founder of *Din-i-llahi*) as a student of the school of Allah and not as a student of any human agency. Abū'l Faḍl wanted people to believe that Akbar was a vicegerent of Allah, almost like Muḥammad the illiterate Prophet, and that he was not taught by any human agency. This explains the studied silence of Abū'l Faḍl on the point of Akbar's literary studies.

But how should one interpret the statement of Jahāngīr, son of Akbar, who knew his father more intimately than any one else? Jahāngīr makes a very clear statement: 'My father was unlettered (*Ummī* اعمی), but he always associated with the learned of every creed and religion, specially with the sages and scholars of India, and in his conversation with them, no one knew him to be unlettered.' (*Tūzuk*, Aligarh ed., p. 14).

پدر من در اکثر اوقات با دانایان هر دین و مذهب صحبت می  
داشتند خصوصاً با پندتان و دانایان هند با آنکه امیر  
مجالس با دانایان را ریاب نصل در گفت که ها چنان ظاهر می شد که  
هیچ کس به اعمی بودن ایشان نمی یرد و بد قایق نظم و نثر چنان صن  
رسیدند که ما فوقی بران متصور نبود.

Here Jahāngīr categorically stated that Akbar was *Ummī* (امی). But Jahāngīr wrote on the front page of *Zafarnāmah* that his father could sign his name and write some words. The front page of *Zafarnāmah*, on which Jahāngīr testified the signature of Akbar and time of the receipt of the book, is reproduced below. See illustration.

الله اکبر

كتاب ظفر نامہ بخط مولانا  
شیر علی رہشنس مجلس تصورید  
کار اذائل استاد بهزار از کتاب خانہ  
حضرت عرش اشیانی پدر بزرگوار من  
( داخل این بندہ درگاه الہ ) شد  
حررہ ذور الدین محمد ( جو فکر این اکابر شاہ ) ۔

Translated, the writing of Jahāngīr on the front page of *Zafarnāmah* stands thus:—Allah is great. The book *Zafarnāmah* by the pen of

Sher 'Alī<sup>1</sup> and eight miniatures of unparalleled beauty executed by Ostad Bihzad in his early days (placed) in the library of His Majesty 'Arsh 'Ashiani the father of Nurūddīn Muhammād (son of Akbar).

This book Zafarnāmah was prized very much by the Mughals and was considered a treasure of the Imperial Library of the Mughals. That is why Jahāngīr writes a note by his own hand which runs thus :—

این کلمہ خط مبارک حضرت عرش اشیانی اسست و صور جمال الدین  
حسین ایخونه این نوشته را در دار الخلافه آگرہ پوشاکش فرمود۔

Translated, this note stands thus :—

This word (Furvurdin) in the handwriting of Hadrat 'Arsh 'Ashiani' and Mir Jamālu'ddin Hussain Injū presented to the Dāru'l Khilāfat at Agra. This note includes the date (افروردین ۱st Farvurdin—name of a month) found on the front page of the manuscript. The word is written in *Shāhī* style of calligraphy, the letters revealing the writer's unsteady hand.

If we compare the statement of Jahāngīr in his autobiography with his note on the front page of the Zafarnāmah signed by Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jāhān, the statement seems to contradict the note.

But how to reconcile the two? The word *Ummi* means not "a simple unlettered man", but one who did not possess sufficient knowledge of Arabic. Akbar's age was an age of *renaissance*, age of light and knowledge; the language of the élite at court at that time was Arabic. Akbar's *Ibādat Khānah* (Hall of worship خانہ ایجادت) could boast of a host of Arabic scholars like Shaikh Mubārak, Allamā Faizī, Abū'l Faḍl, Mullā Abdū'l Qadīr Badaunī, Mullā Sarhindī, Abdu'r Rahīm Khāñ-i-Khāñan and others. The debates in Akbar's *Ibādat Khānah* demonstrated an intellectual quickening of the age. Compared to those scholars, Akbar looked almost like an *illiterate* person (امی). If we accept the meaning of *Ummi* in a comparative sense (comparison being between those scholars and Akbar), then only can Jahāngīr's statements in his autobiography, and his observation on the front page of the Zafarnāmah, be explained.

Further, *Ummi* may also mean *taciturn*, *silent*, not *vocal*. May be that *Ummi* signified that Akbar often heard rather than talked in

<sup>1</sup> Distinguished for his calligraphy.

the assembly of the learned, medium of discussion being generally Arabic. But he could follow the deliberations of the learned, though he did not take active part as is signified by his giving final opinion on knotty points. The word *Ummi* has undergone different meanings in different times. In the Qur'ān *Ummi* was first used to signify an illiterate—one who neither read and nor wrote. Here *Ummi* meant an Arab because 'he could not read and write'. (Md. 'Alī, Al Qur'ān, note 950, p. 49). Arabs of the 7th century took pride that they could not read or write. In the Qur'ān in one place the word was used to signify Jews 'who did not know the Book but only told lies'—*لَا إِيمَانَ لِمَنْ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ* (الكتاب) because they misread the *Torah*.

In Surah III, v. 74. The word *Ummi* was meant to signify a thoroughly unlearned man—*فِي لَامِينَ سَبَّهُولَ*. This word referred to the Jews and Christians who refused to believe in their revelations which prophesied the coming of a prophet, and Muḥammad claimed himself to be that promised prophet. Muḥammad was called *Nabiyyu'l Ummi* (النبي الامي) (Surah VII, v. 137). Here Rodwell, the famous commentator, and Lane, the famous lexicographer interpreted this sentence as "prophet of the *gentile*". In Surah III. v. 19 Muḥammad was commanded "to speak to the *Ummiin* and to the people of the Book." *قُلْ لِلَّذِينَ أَرْتَوْا الْكِتَابَ وَالْأَمِينَ* Here *Ummiin* referred to the gentiles (Jews).

Surah XXIV, v. 27, and Surah XLV. v. 15 read along with the above verse indicate that Muḥammad claimed to be a prophet of the gentiles and not an unlettered prophet.

There is a general belief that Muḥammad could not read and write; they do it with a purpose—to give Muḥammad's preachings a divine colour. His words were the words of God; it was not possible for an unlettered man to write in such polished style as was found in the Qur'ān unless they came from a divine agency. But there are definite references in the events of Muḥammad's life that he could read and write as testified by the great collectors of *Hadith* like Bukhārī and Muslim. They say, "When the treaty of Hudaibah was being signed Muḥammad took the pen from 'Ali and struck out the words in which the latter had designated him 'Apostle of God' (رسول الله) substituting in his own handwriting the words 'Son of Abdullāh'. (ابن عبد الله)". Again a tradition tells a story: "When Muḥammad was dying, he called for pen and ink to write directions intended to

prevent his followers from disputing about his successor; but his strength failed him. This tradition rests upon the authority Ibn 'Abbas and is reported by Bukhārī and Muslim. It is well-known \*as forming a subject of controversy between Sunnis and Shī'ahs." (Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'ān*, p. 132. Note 1.)

By the time Mughals were ruling in India, about a thousand years passed since the demise of Muhammad. Many words in Arabic had undergone changes in meaning. *Ummi* was such a word which underwent transformation in meaning. My conclusion is that Jahāngīr used *Ummi* in reference to his father Akbar in a comparative sense.

Dr. Ibn Hasan in his *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* accepted the view that Akbar could read and write. The mere fact that Akbar appointed reader to read before him interesting books, translations or commentaries, or recite poems, does not necessarily mean that Akbar did not know how to read. It was a custom with many Mughal rulers or members of the Mughal aristocracy to appoint readers to read, and scribes to write out dictation. Even Timūr had his readers and Abū'l Faḍl his writers and nobody stated that Timūr could not read, or Abū'l Faḍl could not write.

There are some later references to specimens of Akbar's handwriting in MSS preserved in the India Office Library, London, and Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

An illustrated MS of *Anwār-i-Subhāni* written in 924 A.H. (1518 A.C.) was presented by the Nawab of Murshidabad in 1904 A.C. to the Victoria Memorial Hall. In the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibits*, p. 50, there is a reference to Akbar's handwriting on the MS.

In the *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts* in the India Office Library, London, p. 2, there is a copy of the Qu'rān written in *Kūfic* style. This is supposed to have been in the handwriting of Khalifa Uthmān, a son-in-law of Muhammad. Dr. Otto Loth who prepared a descriptive catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the India Office Library says without reserve that the MS. of this copy of the Qu'rān contains the seal and signature of Akbar in the last page.

From the facts stated above, it is clear that sufficient care was bestowed in the early days of Akbar for over fifteen years on his education by his father Humāyūn and guardian Bairām. Akbar was

placed under competent and conscientious teachers like Bayāzid and Abdū'l Laṭif. He could sign documents and did sign and write numerals. His signature on the front page of Zafarnāmah is testified by his son Jahāngīr who contradicts his own statement apparently. Abū'l Faḍl's statement about Akbar's secular knowledge was intentional, because the former desired to place his master in the role of a prophet almost similar to the founder of Islām.

It is now high time that historians should revise their opinion on Akbar's illiteracy in the light of the facts placed before them.

MAKHANLAL ROYCHOUDHURY

## MISCELLANY

### The Problem of the Harṣa Era

The historicity of the Harṣa era, said to have been founded by King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj in 606 A. D., has been, of late, a subject of keen controversy among scholars. While Dr. R. C. Mazumdar strongly challenged the historicity of this era, Dr. D. C. Sircar stoutly supported it<sup>1</sup>. This controversy was highlighted in a symposium on this subject held on the occasion of the Indian History Congress at Gwalior in December 1952. The only solid evidence on which the theory of the Harṣa era is based is a remark of Al-Beruni translated by Sachau as follows :

"The Hindus believe regarding Śrī-Harṣa that he used to examine the soil in order to see what of hidden treasures was in its interior, as far down as the seventh earth; that, in fact, he found such treasures; and that, in consequence, he could dispense with oppressing his subjects (by taxes, etc.). His era is used in the country of Mathurā and Kanoj. Between Śrī-Harṣa and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However in the Kaśmīrian calender I have read that Śrī-Harṣa was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. In face of this discrepancy I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not yet been cleared up by any trustworthy information"

"Now the year 400 of Yazdagird, which we have chosen as a gauge corresponds to the following years of the Indian eras:

(1) to the year 1488 of the era of Śrī-Harṣa"<sup>2</sup>.....

In this passage the only clear reference to the Harṣa era is to that of 457-58 B.C. (400 + 57-58 B. C., i.e. the Vikrama Sañvat) and there is no indication to suggest that Al-Beruni had in mind a Harṣa era of 606 A.D., though he mentions this date as that of the starting

<sup>1</sup> R. C. Mazumdar, *The Harṣa Era*, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1951), Vol. XXVII, p. 183; *The Harṣa Era*, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1952), Vol. XXVIII, p. 280.

D. C. Sircar, *Harṣa's Accession and the Harṣa Era*, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1951) Vol. XXVII, p. 321; *Harṣa's Accession and Era* (1953) Vol. XXIX p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Beruni's India*, Vol. II, pp. 5, 7.

of the reign of Harṣa, which he came to know from a calender of Kaśmīra and which threw him in doubt as to the correct date of the accession of Harṣa. While giving the equivalents of the year 400 of Yazdagird he only mentions the Harṣa era of 457-58 B. C. Hence the attempt of Dr. Sircar at inferring the prevalence of the Harṣa era of 606 A.D. from this remark is unwarranted and the criticism levelled against it by Dr. Mazumdar is convincing. Besides this remark of Al-Beruni, some dated inscriptions are conjecturally referred to the Harṣa era of 606 A. D. But there being no explicit and conclusive reference to the Harṣa era of 606 A.D. in them or elsewhere, we are at a loss to subscribe to the historicity of this era. Nevertheless, the faint and confused tradition of a certain Harṣa era was afloat at the time of Al-Beruni and it is worthwhile to investigate its root and source. For aught we know there was no king named Harṣa about 457 B. C. and the attempt of Dr. Mazumdar to read in the tradition of the Harṣa era of 457 B.C. an echo of an era ascribed to the Nanda kings is nothing more than a conjecture. Let us, therefore, examine as to what can be the probable origin and basis of the tradition associating the name of Harṣa with the founding of an era.

Writing on the Vikrama era, Alberuni makes the following observations which are relevant to the subject under consideration :

"A Śaka king tyrannized over the country between the river Sindh and the ocean.....some maintained that he was a Śūdra or low-caste Hindu from the city of Almānsūra; while others maintained that he was not a Hindu at all, but had come to India from the West. The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the East, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karūr between Multan and the castle of Loni. Now this date became famous as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers."<sup>3</sup>

We learn from this passage that the Vikrama era was founded in commemoration of the defeat and death of a Śaka king at the hands of Vikramāditya. But the killing of the Śaka king took place long after the initial date of the Vikrama era as Alberuni observes. "Since there is a long interval," he goes on to write, "between the era which

is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed ‘Śaka, but only a namesake of his.’<sup>4</sup> Thus according to Alberuni, there were two Vikramādityas, the latter being the victor and killer of the Śaka king and the founder of the era known after his name, and the former being the king who flourished long before him and from whose time the said era was dated. In other words, the Vikrama era was founded in commemoration of the victory of Vikramāditya over the Śakas and tacked on to another era which was founded long before that event. This shows that the era of 57-58 B.C. was rechristened as Vikrama era after the victory of Vikramāditya over the Śakas which took place long after this date. Who this second Vikramāditya of Alberuni can be? Considering the data furnished by Indian history, there remains no reason to doubt that this second Vikramāditya, the conqueror of the Śakas, was no other than Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty. Among the data that can be brought forth in support of this identification I need only refer to the most significant one, viz., the defeat of the Śakas. According to Alberuni, Vikramāditya killed the Śaka king at a place named Karur. We learn from Indian sources that Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya defeated and killed the Śaka king somewhere in the Punjab. The *Hṛṣacarita*<sup>5</sup> of Bāṇabhaṭṭa states that the residence of the Śaka king killed by Candra Gupta was Aripura, which Rangaswami Saraswati corrects as Alipur and identifies with the hill-fortress of Alipur in the Kangra district. K. P. Jayaswal, on the other hand, identifies this Alipur with the village named Aliwal in the Jullundhar district. In his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* Rājaśekhara states that the Śaka king was worsted at Kārtikeya-nagara which has been located in the valley of Gomti near the present village of Baijnath. D. R. Bhandarkar<sup>6</sup> holds that the scene of this occurrence was Kartṛpura. Whatever may be the site of the battle in which the Śaka king was killed, it seems certain that it was somewhere in the Punjab.

4 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 6.

5 (Nirnaya Sagar Press, 5th edition (1925), p. 198; Cowell and Thomas (Eng. tr.) p. 194.

6 *New Light on the Early Gupta History, Malaviya Commemoration Volume* (1932) p. 1890.

This is also the import of the remark of Alberuni that Vikramāditya killed the Śaka king at Karur between Multan and the castle of Loni. Besides this the only Vikramāditya who is known to have flourished after the traditional Vikramāditya, whom later legends credit with the founding of the Vikrama era of 57-58 B. C. was Candra Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty. Hence we are not wide of the mark if we identify the second Vikramāditya of Alberuni with Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya and hold that it was really in commemoration of his victory over the Śakas that an era was founded and later tacked on to the era of 57-58 B. C.

In Indian tradition Vikramāditya was also known as Harṣa. The *Rājataranginī* III, 125-128 of Kalhaṇa (edited Stein I, p. 83 ff) states that Vikramāditya of Ujjayini was also called Harṣa. At his court, according to his work, lived a dependent poet Mātṛgupta who cunningly ingratiated himself with the king so much that the king appointed him the tributary king of Kāśmīra. Hearing of his appointment, Pravarasena who had previously been dispossessed of his throne, prepared to contest it. But Vikramāditya came to an arrangement with Pravarasena in virtue of which he retired to Benares vacating the throne in favour of his rival. Subsequently Pravarasena assisted Pratāpaśīla also called Śilāditya, the son of Vikramāditya, to recover the kingdom of his father, of which he had been deprived by his enemies.

This Vikramāditya, the echoes of whose interference in the affairs of Kāśmīra are found in Kalhaṇa's chronicle, can be identified with Candra Gupta II only. There is some evidence to show that ever since the time of Samudra Gupta the Guptas were interested in Kāśmīra. The *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* informs us that Samudra Gupta led triumphal expeditions in the West and North upto Kāśmīra<sup>7</sup>. Hence it is understandable that his son Candra Gupta was involved in Kāśmīra affairs and that Vikramāditya-Harṣa referred to in the account of Kalhaṇa, summarized above, is identical with him.

The above inference suggested by the account of Kalhaṇa is

<sup>7</sup> *Āryamañjuśrimūla-kalpa* ed. K. P. Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India* (text) p. 52.

सोऽनुपूर्वेणा गत्वासौ पश्चिमां दिशिं भूषतिः ।  
करमीरद्वारपर्यन्तं उत्तरा दिशिमाश्रतः ।

strengthened by the following observations of the Tibetan historian Tāraṇātha<sup>8</sup>:

"King Gambhirapakṣa was the protector of the great Buddhist teacher Asaṅga in Sāgara (Sākala) in the Yavana kingdom not far from the West. After the death of Gambhirapakṣa, the powerful king Śrī-Harṣa who was born in the kingdom of Maru appeared in the West. He abolished the teaching of the mlecchas by massacring them at Multan and laid the foundations of great Buddhist temples"

The date and identification of Śrī-Harṣa mentioned in this passage are to be determined with reference to the time of Asaṅga referred to in it. Asaṅga's brother was Vasubandhu about whom we get much information from Paramārtha (500-569 A.D.), the writer of his life. The data furnished by this author about the date of Vasubandhu have been recently studied in detail by E. Frauwallner<sup>9</sup>. Following the two dates for Vasubandhu given by Paramārtha, this author holds that there were two persons bearing the name Vasubandhu, the earlier being the brother of Asaṅga and the latter, the author of the *Abhidharmakośa*. He concludes that the former lived from 320 to 380 A.D. (p. 46) and the latter from 400 to 480 A.D.<sup>10</sup> It follows from this conclusion that Asaṅga the brother of Vasubandhu also lived in the fourth century A.D. Hence this should also be the time of his

8 *Indian Antiquary*, IV, pp. 364-365.

9 E. Frauwallner, *On the date of the Buddhist Master of the Law Vasubandhu*, Serie Orientale, Roma III (1951)

10 E. Frauwallner mentions 200 A.D. as the date of Vasubandhu the brother of Asaṅga at another place. But as shown by J. Filliozat this date is to be rejected in preference to the other date (320-380) given by him, since this latter date narrows the interval between the two Vasubandhus and thus allows for their confusion by Paramārtha and others. *Journal Asiatique* (1952) Vol. CCXL pp. 402-403. But it is not unlikely that there was actually one Vasubandhu though there was a difference of opinion about his date. I think that it is hazardous to set up a theory of two Vasubandhus merely on the basis of two sets of chronological traditions. Vasubandhu can be assigned only to the epoch of the Guptas. He, however, could live upto the time of Skanda-Gupta Vikramāditya and Nrisinghagupta Bālāditya as we learn from Paramartha (Takakusu, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1905)). Thus his elder brother Asaṅga can be placed in the period of the Early Guptas. This explains the chronological position of Gambhirapakṣa and also of Śrī-Harṣa mentioned by Tāraṇātha.

patron Gambhirapakṣa, mentioned by Tāranātha. But it was after the death of Gambhirapakṣa (Gambhirapakṣa is also mentioned in *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* where a variant of the name Gambhirapakṣa is Gambhirayakṣa) that Śrī-Harṣa attacked his kingdom and inflicted a defeat on his successor at Multan. Therefore this Śrī-Harṣa has to be assigned to the latter part of the fourth or the early part of the fifth century A.D. Considering the fact that Kalhaṇa gives Harṣa as a name of Vikramāditya as well as the fact that Śrī-Harṣa's conquest of the mlecchas at Multan is the same as Vikramāditya's victory over the Śakas at Karūr between Multan and the castle of Loni referred to by Alberuni, we are bound to conclude that Śrī-Harṣa of this tradition is identical with Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya.

The aforesaid discussion has led us to conclude that Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya was also called Śrī-Harṣa and that an era was founded in commemoration of his victory over the Śakas, which was later on tacked on to the era of 57-58 B.C. Thus it becomes understandable how the tradition of Harṣa being the founder of an era, known as Harṣa-Kāla or Harṣa era, became current. When Alberuni came to India either he was misinformed by the people as to the commencement of this era or he misunderstood them and dated it from 457-58 B.C.

BUDDHA PRAKASH

## New light on Alāuddīn Khaljī's Achievements

The main topic of the *Nābbinandana-jinoddhāra-prabandha*, a book composed in V. 1393 (1333 A. D.), is the installation of the image of the Jaina Tīrthankara, Ādinātha, by a Jain officer named Samar Siṁha who is known to have successively seen service under Alap Khān, the Khaljī Governor of Gujurāt, the Khaljī Sultān Qutbūdīn Mubārak Shāh, Ghīyāsuddīn Tughlaq, and his heir-apparent, Ulūgh Khān. Incidentally it mentions the chief achievements of Alāuddīn Khaljī, the Sultān responsible for the destruction of Jain images in Gujurāt; and as this account in spite of its brevity sheds some new light on a topic or two of Khaljī history, the original Sanskrit is translated here with a few necessary comments.

### *Translation*

(III, 1) The ruler at that time was Sultān Alāvadīna (Alāuddīn) who like the ocean covered the earth on all sides. Like mighty billows were his prancing horses.

(III, 2) Going to Devagiri, he captured its ruler, but reinstated him there to serve as it were a pillar of his victory.

(III, 3) Having slain the proud and brave ruler, Hammīra, the overlord of Sapādalakṣa, he took all that he (Hammīra) had.

(III, 4) He captured the lord of Citrakūṭa fort, took away his property, and made him move like a monkey from one city to another.

(III, 5) On account of his prowess, Karṇa, the ruler of Gurjaratrā, fled away in all haste and having wandered about in many kingdoms died the death of a pauper.

(III, 6) Besieged by him in his own fort, the ruler of Mālwā passed there many days, living like a captive, and then died bereft of heroism.

(III, 7) Resembling Indra in prowess, he brought under his control the rulers of Karṇāṭa, Pāṇḍu and Tiliṅga countries.

(III, 8) Who can count the strong forts, prominent among which stand Śāmyāyana and Jābālipura which he captured.

(III, 9) Armies of the Kharparas roamed about in his country (at will). He dealt with them in a manner that prevented their return.

### Comment

Students of Khaljī history are familiar enough with the events mentioned in these verses. Verse 2 refers to the defeat of Rāmacandra Yādava of Devagiri. In the Khaljī invasion of 1307 A. D., Rāmacandra Yādava was captured and sent to Delhi. Alāuddīn forgave the Raja, favoured him with a blue canopy and sent him back to rule at Devagiri.<sup>1</sup> He was thus truly a "jayastambha" or pillar of Alāuddīn's victory in the Deccan. Hammīra, the proud overlord of Sapādalakṣa or Sawālakh is Hammīr Cauhān of Ranthambhor who gave refuge to the Neo-Muslim leader, Muhammad Shāh and had to pay dearly for his generosity with his own life and kingdom.

Citrakūṭa of the fourth verse is Chitore. According to the Rājpūt tradition, recorded by Tod and accepted as authentic by most historians, Rāwal Ratnasimha, though captured deceitfully by Alāuddīn, was later on released by the Rājpūt heroes, Gorā and Bādal who, disguised as women, entered the Khaljī camp and wrought a good deal of havoc. Ratnasimha died in the second siege of Chitor in 1303 according to these accounts.<sup>2</sup> The Muslim version, as preserved in the *Khazāin-ul-Futūh*, states on the other hand, that on the fall of the fort the Rānā took refuge in the Imperial tent; Alāuddīn spared his life, even though he had 30,000 other Rājpūts slain on account of the stiff resistance that they had put up.<sup>3</sup> This version is now corroborated by the independent testimony of the *Nābbinandana-jinoddhāra-prabandha*. It would have been far better for Ratnasimha to have died on the battlefield than to have passed into the captivity of Alāuddīn to be subjected to the indignities mentioned by our Jain source.<sup>4</sup>

The sixth verse mentions the defeat of the ruler of Mālwā. We learn from the *Khazāin-ul-Futūh* about Rāi Mahlak Deo of Mālwā and his Pradhān, i.e., Chief Minister, Kokā (actually Gogā) who maintained an army of thirty or forty thousand chosen horsemen. In

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Muhammad Habib's translation of the *Khazāin-ul Futūh*, pp. 373-375.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Oxford Edition, I, 309-311. The name of the Rānā is wrongly given as Bhīm Singh.

<sup>3</sup> *Khazāin-ul Futūh*, p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> That such indignities were not uncommon might be seen also from the *Hammiramahākāvya* where Ratipāla, a successful general of Hammīra, makes Muslim women sell butter-milk in villages.

their fight against the Khaljis, Kūkā (Gogā) was killed. Mahlak Deo withdrew to the fort of Māṇḍū and was after some time slain in his effort to get away from there.<sup>5</sup> Our Jain source speaks of the long siege sustained by the ruler. His attempt to escape has been put down as an act almost of cowardice; but here probably it runs down Mahlak Deo too much. Jāyasi speaks of Mahlak Deo as a hero;<sup>6</sup> and this Mahlak Deo probably is none else than the ruler of Mālwā who after a prolonged period of resistance against the Khaljis had the misfortune of losing the fort of Māṇḍū as well as his life.

The ruler of Karṇāṭa (v.7) must be the Hoyasala ruler, Vira Ballāla III, defeated by Malik Kafūr in 1310 A.D. Pāṇḍu country actually is the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the capital of which was captured by the Khaljis in 1311 A.D. The Tilinga ruler was Pratāparudra Deva of the Kākatīya family who had to submit to Kafūr in 1310 A.D.

Verse 8 speaks of the capture of Siwānā and Jālor, both of them, as we know, were strongholds of the Sonigarā Cauhāns.

The Kharparas of verse 9 are the Mongols. They can rightly be described as roaming about in the country, for between the years 1299 and 1307 A.D., they led as many as five very serious raids on Khalji dominions. In the last of these, Kapak, a leader of the fleeing Mongois was drowned in the Rāvī. Many of the Mongols were slain, and a good many were sent as captives to Delhi where they were either trampled to death by elephants or hung or executed. The Jain version may therefore be right in stating that Alāuddin dealt with them in such a manner that they no longer thought of returning to this country.

The *Nābbinandana-jinoddhāra-prabandha* has 2344 verses. A good study of it is absolutely necessary for one writing the social, economic and religious history of the period. A few sidelights on political history, of which the verses quoted above are an instance, are also bound to be highly useful to historians.

DASARATHA SHARMA

5 *Khaxāin-ul-Futūb*. pp. 367-368.

6 *Padmāvat*, 51, 5.

7 For arguments regarding the identification of the Kharparas with the Mongols see my paper, "Three Short Notes on Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription" to be published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1954.

\* A paper read at the Indian History Congress, Ahmedabad Session.

## REVIEWS

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, vol. XIV. By Mm. Haraprasad Sastri. Revised and edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti. Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1955.

It is gratifying that the series of Descriptive Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts, collected by the Government of India and deposited in the Asiatic Society, initiated by the late Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Sastri about 40 years ago is now nearing completion. We have under review the last volume of the series with three other volumes still to be published. The present volume describes manuscripts of works on *Kāmaśāstra*, *Vāstuśāstra*, *Saṅgītaśāstra*, *Yuddhaśāstra*, *Syainikaśāstra*, *Caturāṅgaśāstra*, *Ratnaśāstra* and *Cauryaśāstra*. The volume appears to be the smallest in the series consisting of 63 pages, and describing 89 manuscripts. The smallness of the size seems to be due in a large measure to the discontinuance of the practice of quoting the same or similar extracts under the description of every manuscript of a group of manuscripts of the same work. An attempt has been made to bring together all available information regarding the manuscript material of a particular work under the description of the manuscript that came first and to note thereafter only the characteristic features of other manuscripts, if any. The introduction draws attention to the special features of the collection of manuscripts described in the volume under the following heads: owners; copyists and purposes of copying; important manuscripts; a general survey of the nature of the contents of the mss. There are two indices one of authors and the other of works, the manuscripts of which are described in the volume. No pains appear to have been spared to make the volume useful to scholars in every way.

D. B.

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## FORWARD

The All-India Celebrations of the twenty-fifth centenary of the Great Saint Gautama Buddha have served to rouse our consciousness as to the grandeur and excellence of our cultural heritage as also of our ancient cultural link with the eastern countries of Asia. The contributions of Buddhism to Indian culture are varied in the domains of language and literature, art and architecture, and moral and social ideals.

Gautama Buddha lived in an age of iron-cased beliefs and traditions, and he had to overcome an almost insurmountable opposition offered by the deep-rooted orthodoxy of a large section of the people with their long established rituals and ceremonies. His teachings, however, appealed both to the intellectuals and to the masses realizing for the first time that the path of salvation could not be the monopoly of the few. His emphasis on self-reliance, and his exposition of the law of causality were a notable contribution to Indian thought and religion. .

**PHILOSOPHY:** Gautama Buddha was brought up in the Indian traditional faith and doctrines but he had the courage to challenge their efficacy and usefulness in reducing and ultimately eliminating the human sufferings. In pre-Buddha days, many thinkers applied their minds to the quest of the Truth, but their thoughts and beliefs have not come down to us except those found in the *Upanisads* and the Jaina literature. In the former, the findings about the Truth and its nature were

varied, and it is the monistic conception that found prominence. The highest Truth, according to this view, is transcendental, and so it can be referred to by negations only of known concepts. Gautama Buddha subscribed to this view but he adhered strictly to negative terms and criticised all attempts at forming any positive concept about the ultimate Truth. It has been expressed in these words by Nāgārjuna<sup>1</sup> :—

अनेकार्थमनानार्थमनुच्छेदमशाश्वतम् ।

एतत् तत्त्वोक्तनाथानां बुद्धानां शासनामृतम् ॥

[It connotes neither one nor many; it is neither annihilation nor eternity—this is the immortal teaching of Buddhas, the leaders of the world.]

His thorough-going view in this respect is due to his firm conviction that the Absolute is perfectly absolute and has no relation whatsoever with the composite universe. It is the *Asankhata* or the unconstituted, and hence uncaused and unconditioned, unoriginated and undecaying, attributeless, one and the same, and it has nothing to do with the *Samkhata*, the constituted. He would not admit, even, that ‘it is’, or ‘it is not’, or it is *both* ‘is and is not’, or it is not *both* ‘is and is not’. In the very first Sutta of the *Dighanikāya* acknowledged as the *Buddhavacana* by all sects of Buddhism, he warned his disciples against any attempt to speculate about the Ultimates, which, he said, could only be realised by the Perfect within one’s own self (*paccattam veditabbo viññūhi*). He instructed them to apply their minds to the origin and decay of the constituted world which lacks substantiality and is subject to impermanence and painfulness. It is for this reason that his disciples went to the utmost length to analyse the physical and mental constituents of a being in the Abhidhamma texts.

"Buddha's appeal was to logic, reason and experience, his emphasis was on ethics, and his method was one of psychological analysis" says Nehru in his "*Discovery of India*" (1956), p. 109. In course of his analysis of the phenomenal world, Buddha visualised the law of causality or the law of momentary sequence of the dynamic states of worldly beings and objects, and it is by this law that he establishes the non-existence of eternal soul. Of notable importance is his *kṣanikavāda*, which implies that a cause has no duration, and it ceases as soon as the effect is produced; there is not even an infinitesimal interval between the cause and its effect. There is no static cause in a dynamic world and it is by inference only that we say that the cause produces an effect. Bertrand Russell in his "*Mysticism and Logic*" (p. 192) says that cause and effect are mere sequences, and there is no law of causality but mere causal sequences, "the earlier event is the cause and the later event the effect", as "night is the cause of day". This interpretation has some affinity with the Buddhist law of causation. A being, according to the Buddhists, is a ceaseless stream of mental and physical constituents (*nāma-rūpa*), which disintegrate and re-integrate almost simultaneously. Such disintegration and re-integration are in fact invariable sequences and not exactly cause and effect, as there is no substance to maintain the relation of cause and effect, nor is there any interval for the cause to produce an effect.

**ETHICS:** In pre-Buddha India, there were ethical instructions scattered in the Brahmanic texts but the ethics was subservient to the religious faith. These texts prohibited in a general way the killing of living beings, which was regarded as sin but if the killing took place in a ritual, it was considered proper as also meritorious. It was Gautama Buddha, who presented us for the first time with an elaborate ethical

code, which, of course, was meant primarily for the monks and nuns. The code for the laymen was short and simple and was not quite free from a religious bias as it was incumbent upon all lay-devotees to take *Trisarana* and to develop faith in the excellence of the *Triratna*. The rules lie scattered in the *Nikāyas*, particularly, in the *Dhammapada*, *Petavatthu*, *Vimānavatthu* and the *Jātakas*. It was for the fulfilment of the ethical observances that Gautama Buddha introduced the monastic system, hitherto unknown to Indian religion. The monasteries became almost academies for imparting training to the monks and nuns. Some of the monasteries grew into large post-graduate institutions, teaching not only the humanities but also science as it existed then. The later phenomenal development of the monastic institutions started by Buddha on a small scale shows also the organising ability of the Buddhist monks and the laity. It lies to the credit of some of the later masterminds who were not merely recluses and authors but were actively engaged in founding and maintaining magnificent academic institutions, which trained up monks and missionaries, equipped them with sufficient knowledge of the subjects needed for propagating and establishing Buddhism in foreign lands. Apart from the academic aspect, these monasteries led to the development of monumental art and architecture, caityas and stūpas with bas-reliefs and images, which are objects of wonder even to the artists and architects of the present day.

**BUDDHA'S DISCIPLES:** In our enthusiasm for Buddha and his strong personality, we often forget that Buddhism owes much of its greatness to a few generations of his disciples. It is well-known that Buddha's first band of disciples consisted of intellectuals of high class Brāhmaṇa and Śrēṣṭhī families, and that a substantial portion of the so-called *Buddhavacana* was the composition of his disciples like Sāriputta and Kaccā-

yana, Upāli and Ānanda. They were followed later by distinguished saintly disciples like Moggaliputta Tissa, Upagupta and Nāgasena. Then there were the galaxies of poets, philosophers and logicians like Maitreyanātha, Aśvaghosa, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Asaṅga, Āryadeva, Śāntideva, Diññāga, and Dharmakirti. Some of the terse and learned treatises were commented upon by the authors themselves and they were followed by quite a large number of commentators like Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Candrakirti, Bhāvaviveka, Śilabhadra, Yaśomitra, Kamalaśīla, Dharmottara, Karṇakagomin, Manorathanandin, all of whom did not confine themselves to mere expositions but introduced fresh food for thought, surpassing in quality and quantity even the original authors. Their contributions to Buddhist logic and philosophy are inestimable. Then there were many authors of Tantrik works, some of which were very deep in their philosophical approach. To these bands of Buddhist intellectuals, we should add the host of translators, who rendered the Buddhist texts, including the abstruse ones, into Central Asian dialects, and Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian. Much of the greatness of the Buddhist cultural movement depended on the literary, spiritual, and cultural activities of the Buddhist teachers covering about a thousand years.

The ancient Indians usually avoided mentioning the names of authors of works, and the Buddhist writers were not an exception to this practice. The works of unknown authors, e.g. the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Prajñāpāramitā* etc. speak highly of the intellectual level of their authors, whose contributions have enriched the Indian literature. The high-flown lucid and well-knit style of the *Kārikās* and *Kāvyas* shows that there were several Buddhist geniuses, who raised the banner of Buddhism aloft, and wafted the aroma of the religion all around Asia.

Though ostensibly a religious movement, Buddhism rendered an almost unforgettable service to Indian culture in general and covered almost the whole of India from Kashmir to Conjeveram and from Bengal to Bombay, Gujerat and Rajputana. It behoves free India to find out how and when this religious *cum* cultural movement developed, casting influence on so many countries of Asia.

The *Indian Historical Quarterly* has been rendering service in its humble way to the unfolding of this ancient Indian culture by bringing together the thoughts of devoted researchers in the field of Buddhism. In order to take a part in the All-India Celebrations, two issues of the *Quarterly* are devoted exclusively to original papers written by distinguished scholars of Buddhist religion, philosophy, art, architecture, history and tradition, and we trust that a collection of such studies will present to our readers important aspects of a movement, of which India should feel proud.

EDITOR

## The Master's Life in Stone\*

The sixth century before Christ was an era of great spiritual upsurge throughout the ancient East. In India it was marked by the birth of Gautama Buddha, the 2500th anniversary of whose *Mahāparinirvāna* we are now celebrating.

The epic story of the Master's life,—his miraculous birth under a *Sal* tree, his early mental struggles and renunciation of the world, his sojourn in search of True Knowledge and its attainment, his preachings among men, and demise after a fruitful life of eighty years devoted to the cause of deliverance of all sentient beings, have been told in great detail in the *Buddha-carita*, the *Lalitavistara* and other Buddhist texts. Here it is proposed to place before the reader the life-story of the Master as narrated in sculptures by ancient Indian craftsmen during the first two hundred years or so before and after Christ. These come mainly from places like Bharhut, Sanchi, Gandhara, Mathura, Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati, and have a charmingly simple narrative quality.

It is said that after performing the ten virtues (*Paramitās*) in innumerable previous births, recounted in the *Jātaka* stories, Bodhisattva, destined to be an omniscient Buddha, had been born in Tuṣita heaven when the gods besought him to be reborn on earth to deliver mankind. Bodhisattva then decided to be born of king Śuddhodana of Kapilavāstu and his queen Mahāmāyā. Māyā had a dream in which she saw the divine Bodhisattva enter her body in the form of a white elephant. This story is narrated in three successive panels in a relief sculpture from

\* The article is based on an illustrated talk delivered by the author at the Indian Museum in July, 1956. The illustrations are of exhibits in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, copyright reserved by the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.

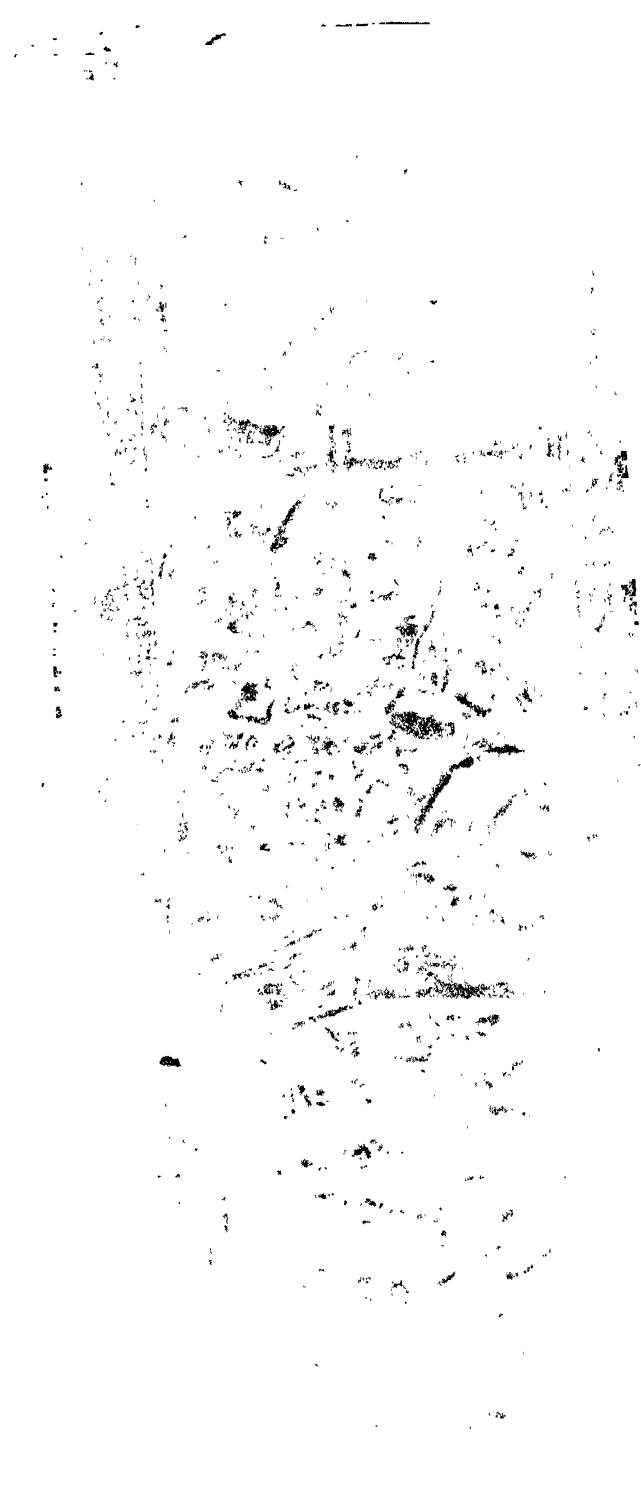
Amaravati of *circa* 2nd century A.D. (Pl. I). The scenes from left to right show the divine Bodhisattva seated on a throne in Tuṣita heaven while entreated by the gods to be reborn on earth; his descent from heaven in the form of a white elephant carried in a palanquin by the gods with music and dancing; and the queen's dream. The last scene only is depicted in a circular bas-relief on the Bharhut railings of *circa* 2nd century B.C. (Pl. II).

When the queen spoke of her dream to the king, he summoned the soothsayers to interpret it. They declared that she had conceived a son, destined to be either a Cakravartī Rājā or a Buddha.

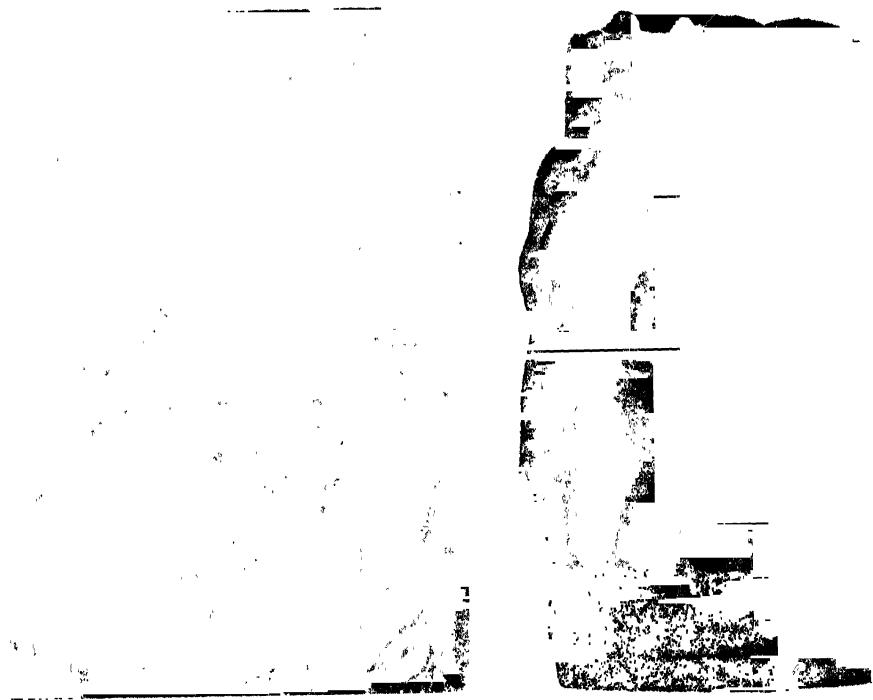
The gods guarded the mother and child during gestation. When her confinement approached, Māyā wished to see her parents at Devahrada, but at Lumbini Park on the way she was delivered of the child while she stood under a *Sal* tree holding its branch. The child was received by the attending Dikpālas, but he immediately descended on the ground and taking seven lotus steps in all directions exclaimed triumphantly that he was the foremost of the world. A Gandhara relief reproduced here (Pl. III) shows the divine child coming out of the right side of the body of queen Māyā who stands under a *Sal* tree holding its bending branch. The god Śakra (Indra) receives the child on a piece of cloth while Brahmā looks on from behind, and above, a heavenly being whistles to indicate the rejoicings in heaven. The flywhisk in the panel, a symbol of royalty, suggests the future greatness of the newborn child who is shown as having descended on the ground and standing with his right hand raised in *Abhaya*, about to take the first seven steps.

The child Bodhisattva was then given his first bath, and mother and child were brought back to Kapilavāstu amidst great rejoicings. These scenes are depicted in a Gandhara relief (Pl. IV) divided into three panels. The story runs from right

Descent of Bodhisattva and Māyā's Dream, Amaravati







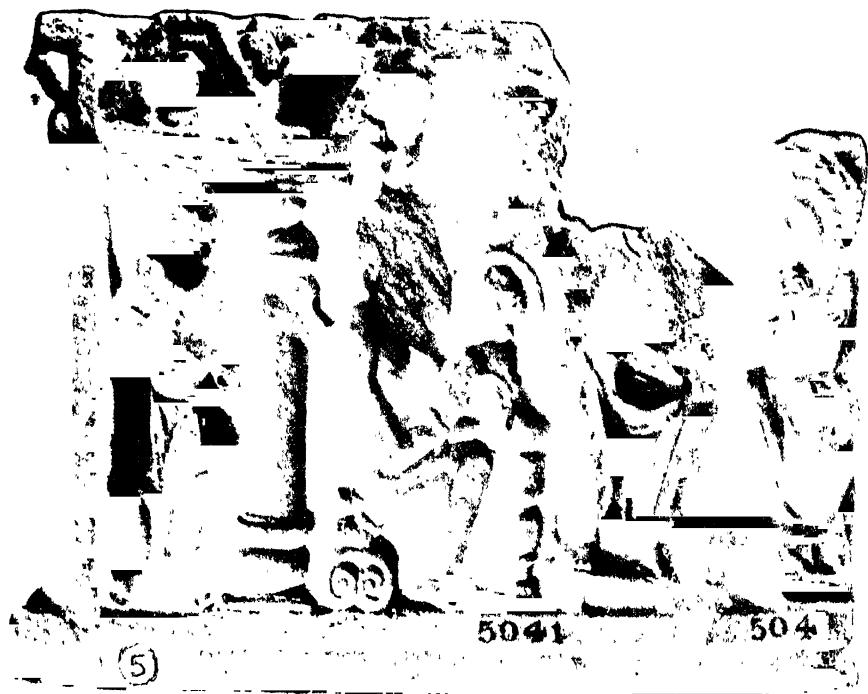
Dream of Māyā, Bharhut

The Birth, Gandhara



The First Bath and Return, Gandhara

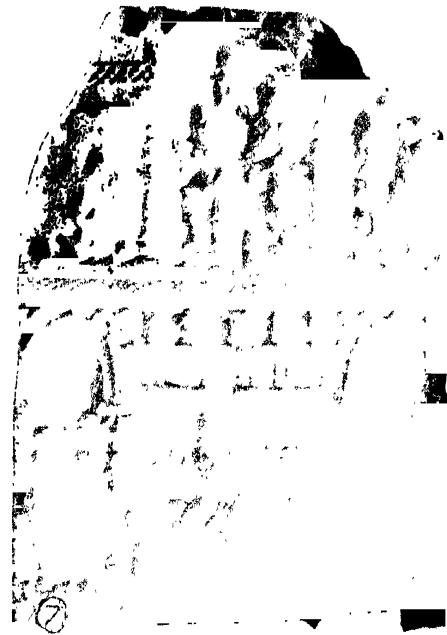




The Prediction, Gandhara



At School, Gandhara



The Midnight Scene, Gandhara



to left. The first scene on the right shows the bath, the second in the middle the return of queen Māyā from Lumbinī in a bullock-cart with the child in her arms, and the third on the left, musicians outside the city-gates of Kapilavāstu welcoming mother and child.

Shortly after, the sage Asita visited king Śuddhodana and wished to see the newborn child. When he was brought, the sage bowed respectfully to him for he recognised that the child was a Buddha to be. He was named Siddhārtha. The king then called the astrologers to cast his son's horoscope (Pl. V). They discerned in his body the thirtytwo infallible marks of greatness and declared that he was a Tathāgata who would forsake the world when he had seen four ominous sights.

Māyā having died shortly after childbirth, Siddhārtha was brought up by his aunt and stepmother Mahāprajāpatī Gautami. Like other Śākyā princes he was admitted into a school where he showed himself superior to all others. A relief from Gandhara shows young Siddhārtha seated on a stool writing on a tablet (Pl. VI).

At sixteen Siddhārtha was married to Yaśodharā, daughter of his uncle Suprabuddha. Time passed on and Bodhisattva lived in luxury befitting a prince. His father took great care that none of the ominous sights predicted by the soothsayers should meet his eye, but to no avail. The day came when Siddhārtha driving in his chariot to the pleasure gardens saw the first of the ominous sights—a decrepit old man. He returned home with a heavy heart. On another day he saw a sick man on the road, and on a third, a corpse. His mind was greatly agitated. Then on a fourth occasion he saw a monk whose serene bearing made a deep impression on him, and he longed to be an ascetic. The birth of his son Rāhula at this moment made him decide on renunciation, for he saw that his worldly ties were multiplying. His father re-doubled his efforts to keep him away

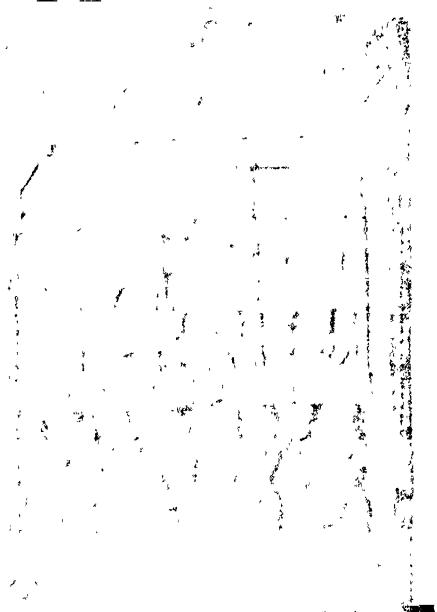
from such thoughts, and arranged for his nightlong entertainment by the palace dancers and singers. About midnight they became tired and fell asleep. The sight of sleeping women, snoring and in dishabille, made Siddhārtha realise the deceptiveness of appearances and the futility of worldly pleasures. A Gandhara relief (Pl. VII) represents the scene in two panels. The upper one shows Siddhārtha reclining on a couch with Yaśodharā seated beside, and female musicians entertaining him. The lower one shows Yaśodharā asleep on a couch and the tired musicians dozing in unseemly attitudes. Bodhisattva's mind was filled with disgust and he decided to leave the place at once. He asked his groom Chandaka to bring his horse Kanṭhaka. Mounted on his favourite horse and accompanied by his groom, Siddhārtha then left the palace in quest of True Knowledge amidst rejoicings in heaven. The *Mahābhiniṣkramana* or Great Renunciation is illustrated by another Gandhara relief sculpture (Pl. VIII) which shows the prince passing through the city-gates of Kapilavāstu on his horse while his groom holds a parasol over his head and two Yakṣas lift up the hoofs of the horse lest there be noise. Māra, the Evil One, stands in front urging Bodhisattva to abandon his quest.

Travelling far Siddhārtha arrived on the bank of the Anomā where he alighted from his horse and gave up his jewels and ornaments to Chandaka bidding him return to Kapilavāstu with Kanṭhaka. Cutting off his long hair he then flung it to the sky where it was received in a golden casket by Śakra for worship in heaven. A bas-relief on the Bharhut railings of *circa* 2nd century B.C. depicts the scene of the worship of Buddha's hair-lock in heaven (Pl. IX). The three-storied building is the Vaijayantī Palace of god Śakra and the building with a domed-roof Sudharmā, the Assembly Hall of the gods. The panel shows Buddha's hair-lock placed on a throne and nymphs dancing around to the accompaniment of music.

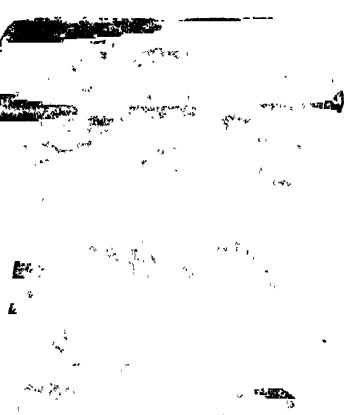
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The Great Renunciation, Gandhara



Worship of the Hairlock, Bharhut



The Great Effort, Gandhara





Approaching the Seat, Gandhara



Māra's Defeat, Gandhara





The First Sermon, Gandhara



Miracle of the Fire Temple, Sanchi



Wandering from place to place in search of True Knowledge Siddhārtha Gautama came upon Ālāra Kālāma of Vaiśāli and Rudraka Rāmaputra of Rājagṛha, and became their disciple. But their teachings did not satisfy him, and he resolved to apply himself to the severest austerities (*Mahāpadbhāna* or the Great Effort) at Uruvilva near Gaya. For six years he performed the most severe penance and became as thin as a skeleton (Pl. X). But the Truth still eluded him. He realised that self-mortification was not the way to Enlightenment and gave up the practice of austerities. At daybreak on the fullmoon day of Vaisākha Bodhisattva took his seat under a big pipal tree on the bank of the Nairāñjanā, when Sujātā the village headman's daughter came to make her offering to the holy tree. Seeing Bodhisattva seated under the tree shining in his own effulgence she took him to be the tree-god come to life, and offered him the food. Nourished by her food Bodhisattva resumed his meditation resolved on attaining *samyaksambodhi*. He obtained from a grass-cutter a bundle of soft green grass, spread it at the foot of the pipal tree and thereon took his seat. A Gandhara relief (Pl. XI) shows Gautama approaching the seat under the Bodhi tree on which grass has been spread. Behind him is Māra carrying a sword.

Māra thought that his authority over the temporal world would end if Bodhisattva attained supreme knowledge. He was, therefore, determined to use all his powers to prevent Bodhisattva from attaining *samyaksambodhi*. He tempted, threatened and entreated Bodhisattva, but when all his efforts failed Māra attacked him with his hosts. But Bodhisattva remained unmoved in his seat and overcame Māra and passed on to Buddhahood. A fragmentary relief sculpture from Gandhara (Pl. XII) shows below seated Buddha (broken) two of Māra's soldiers with sword and shield tumbling down in defeat.

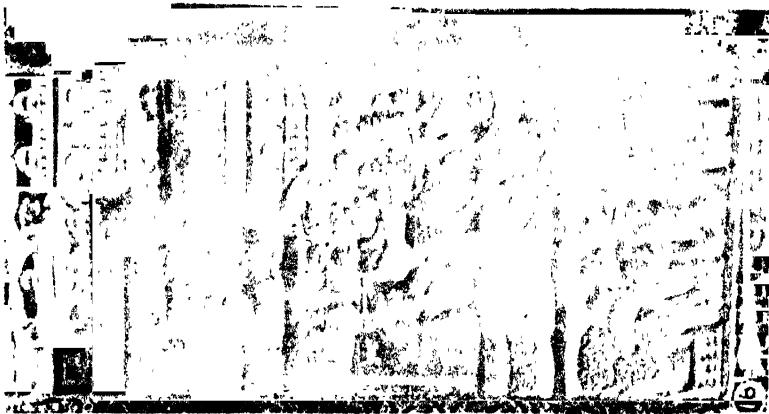
After his attainment of Bodhi the gods entreated Gautama

Buddha to preach his new Dharma for the benefit of mankind. Buddha yielded to their entreaties and proceeded to R̄śipattana Mrgadāva (Sarnath) near Vārāṇasī to preach his new gospel. Here he delivered his First Sermon known as the "Turning of the Wheel of Law" (*Dharmacakrapravartana*) to the five Brahman ascetics (*Bhadravargiyas*) who had earlier deserted him at Gaya for giving up the practice of austerities. A Gandhara relief (Pl. XIII) shows Buddha seated under a tree surrounded by a number of devotees among whom may be recognised his first five disciples with their shaven heads.

Some time later Buddha again proceeded to Uruvilva near Gaya to convert Kāsyapa and his brothers who were fire-worshipping Jatilas. In Kāsyapa's fire-temple lived a fierce serpent. Buddha spent a night in this temple and subdued the serpent with his own effulgence. A relief panel (Pl. XIV) on the Eastern Gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sanchi shows the scene of this Miracle of the Fire Temple. The temple is shown with an altar in front, a throne indicating the presence of Buddha, the five-hooded serpent, the Brahman ascetic Kāsyapa and his brothers, as also the Nairājanā river. After the miracle at the fire-temple Kāsyapa and his brothers arranged a sacrifice. But Buddha spread a spell over them so that wood could not be split, fire could not be lit, and sacrifice could not be offered until Buddha consented. Another relief panel from the Eastern Gateway of the same Stūpa at Sanchi illustrates this second miracle (Pl. XV).

When news of Gautama's attainment of Buddhahood had reached king Śuddhodana he sent repeated messages to his son to return to Kapilavāstu. Buddha finally consented to visit his home town. But the proud Śākyas were at first unwilling to show due respect to him. Buddha won them over by walking miraculously through mid-air and performing many other wonders. A relief panel on the Eastern Gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sanchi shows at the bottom the aerial pathway, while the

Miracle of Kapilavāstu, Sanchi



Miracle of the Sacrifice, Sanchi



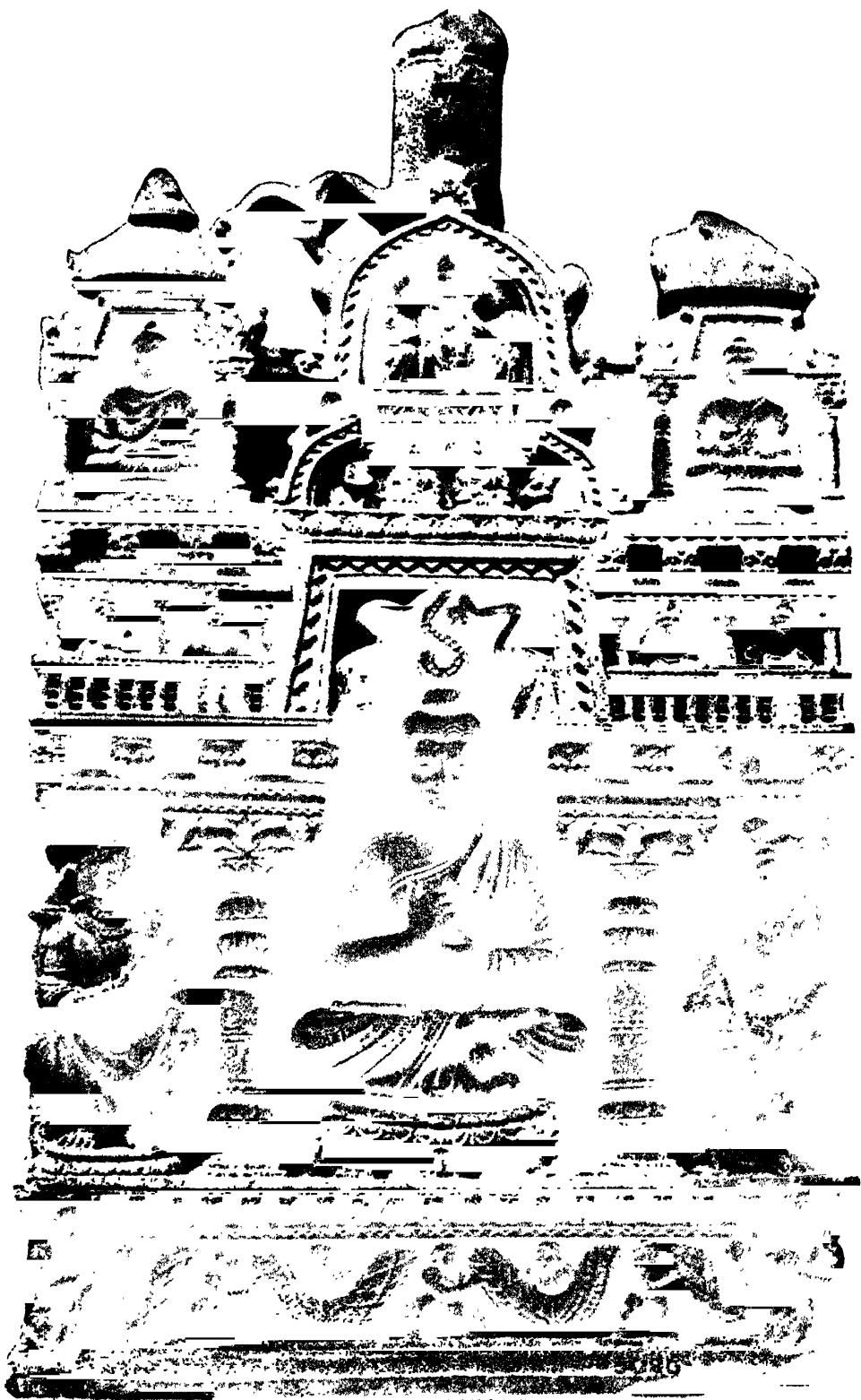




(17)

Gift of Jetavana, Bharhut





Miracle of Śrāvasti, Gandhara



scene of Māyā's dream incised at the top indicates that the scene is the Miracle of Kapilavāstu (Pl. XVI).

Anāthapiṇḍika, a rich merchant of Śrāvasti, became a follower of Buddha and presented prince Jeta's Park at Śrāvasti to the Lord for constructing a monastery. Prince Jeta agreed to sell the park for as many gold Kārṣṭapāṇa coins as would cover the ground. A relief medallion on the Bharhut railings (Pl. XVII) shows a bullock-cart bringing the coins to the garden and two persons engaged in spreading them. Anāthapiṇḍika is shown as carrying a waterpot for consecrating the gift by pouring water.

While at Śrāvasti king Prasenajit of Kośala visited Buddha, and the latter performed one of his great miracles to convince people of his superiority over the heretical teachers, Pūriṇa Kāśyapa and others. At his bidding an immense pathway appeared in the sky from east to west, and there were many wondrous lights. He made water and fire issue from his body, then seated on a lotus he multiplied himself in all directions. A Gandhara sculpture (Pl. XVIII) shows the pavilion of the Miracle at Śrāvasti where the contest was held. Buddha is seated in the centre on a lotus flanked by Śakra and Brahmā on either side, while women peep from windows above.

It is said that Buddha went up to the heaven of the Thirty-three gods (*Trayastrīmīśa*) to expound his *Dharma* to his mother, who was reborn there. When he was about to descend a triple ladder appeared in the sky at Śakra's command, and accompanied by Brahmā and Śakra, Buddha came down it near Sān-kāsyā. A relief panel on the *stūpa* railings from Bharhut (Pl. XIX) shows the triple ladder, a throne under a tree, two flying deities and devotees waiting. A footprint on the top and lowermost rungs of the middle ladder indicates the descent.

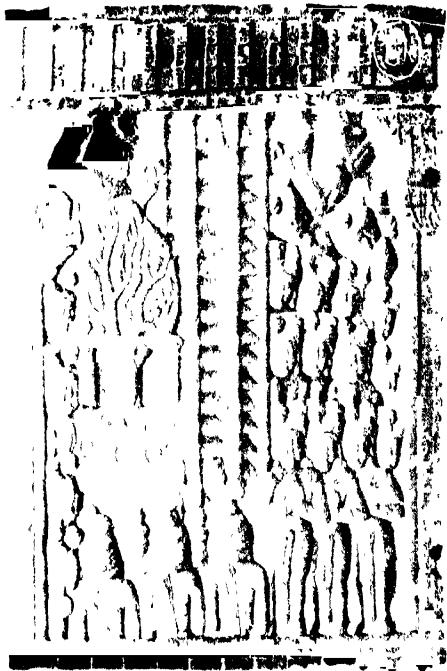
Once when Buddha was at Kauśāmbī a monkey offered him honey in a bowl and then drowned itself in a nearby tank. A

relief panel from the Northern Gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sanchi shows this scene (Pl. XX).

In the course of his journeys in Magadha, Buddha lived for some time in the Indraśāla cave on Vedyaka hill near Rājagrha where Śakra visited him to discuss some philosophical problems. He was accompanied by his Gandharva musician Pañcaśikha. The scene is depicted in a relief sculpture from Mathura of *circa* 2nd century A.D. (Pl. XXI).

Devadatta, the jealous cousin of Buddha, made several attempts to destroy him. Once he hired some assassins and waylaid Buddha. But eventually the assassins confessed their guilt and were converted. A relief panel from Gandhara shows the assassins assembled behind a wall, while one of them bows down at the feet of Buddha (Pl. XXII).

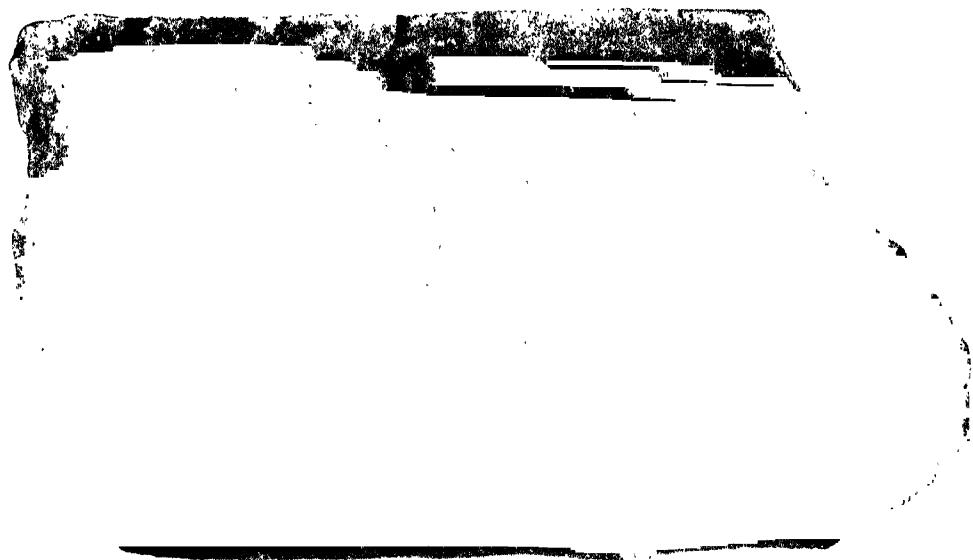
Buddha died at the ripe old age of eighty in the *Sal* grove at Kuśinārā between twin *Sal* trees. It is said that when he reached the *Sal* grove at Kuśinārā, Buddha was too ill to proceed. Ānanda then spread a couch for him between the twin *Sal* trees. Buddha laid himself down on his right side with his head to the north and finally breathed his last. The Gandhara relief reproduced here (Pl. XXIII) is an elaborate representation of the Great Decease. In the centre of the panel Buddha's body rests on a cot between two *Sal* trees. In the uppermost row are flying deities, while the next two lower ones show a number of princely figures who are possibly the Malla chieftains, some of whom are throwing flowers on Buddha's body while others are grieving. The monk nearest Buddha's head holding a flywhisk is possibly his disciple Ānanda, while the nude figure standing second from the left is an Ājīvika ascetic. The monk standing next to the Ājīvika ascetic is possibly Buddha's principal disciple Mahākāśyapa who is said to have arrived on the scene just after Buddha had passed away. According to the story he got the news from an Ājīvika ascetic.



Descent from Trayastrīmā Heaven, Bharhut

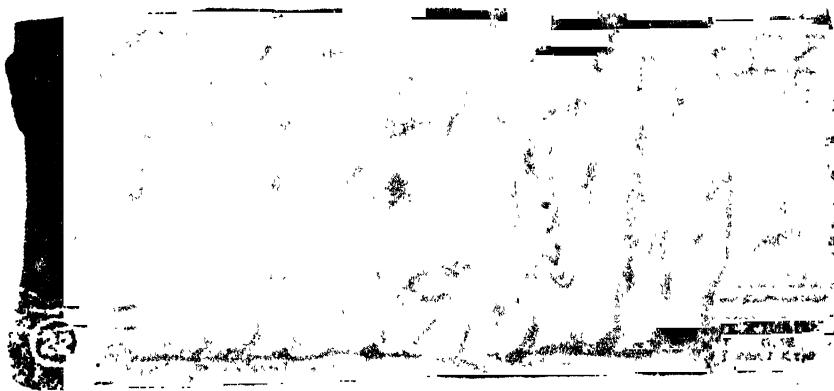


Offering of Honey, Sanchi



Śakra's visit to Indraśala Cave, Mathura

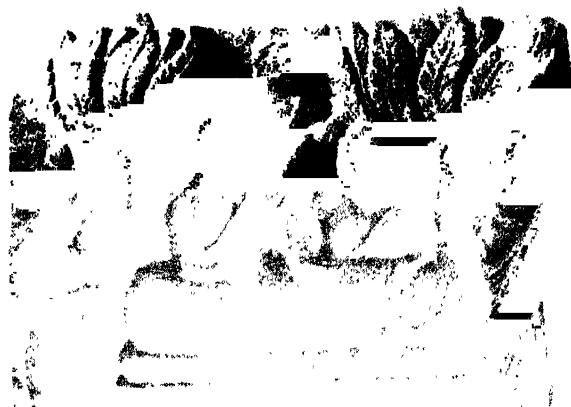




Submission of Devadatta's Hirelings, Gandhara



Mahāparinirvāna, Gandhara



(24)

The Coffin, Gandhara





Parinirvana & Cremation of Buddha, Gandhara



Worship of Stupa, Bharhut



It is said that the dead body of the Master was placed in a coffin before it was consecrated to the flames. A Gandhara relief (Pl. XXIV) reproduced here shows the coffin between twin *Sal* trees attended by five persons, namely, Vajrapāṇi, three monks of whom the one carrying a staff is possibly Mahākāśyapa, and a Malla chieftain. Another relief from Gandhara (Pl. XXV) shows the Great Decease and the cremation at Makuṭabandhana near Kuśinārā. Beside the funeral pyre are two Malla chieftains extinguishing the flames by pouring milk from vessels tied to long poles.

After the cremation there was a scramble for the relics. Finally these were divided among eight claimants which included King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, the Sākyas of Kapilavāstu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, the Mallas of Pāvā and a Brahman of Vethadvīpa. A relief on one of the entrance pillars of the Bharhut *torana* shows a royal personage riding on an elephant carrying a relic casket.

Stūpas were built over the relics of the Master and worshipped by the devout. Thus said the Lord to Ānanda when the latter wanted to know how they should treat his remains after his death: The remains are to be burnt and the bones put in golden caskets, and at the cross roads *caityas* are to be built over these and venerated with flags and streamers, and perfumes and garlands. This is shown in a Bharhut relief panel (Pl. XXVI).

R. C. KAR

## Dates of Principal Events in the Buddha's Life

It has been very widely circulated in the press that the Buddhists of Ceylon and Burma have declared that in this year of 1956 A. D. on May 24, 2500 years will be completed from the date of the Buddha's *Mahāparinirvāna*. About the date of this great world event, there are current the Ceylon and Burma traditions, according to which the date is 544 B.C.

In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (I, p. 50-51) there is a veiled reference to two eclipses, first the lunar and the second the solar, both in the month of lunar *Māgha* and the events were in this order:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Coming of the month of *Māgha*
- (2) The lunar eclipse which happened on Dec. 29, -559 A.C. (560 B.C.)
- (3) The solar eclipse of Jan. 14, -558 A.C. (or, 559 B.C.)

I have also shown<sup>2</sup> that in the year on Dec. 27, 576 B.C. (-575 A.C.) at G. M. Noon,

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{True Sun} = 270^\circ 17' \\ \text{True Moon} = 95^\circ 57' \end{array} \quad \left. \right\} \delta \text{Cancrae} = 93^\circ \text{ nearly}$$

The full-moon happened about 5-12 A.M., I.S.T.

Hence the true Winter Solstice day was at this period of eclipses, 27th of December. This date of December 27, shows that the month of *Māgha* began with the Pausa full-moon on the W. S. day and the months were full-moon ending.

On examination of the great work, "Canon der Finsternesse" by Oppolzer for the period of time from, -580 A.C. to -483 A.C. I found that the only eclipses first of the Moon and then of the Sun at an interval of a fortnight, of which the solar eclipse happened at the middle of the month of *Māgha* and both the eclipses were visible from Sravasti. The dates of the two eclipses have been stated above.

If we accept that the Buddha's Nirvāna happened in, -544 A.C. the eclipses referred to in the *Samyutta Nikāya*, happened about 16

<sup>1</sup> P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, pp. 220, 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220n.

years before. The other view of the *Nirvāṇa*, viz., 483 B.C. about 76 years later than the year of the eclipses (560-559 B.C.) is not correct.

There can thus be no doubt that the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha happened in the year, —544 A.C. (i.e. 545 B.C.). With this basis as a certainty it has been possible to find out five dates of principal events in the Buddha's life-time, as we shall see presently.

It is generally known that the Buddha passed away exactly after completing 80 years in luni-solar reckoning. It is generally known that the moon's phases near to the fixed stars repeat in 19 years. Hence on completion of 76 years or 4 times 19 years, the lunar phase of his birth day would be repeated approximately. In the remaining four years of the Buddha's life the birth day in the Julian calendar would very nearly present a new-moon day instead of a full-moon day and *vice versa*. The same birth day lunar phase would come about half a lunation later. This point cannot or should not be lost sight of by any scientific researcher.

*Observations:*— We take that the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* happened in, —544 A.C. This year and date are similar to May 21, 1951 A.D. The actual date has come out as April 22, —544 A.C. (J.D. = 1522474).

Again on completion of 76 years, the year and date are similar to May 4, 1947 A.D. The actual date year becomes April 7, —558 A.C (J.D. = 1520997).

Here by the difference of the J. D. Nos. viz., 1477 days we have 4 years of 365.25 days + 16 days.

In the last four years of the Buddha's life there must have been 50 lunations.

The dates as correctly found out are serially presented:—

#### I. *Siddhārtha's Birth Day*

April 6, —624 A.C. (J.D. = 1493238) at G. M. Noon or I.S.T. 5-30 P.M.

Long. of—	Long. of—
Mean Sun = $7^{\circ} 55' 19'' .44$	$\alpha$ Libra = $186^{\circ} 45' 33''$
Mean Moon = $186^{\circ} 20' 19'' .61$	True Sun = $9^{\circ} 34' 44'' .44$
Lunar Perigee = $237^{\circ} 38' 52'' .31$	True Moon = $182^{\circ} 18' 11''$
A. Node = $112^{\circ} 21' 44'' .55$	Full Moon next day about 8 A.M. Moon, conjoined with $\alpha$ Libra the chief star of the <i>Viśākhās</i> .

**II. Prince's Renunciation**

December 18, — 596 A.C. at G.M.N. or I.S.T. 5-30 P.M.,  
J.D. 1503722.

Long. of—	Long. of—
Mean Sun = $261^{\circ} 25' 55''$ .36	True Sun = $2^{\circ} 2' 12' 50''$
Mean Moon = $87^{\circ} 36' 20.26$	True Moon = $91^{\circ} 25' 25$
Lunar Perigee = $323^{\circ} 5' 25$	$\delta$ <i>Cancri</i> = $92^{\circ} 24' 26$
A. Node = $6^{\circ} 11' 36.05$	F.M. about 18 hrs. before, i.e. on the previous day.

This date of Dec. 18, — 596 A.C. was the day of the moon's conjunction at night with *Puṣyā nakṣatra* of which  $\delta$  *Cancri* is the "junction star". Gautama summoned his attendant Chandaka and with him left his father's palace at midnight when all the citizens were fast asleep<sup>3</sup>.

**III. Siddhārtha becoming the Buddha**

April 10, — 589 A.C. J.D. = 1506025, at G.M. Noon or I.S.T.  
5-30 P.M.

Long. of—	Long. of—
Mean Sun = $11^{\circ} 22' 40''$ .35	True Sun = $12^{\circ} 57' 11''$ .95
Mean Moon = $192^{\circ} 50' 51.02$	True Moon = $189^{\circ} 54' 20.00$
Lunar Perigee = $224^{\circ} 36' 16$	F.M. about 6 hrs. later.
A. Node = $245^{\circ} 14' 26.07$	Long. of $\alpha$ <i>Libra</i> $= 190^{\circ} 14' 43''$

**IV. Buddha at the age of 76 years**

April 7, — 548 A.C. (J.D. = 1520957) at G.M.N. or I.S.T.  
5-30 P.M.

Long. of—	Long. of—
Mean Sun = $8^{\circ} 29' 22''$ .22	True Sun = $9^{\circ} 47' 46''$ .88
Mean Moon = $189^{\circ} 51' 33.52$	True Moon = $190^{\circ} 34' 2.19$
Lunar Perigee = $184^{\circ} 12' 21.84$	$\alpha$ <i>Libra</i> = $190^{\circ} 48' 53$
A. Node = $82^{\circ} 24' 51.94$	F. M. and conjunction with $\alpha$ <i>Libra</i> , at this time of 5-30 P.M. I.S.T.

<sup>3</sup> *Lalita Vistara*, R. L. Mitra's edn., pp. 265-266. Bodhisattvah sarvam nagarajanam prasuptam viditvārdharātrisamayam copasthitam jñātvā Puṣyañca nakṣatrādhipatim yuktam jñātvā sāmprataṁ niṣkramanakālamiti jñātvā Chandakamāmantrayate sma.

V. *Buddha's Nirvāṇa*

Date April 22, -544 A.C., G.M.T.  $\approx$  0<sup>b</sup> or I.S.T. 5-30 A.M.  
J.D. = 1522474.

Long. of—	Long. of—
Mean Sun = 23° 47' 52".06	<i>x Libra</i> = 190° 52' 13"
Mean Moon = 204 48 32.82	<i>x Libra</i> = 196 47
Lunar Perigee = 254 41 29.36	F.M. at about 8-30 P.M. I.S.T.
A. Node = 4 13 40.81	True Sun = 24° 55' 35".50
.	True Moon = 201 2 34

Over and above the five dates of Gautama Buddha's life-time it is possible to present below the planetary positions on Gautama Buddha's birthday.

Date, April, 6,—624 A.C. at G.M. Noon or I.S.T. 5-30 P.M.  
(J.D.=1493238).

## Tropical longitude of—

True Sun = 9° 34' 49"44	Full-moon about 6 A.M. next day.
Moon = 182 18 11	
Mercury = 356 23 44	Mercury stood at 13° from Sun
Venus = 329 21 43	Venus " " 40 " "
Mars = 354 2 51	Mars " " 15.5 " "
Jupiter = 298 32 32	Jupiter " " 71 " "
Saturn = 345 31 59	Saturn " " 24 " "

These "star planets" were all visible by the naked eye, as morning stars, and could be seen before some hours of the Buddha's nativity. Buddha might have been born on the 7th April of,—624 A.C. about 3 A.M. This procession of the planets was something extraordinary.

*Concluding Observations—*

The astronomical examination presented above shows conclusively that the Ceylon-Burma tradition as to the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Gautama Buddha is the most accurate a tradition that has been faithfully and wonderfully recorded. I have seen the work of Geiger; his conclusions as to this date of the Nirvāṇa are indefinite and confusing.

I began the writing of this note and on the request Mr. Nirmal Chandra Lahiri, now in-charge-of the Office of the Indian Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac in Calcutta, who has very kindly helped me in revising the calculations.

The moon has been corrected by four of five principal equations. The most important in my findings is the "procession of planets" as morning stars which led the astrologers at the birth of Gautama Buddha to declare that this child born on the 7th April, of the year, —624 A.C. would either be an Emperor of the World or a holy man who would be a mendicant pure and simple. His teachings influenced the religious culture of half the humanity.

The Buddhists always record the Mahāparinirvāṇa era and never the birth-day of Gautama Buddha.

P. C. SENGUPTA

## The Buddha and Language

Language is one of the most fundamental features of human culture; some would say *the* most fundamentally important. The use of language distinguishes man, as a biological genus, from other animals. No other animals have yet been shown to possess articulate speech as we know it in men; no doubt many animals succeed in communicating with each other in limited ways by the use of vocal sounds, but in spite of the efforts of many able biologists, no one has yet proved that such communication approaches the elaborate conventionalized systems which characterize all known human speech. And conversely, no human group has ever been found which lacked a language in this sense.

In one way, then, language may be said to be a unitary feature characterizing all men. But in another sense, which is socially much more important, language divides man from man. For no two languages, no two dialects of the same language even, are exactly alike. And language differences are very noticeable. The most naive human being quickly becomes aware of them, though it usually does not occur to him to formulate them, and if pressed, he would often find it hard to do so. If he hears speech in a language so remote from his experience that he cannot understand it, his first reaction may be that the alien speaker cannot really talk at all. The Russian word for Germans means literally "dumb; people who can't talk" – that is, can't talk Russian. There are many similar instances. If the alien speaker uses a dialect closely related to the hearer's own, then, while the hearer may understand perfectly or nearly so, he may be more or less surprised, and his surprise may be tinged with amusement or scorn; the speaker may seem to him to be strangely ignorant of the "proper" way of talking.

There are countries where only one language is spoken, but where in the course of time strikingly different dialects of that language have developed. It often happens then that one such dialect acquires superior social prestige, most commonly for political reasons; it is often the language of the capital. This becomes the "standard" language of the country, like standard Southern British, or standard French (originally local to Paris), and all members of the politically or culturally

dominant class speak it; but often many of them can also speak the dialects of their original homes.

A peculiar variant of this situation occurs when the "upper" classes adopt a language of culture which is not the same as any dialect actually spoken (by the uneducated) in the country. It may be a language quite unrelated to any of the country's living dialects; Latin occupied this position in Hungary for centuries; until 1825 Latin was the only language allowed to be spoken in the Hungarian parliament. In the Roman Catholic Church, wherever it flourishes, Latin even now has a certain vogue, in writing and speech. It is thus used especially when Roman Catholic priests need to communicate with each other but cannot speak or understand each other's vernaculars; for example, when a German and a Spanish priest have occasion to write or speak to one another. A very similar situation exists in India. Most Indians know that when a South Indian *pandit*, whose native language is Dravidian, communicates with a North Indian *pandit*, both will naturally write or speak in Sanskrit, which is ordinarily the only language known to both.

With this we draw near to the main topic of this paper. The general historic position in India of Sanskrit as a literary and religious language is so well known to Indian readers, and to most others who are likely to see this article, that I shall not discuss it. What interests me here is its relation, and the relation of linguistic usage in general, to Buddhism, and to the Buddha himself.

I begin with a somewhat abbreviated translation of a passage from the Pali canon (*Cullavagga* 5. 33; *Vinaya Pitaka*, PTS. ed., ii. 139. iff.):

Two monks, brothers, of fine (cultivated) language and fine (eloquent) speech, came to the Buddha and said: Lord, here monks of miscellaneous origin (literally, of various names, clan-names, races or castes, and families) are corrupting the Buddha's words by (repeating them in) their own dialects; let us put them into Vedic (*chandaso āropema*). The Lord Buddha rebuked them: Deluded men, how can you say this? This will not lead to the conversion of the unconverted.... And he delivered a sermon and commanded (all) the monks: You are not to put the Buddha's words into Vedic. Who does so would commit a sin. I

authorize you, monks, to learn the Buddha's words each in his own dialect.

This incident is certainly a part of the oldest Buddhist tradition, for very similar accounts are found in a number of Chinese translations of the Buddhist canonical works. They are fully presented in French translations by Lin Li-kouang, *L'aide-mémoire de la vraie loi* (Paris, 1949), 218 ff. I have given excerpts from the most important parts in English (based on Lin's French) in my Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar (New Haven, 1953) 1.10-12 (see also the adjoining sections). These will not be repeated here, but should be consulted by any one who wishes fully to understand the reasons for the inferences I am about to draw.

Several facts of considerable interest emerge from a study of the various forms of this ancient passage.

First: dialect differences were clearly and easily perceptible in the speech of the monks who attended the Buddha. It is said, in a Chinese translation, that "their pronunciations are not the same."

Second: many, doubtless most of these monks spoke Middle Indic dialects. There were some, particularly born brahmans, who knew and could use the sacred language of brahmanism; but it may perhaps be assumed that even they, when not speaking to one another, made use of Middle Indic. In one of the Chinese translations the two originally brahman monks complain that their fellow-monks "do not know masculine and feminine gender, nor singular and plural, nor present, past, and future, nor long and short vowels, nor metrically light and heavy syllables." Such traits of language, which seemed errors to the brahmans, characterize some Middle Indic dialects as they would appear from the standpoint of Sanskrit, when compared with it'.

Third: when proposing to codify the Buddha's teachings in their own "cultured" language, the two brahman monks say *chandaso āropema*, which certainly means "let us put (them) into Vedic." Some have understood, "into verse". But this makes no sense in the context; it is clearly not verse as contrasted with prose, but a different *language*, which they wish to use. The word *chandas* is regularly used by Pāṇini when he notes a Vedic usage that differs from his own Sanskrit; he always says *chandasī*, "in the Veda" (such and such a form is

used). This use of *chandas* is also familiar in epic and classical Sanskrit literature (Boehtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, II. 1080, s. v. *chandas* 3; V. S. Apte, *The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Bombay, 1922, p. 212, s. v. *chandas* 5). Here *chandas* need not refer to the poetic parts of the Veda alone, and it is not at all likely that it was so intended. The Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, which are mainly prose, are classed as parts of the Veda, that is *chandas*. The language of the Upaniṣads, even the oldest of them like *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya*, is fairly close to classical Sanskrit, but it could still be called linguistically *chandas* "Vedic". It was probably something like this language that the brahman monks wanted to use. It may, of course, have been even closer to Pāṇinean Sanskrit. We have no way of telling. But no such term as "Sanskrit" is used in the Pali text, nor even in the commentaries on it; indeed, the Pali equivalent (*Samkhata*) of the word *Samskṛta* seems never to be used in a linguistic sense. Nor do the Chinese translators use any word which proves that their Indic originals used that word. Pāṇini's date is still uncertain, and it is at least possible that he was later than the Buddha. In any event, the use of the word *Samskṛta* of the Sanskrit language seems to be relatively late. The high, cultivated language of brahmans, into which the two monks wanted to translate the Buddha's teachings was known to them as "Vedic" (*chandas*), in contrast with the Middle Indic dialects which were used by most of their brother-monks; some Middle Indic dialect was doubtless used by the Buddha himself.

Fourth: the Buddha emphatically rejected the proposal of the brahman monks, and gave orders that all monks should learn and repeat his teachings in their own several dialects. This clearly implies that when the Buddhist gospel was carried by missionaries into new regions, the converts were to exercise the same privilege. They were to learn and recite the teachings in their own local dialects. This is very definitely stated in several of the Chinese translations, which command use of "the popular language" of the various regions or countries. And all versions of this passage, northern and southern, make very clear the Buddha's reason for this injunction. He was preaching a gospel for all men, not for a select elite. He wanted to be sure that every human being could understand his message. He felt that his aim would be defeated if his words were codified in a

learned, literary language (Vedic) which only the upper classes could understand.

At first, it seems clear that Buddhist monks and missionaries obeyed this injunction. Early Buddhist inscriptions, like those of Bharhut, give evidence of this. Wherever Buddhist communities were established, versions of the sacred texts, or some of them, were recited in the local vernaculars. In one or two cases, extensive local canons of this sort, or parts of them, in Middle Indic vernaculars, have survived to this day. The best known is the Pali canon; it originated somewhere in west-central India. We may be certain that there were many others, but most of them have been lost.

As long as Buddhism spread only in the northern parts of India the use of local vernaculars can hardly have involved anything like what we should call "translation". In the Buddha's time, the popular dialects of those regions were almost exclusively Indo-Aryan, and chiefly in the Middle Indic stage. They must also at that time have been so close to each other as to be mutually intelligible. (Even some centuries later, the edicts of Aśoka suggest that this may still have been true). A Buddhist missionary could recite the texts in his own vernacular, and his hearers would repeat them in theirs, perhaps without even clearly apprehending the linguistic differences. (But it is quite possible, also, that the dialect of the missionary may at times have been imitated, to some extent, by the local converts, consciously or unconsciously.) Translation cannot have become a serious problem until Buddhism spread to Dravidian-speaking regions in the south, and to extra-Indian countries like Chinese Turkestan, Tibet and China.

However, after a few centuries the Buddha's followers in India, and in some adjoining countries, began to ignore his injunction to clothe his teachings only in genuine, popular vernaculars. Instead they began to make use of canons composed in learned languages, which were not, or no longer, the native dialects of any people. Pali itself was originally based on a north Indian vernacular; but after Buddhist monks carried the Pali canon to Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia, it came to be a church language, like Latin in Europe. It had to be learned in school, and is still so learned in southern Buddhist countries. In short, it came to have a position in those regions similar to Sanskrit in brahmanical India.

In India itself, or in some parts of it, what happened was different. The great social prestige of Sanskrit, as a language of literature and culture among brahmanical Hindus, began to influence their Buddhist neighbours and associates. Like the two learned monks in the old Vinaya story, later Buddhists felt that it would be more dignified if they imitated the brahmans and Sanskritized their compositions. Some of them—the poet Aśvaghoṣa is an example—frankly abandoned the use of vernaculars in literary works, and used standard Sanskrit as a vehicle. Aśvaghoṣa is believed to have been a brahman himself originally, and to have undergone the usual brahmanical Sanskrit education in his youth.

A different and a very curious course was adopted by one group of Buddhists. Instead of completely giving up the literary use of vernaculars, they took an old Middle Indic dialect (its original locale is unknown to us) in which Buddhist texts existed, and partially Sanskritized it, but so imperfectly that the underlying Middle Indic still showed through the half-veeर of Sanskrit. Thus arose what I have called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (it could have been called, perhaps, Hybrid Middle Indic), a strange language in which for centuries most North Indian Buddhist texts (so far as we know them) were composed. It has often been described as a corrupt or bad Sanskrit, but this distorts the truth. It is a blend of Middle Indic with Sanskrit, but its basis, or substratum, is Middle Indic; the Sanskrit features are secondarily and superficially laid on.

To be sure, as time went on, this Sanskritizing process was carried further and further. In the oldest texts preserved to us, notably the *Mahāvastu*, Middle Indic or hybridized phonology and grammatical forms are still very abundant, though genuine Sanskrit forms are perhaps equally so. In later times, more and more regular Sanskrit forms appear. Often these replace original Middle Indic or hybrid forms in later versions of the same passages, so that we can see the process of Sanskritization going on before our eyes. The latest works of this tradition came to look superficially like almost standard Sanskrit, though careful study will always reveal some Middle Indic forms. But even the latest Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts still retain numerous words, lexical items, which show their vernacular origin. Though they may be made to look like Sanskrit, though their phonetic shape

and grammatical formations may be perfectly standard Sanskrit, these items of vocabulary never occur in Sanskrit, or never in the same meanings, whereas they do occur (for the most part) in Middle Indic dialects, especially Pali. They thus prove that they belong to the Hybrid tradition, going back ultimately to Middle Indic, in spite of their seeming Sanskrit guise.

Thus the Buddha's desire that his teachings be couched in the native dialects of all peoples was frustrated, at least in his native land. It would not have consoled him to know it, but there ensued one result of interest to linguists—the development of a strange, artificial, literary language, perhaps unique in its nature—Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

## Phonetic Convergence in Pāli

In his Preface to the Pāli Dictionary, p. xvi, Childers has compiled a short list of Pāli words, origin of which is traced to one or more Sanskrit words. He has just listed the words without indicating any lines on which depends the trend of these changes.

I propose to label the process of transforming two or more Sanskrit words into one Pāli word as 'Phonetic Convergence', since in it we notice actually two or more Sanskrit words giving rise to one Pāli word only. The changes have been carried on so far that at times five or six words have originated one word, i.e., five or more words have been converged into one word, e.g., sattha from Sastra, śāstra, sārtha, Śakta, Śasta etc.

The changes that normally take place are due to the working of the laws of assimilation. In assimilation we see that *rt*, *tra*, *rth* etc. are changed to *tth* and if any word contains any one of the above combinations, it is natural that it will converge into one phono-type. In the process of change, meanings of the words are to be taken into consideration, and it is only the context which determines what meaning is to be attached to that particular word in question.

There are many other factors that generally lead to such convergences. It may be due to a dialectal peculiarity or to the operation of the various laws of phonetic changes. The following is a list of words where such convergences take place.

Thus Skt. *doṣa* 'fault' and *dveṣa* 'hatred' give rise to Pāli (henceforth abbreviated as P.) *dosa*, the phono-type preserving both the meanings in different contexts. The first meaning *doṣa* 'fault' is found usually with *dosakhetta* 'blight of the field' (Miln.360), *dosatiṇa* 'spoilt by weeds' (Dh.356). The second is not very often distinct in meaning from the first. In most frequent combination *dosa* appears with either *rāga* (lust), and *moha* (delusion), or *lobha* (greed) to denote three main blemishes of character;

P. *oṭṭha* may be derived from Ved. *oṣṭha*, 'lip' (J.11.264) or from Ved. *uṣṭra* 'bison'. In Cl. Skt. it means a camel. It is mentioned in two lists of domestic animals (J.11.385);

P. bhusa 'chaff, husk' (Dh.252) or 'strong' (J.v.361) is either from Ved. busa 'chaff' (nt.) and buṣa (m) or Ved. bhr̥ṣa 'strong';

P. puṭṭha 'nourished' (J.111.467) or asked (Sn.84) is either from Ved. puṣṭa 'nourished' or pṛṣṭa 'asked';

P. hasita 'laughing, merry' (A.1.261) either from Skt. hasita or hr̥ṣṭa; hāsa 'laughter' either from Sk. hāsa or harṣa;

P. sukka 'planet, star (Nett. 150) or white (Dh. 87) is either from Ved. ūkra or ūkla 'white'; P. sutta 'asleep' (Dh.47) or 'a thread, string' (J.1.52) either from Skt. supta or sūtra; P. suti 'pearl-shell', a perfume Kuruvindakasutti, a powder for rubbing the body (Vin.11.107) or a good speech (Sdhp.340) is either from Skt. ūkti or sūkti;

P. kiṇṇa 'ferment, yeast' (Vin.11.116) or scattered is either from Skt. kiṇva 'strewn' or pp. of kirati;

P. appamatta 'little, slight' (J.1.242) or diligent, careful (Sn.223) is either from Skt. alpamātra or apramatta;

P. accha 'bear' (J.iv.507) or clear, not covered, not shaded either from Ved. ṛkṣa or Skt. accha;

P. sarati 'remembers' (J.11.29) or moves, flows (J.111.95) is either from √smṛ 'to remember', or √stu 'to flow';

P. sattu 'enemy' (J.v.94) or barley-meal, flour (J.111.343) is either from Skt. ūtratu or ūktu;

P. adda 'ginger' (J.1.244) or to melt (J.iv.353) is either from Skt. ādraka or ādra (<ṛdati) or ardati;

P. ditṭha 'seen' (Sn. 147) or an enemy (J.1.280) is either from Skt. dṛṣṭa or dviṣṭa;

P. icchatī, desires, asks (Sn. 127) or to go (J.111.462), cf. aticchatī (<ati+ṛ) is either from Skt. icchatī or ṣcchati;

P. asita 'having eaten' (J.vi.555) or not clinging to or unattached (J.11.247) is either from pp. of asati or aśrita <a+sita, pp. of \*śri;

P. assa 'horse' (Sn. 769) or corner only in compounds 'caturassa', four-cornered (J.iv.46) is either from Skt. aśva or aśra;

P. assattha, the holy fig-tree, Ficus Religiosa (J.1.16) or a species of antelope in phrases issammiga=issāmiga (J.v.410) is either from Skt. īrṣyā or ḫṣya-(mr̥ga);

P. agga 'foremost' (J.1.52) or a small house, hut (J.1.123) is either from Skt. agra or a contracted form of agāra, a small house;

P. patta 'wing of a bird, feather (V in iv.259) or a bowl, specially the alms-bowl of a bhikkhu (J.1.52) is either from Ved. patra or pātra;

P. juti 'splendour' (J.11.353) is either from Skt. dyuti or jyuti;

P. muddha infatuated (J.v. 436) or head (Sn. 983) is either from Skt. mugdha or Ved. mūrdhan;

P. muddikā, a seal-ring, signet-ring (J.1.134) or a vine or bush of grapes (J.VI.529) is either from mudṛkā or \*mr̥dvīkā;

P. jhāyati 'meditates (Sn. 165) or burns (J.1.61) is either from Skt. dhyāyati <√dhā 'to meditate' or kṣāyati <√kṣāy and kṣī (cf. khara and charikā) to burn, to be on fire, fig. to be consumed;

P. vassati 'rains' (Sn. 30) or to bellow, to crow, to utter a cry 'of animals' (J.1.436) of a cock is either from Skt. varṣati <√vṛṣ, I.E. Werš 'to wet' or vāsyati <√vāś to bellow, Ved. vāsyate;

P. atṭa, law suit, case (J.11.2) or distressed (Sn.694) is either from Skt. artha or ārta 'distressed', cf. Skt. ādra (P. adda and alla);

P. aññāta, known (Sn.699) or unknown. (Vin.1.209) is either from pp. of ajānāti or ājñāta;

P. rukkha 'tree' (J.111.327) is either from Ved. rukṣa or Skt. vr̥kṣa, cf. also P. rakkha;

P. himsati, injures (Sn. 515) is either from Skt. himsati or hinasti;

P. pubba, pus (J.11.18) or before (J.111.200) is either from Ved. pūya > \*pūva > \*puvva > pubba, cf. pūyati, to small rotten, b. pūs=I.E. pus or from Ved. pūrva, Gr. promos. Goth. fruma, Av. pourvō, Skt. pūrvya;

P. satta, living being (Vin.1.5) or curse (J.111.460) or attached to (J.1.376) or seven (Sn.446) is either from Skt. satva or sapti or sakta;

P. sattha, a weapon, knife (J.1.72) or a science, art (Miln.3) or a caravan (Vin.1.152) or able, competent (J.111.173) or breathed (Vin.1.87) is either from Skt. ṣastra or ṣāstra or sārtha or ṣakta or ṣvasta <√svas 'to breathe';

P. aṭṭha, eight (J.11.86) or meaning (Sn.331) is either from Ved. aṣṭau or artha; attha, meaning (Sn.331) or disappearance, setting (J.1.175) is either from Skt. artha or Ved. asta (of unknown etymology);

P. addha, half (Sn. 721, usually in combination with diyaddha 1½) or thrive, rich (D.1.115) is either from Skt. ardha or āḍhya.

## Pali 'māraji' : Sanskrit 'smarajit'

Gautama Śākyā became 'Buddha' (The Awakened) after having defeated Māra and his host. In Buddhist literature and tradition Māra is the demigod of temptation and evil and therefore of Death. The word is generally accepted as a derivation of the root *mr* 'to die'. This appears to be only folk-etymology as Māra does not strictly conform to the Indian idea of the god or the demon of Death.

Māra is essentially a tempter, and the most powerful of his host are the nymphs that excite passion which is fatal to the meditation of a man on the spiritual path. The most obvious derivation is from the root *smr* 'to remember, to remember longingly, to desire company, to desire lustfully'. 'Māra' therefore comes from an older form \**smāra* (for the loss of the initial sibilant compare Middle Indo-Aryan 'neha' from *sneha*, and Sanskrit *candra*, *tāyu*, *tārā*, *pasyati* from historical *ścandra*, \**stāyu*, \**stārā*, \**spaśyati* respectively) which is a close cognate of Sanskrit *smara* 'sexual love (abstract or personified), god of love'. *Smara* first occurs in *Atharvaveda* where three hymns (6.130-132) are devoted to sexual love personified. The first verse of the first of these hymns is quoted below. It shows that 'Smara' of Atharvaveda not only is akin to both 'Māra' of Buddhist literature and 'Smara' of Sanskrit literature but appears to be their source.

*rathajitāṁ rathajiteyināṁ apsarasāṁ smarāḥ/  
devāḥ pra biouta smaram asau mām anu śocatu//*

'This is Sexual Love (*smara*) of the *Rathajits* (Conquerors of Chariot-riding Warriors, or Fighters Riding Chariots) and of the nymphs belonging to the *Rathajits*. O Gods, send Sexual Love to that man (so that) he would long for me'.

The word *māra* signifying 'physical love' and 'god of love' is not unknown in Sanskrit literature. The earliest occurrence is in *Harivamśa* (*vide* Monier-Williams' Dictionary).

As conquerors of physical love and temptation there is a close agreement between the Buddha and Śiva. Both were the targets of Māra/Smara when engaged in meditation and penance. Gautama Śākyā remained unmoved and he ultimately emerged as the vigilant or awakened (*buddha*, *prabuddha* or *pratibuddha*) conqueror of

Māra. Siva was moved only for a moment and his wrath put Smara to ashes.

It is not unlikely that the two stories are ultimately connected. There is a basic connection between spiritual penance (*tapasyā*) and subjugation of passion. At least there is no possibility of the story of Siva having been modelled after the story of the Buddha or *vice versa*.

The story of the destruction of the god of love (*Smara, Madana*) by Siva ultimately goes back to a Vedic origin. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.7.4.1-3) narrates a story which tells us of Rudra's terrible anger against Prajāpati when the latter had contemplated incest with his daughter.

*prajāpatir ha vai svāṁ dubitaram abhidadhyau divam  
voṣasam vā mithunyenayā syām iti tām saṁbabhuva  
tad vai devānām āga āsa ya itthām svāṁ dubitaram  
asmākam svasāram karotīti. te ha devā ūcub  
yo' yām devah paśūnām iṣṭe 'tisandham vāyam  
carati ya itthām svāṁ dubitaram asmākam karoti  
vidhyemam iti. tam rudro 'bhyāyatya vivyādha...*

'The creator had desire for his own daughter, Day or Dawn, "I would pair with her", and he paired with her. This appeared as a sin to the gods (who thought,) "He is thus behaving with his own daughter, our sister!"' The gods spoke to the god that ruled over the beats, "He is committing an act of transgression as he is behaving thus with his own daughter, and our sister. Do smite him." Rudra charged and smote him.

SUKUMAR SEN

## The Buddhist Social Ideals

The social and political world in which Early Buddhism arose was characterized by an element of intense crisis. In its homeland of Magadha there was arising an imperial state which was threatening the very existence of a number of other states both monarchical and oligarchic-republican. Kāsi, Aṅga, Kośala, Avantī, the Vaijjis, Mallas, Śākyas, all these and many more, were soon to feel the compelling impact of the rulers of Magadha. Economic life was experiencing a virtual revolution with the development of currency as a medium of exchange and the consequent growth of trade and commerce. Out of this revolution was emerging a new class, the *Gahapati* and *Seṭṭhi*, whose economic influence and political prestige could no longer be ignored. The story narrating how Anāthapindika bought a plot of land belonging to Prince Jeta is indicative of the position of this new class. Large standing armies replacing the old tribal levies, a new class of professional bureaucrats and a new powerful class of bankers and merchants, these were the characters in the drama of the new society that was in the making. The conflict of ideas was paralleled by a clash of classes and in this "time of troubles" the old norms and values developed by the tribal culture of the invading Aryans were successfully challenged. The new age that was dawning demanded new forms of political organization and a revaluation of norms of social behaviour and formulation of new social goals. The history of Early Buddhism reflects the elements of crisis as also the attempts made to crystalize and express the new social outlook.

The traditional accounts tell us that Siddhārtha saw the four signs prior to his Great Renunciation. These are significantly described as an old man, an ailing man, a dead body and a recluse. It is possible to interpret these as symbols not only of the different phases of an individual's life but also as those of the changing social scene. The first three may be taken as portents of the sense of anxiety from which the old society, now on the verge of a transformation, was suffering while the figure of the Recluse was the traditional answer to the challenge of the times. Siddhārtha himself became a Recluse and

practised severe austerities.<sup>1</sup> The Bodhisatta gave up austerities as futile but continued to pursue the phase of withdrawal from the world. With the Enlightenment and the *Dhammacakkappavattana*, however, came the culmination. Indeed the *Mahābhinnikkhamana* can be properly understood only in the context of the *Dhammacakkappavattana* for the two are organic parts of the single process of the making of the Buddha. The Turning of the wheel of Law and the foundation of the Saṅgha were events of great social significance.<sup>2</sup> The whole episode of the Buddha's reluctance to preach the Doctrine and the successful intervention of Brahma Sahampati is significant in its social content. It is the dramatization of the profound conflict between the claims of the traditional ascetic and the demands of the New Man whose ideals and aspirations were to be reflected in Early Buddhism. And the portals were thrown open and Buddhism began its career.

This Early Buddhist movement had to pass through three distinct phases before it could achieve its ultimate social fulfilment. These phases may be described as isolation, association and transformation. The phase of isolation may be called the *Khaggavisāṇa* phase.<sup>3</sup> This was the phase of wandering alone "like the horn of a rhinoceros." This phase persists throughout the history of Early Buddhism as phrases like "a hole-and-corner life is all a home can give, whereas Pilgrimage is in the open, it is hard for a house-keeping man to live the higher life in all its full completeness and full perfection and purity"<sup>4</sup> is almost a stock-phrase in the *Nikāyas*. To a certain extent it also expressed the antagonistic claims of the temporal realm and the realm of the spirit, a sentiment which is common to all great religions of the world. As the *Dhammapada* puts it *aññā hi lābhūpanisā, aññā nibbānagāminī*—the Path of gain and the path of Nibbāna are totally different (Verse 75). This early phase, then, was preoccupied

<sup>1</sup> See *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 162-163.

<sup>2</sup> See Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, III, pp. 270-271. It is difficult to agree with all that Toynbee has to say especially when he describes the mental content of Buddha's Enlightenment as nothing short of "spiritual self-annihilation".

<sup>3</sup> As in *eko care khaggavisāṇakappo*, *Sutta Nipāta*, Verse 35ff.

<sup>4</sup> M. N., I, p. 240, Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 173.

with renunciation and seclusion, the phase when monks lived away from all social contacts beyond the most rudimentary and restricted to the receiving of alms. But mere renunciation and seclusion were but a part of the New Way of Life preached by the Buddha. And the social consequences of a large scale renunciation were not slow in making themselves manifest as the *Mahāvagga* story indicates. Seeing a large number of their men folk adopting the garb of the homeless wanderer the people cried: *vedhavyāya āgato samāno Gotamo—sabbe Sañjaye netvān kimsū dāni nayissati* (the ascetic Gotama has come to deprive our women of their husbands—after having taken away all the Sañjayas, whom shall he take away now?<sup>5</sup>) It also led to an incipient clash with the State when men of the royal service, debtors and others who had social, economic and political obligations to discharge came to be admitted and the Buddha promptly laid down rules forbidding such ordinations.<sup>6</sup>

In the meanwhile a transformation was going on within the body of the Saṅgha itself. Devadatta's Five Demands, whatever the motive behind their presentation, represent the last stand of the old phase. These related to life-long practice of living in the woods, on alms, dressing themselves in cast-off rags, living under trees and abstaining from eating fish or flesh.<sup>7</sup> Demands like these were rightly rejected for they would have isolated the community from the broad surface of popular life. Now the ideal of *khaggavisaya* was being slowly replaced, in the matter of emphasis, by that of *sukhā samghassa sāmaggi, samaggānam tapo sukho*—blessed is the unity of the Saṅgha, blessed is the exertion of the united (*Dhammapada*, verse 194). This change was due, in part, to the development of the Buddhists as a distinct religious community. The insistence on *sāmaggi* may be adequately explained in the changed social composition of the Saṅgha and the change in its social role. Now had begun the phase of the association of the Saṅgha with the society at large and this created the problems of adjustment. The Saṅgha had to define its own social relations and also influence the social ideals of the society at large. The members of the Saṅgha were now in sustained social contact with the aristocracy

5 *Mahā Vagga*, I, 24, 5

6 See *Ibid.*, I, 40ff.

7 *Culla Vagga*, VII, 3, 15

as well as the common people. This social orientation is indicated by the fact that among the categories of proficiencies acquired by certain outstanding monks, such as in the knowledge of the *Suttanta*, *Vinaya* and *Dhamma*, there is also mentioned one of wisdom in worldly lore.<sup>8</sup> And among all the foremost disciples the Venerable Ānanda was the one who had shown the greatest proficiency in maintaining excellent and intimate relations with members of the society at large. Oldenberg explains it in material terms as "the external existence of the Church even demanded, that regular relations be maintained between it and the worldly circles, which were favourably disposed to the interests of the Order. Without a laity.....an order of mendicants could not be thought of, and the religious movement of Buddhism would have been shut out from contact with the broad surface of popular life".<sup>9</sup> But to describe the association of the Saṅgha with society at large in purely utilitarian and material terms would be to state only a part of the process. For Buddhism had now begun to distinguish the believers from the non-believers in the lay society indicating thereby that the process of the creation of a Buddhist society was already at work. Thus when a monk spent his *Vassa* in a village and if the people of the village had to migrate during that time the monk was required to go with those who were believers whatever their number.<sup>10</sup> The importance of this emergent Buddhist society was duly recognized by giving the laity the right to scrutinize the intellectual accomplishments and moral earnestness of a monk supported on their devoted charity.<sup>11</sup> Certain influential laymen successfully mediated between the Buddha and those monks with whom the Master was displeased;<sup>12</sup> the moral and social pressure of the lay society was duly enlisted in the task of disciplining quarrelsome and recalcitrant groups of monks like the Kosambaka bhikkhus<sup>13</sup>; and an attempt was made to curb the evil schismatic activities of Devadatta by carrying out an act of public denunciation in Rājagaha.<sup>14</sup> Incidents like these, and they are numerous, bring out the increased importance of the society at large in the

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 4, 4

<sup>9</sup> *Buddha*, p. 382

<sup>11</sup> *M. N.*, II, p. 172

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 172

<sup>14</sup> *M. V.*, X, 5, 1

<sup>10</sup> *M. V.*, III, 10

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 458

affairs of the Saṅgha. This awareness of social ties also led to the formulation of such rules whereby the Saṅgha was required to expel one of its members when, in the opinion of the congregation, his conduct was likely to lead the laity astray.<sup>15</sup> This close identification of spiritual and social interests between the Saṅgha and the laity is very succinctly expressed by Nāgasena when he enumerates the ten qualities of an ideal layman. The ideal layman, according to Nāgasena, "suffers like pain and feels like joy as the Order does".<sup>16</sup> With the statement of such views the process of association was completed and that of transformation was already underway.

This process of transformation in the role of Buddhism and its Saṅgha was closely associated with the Buddhist view of society. It was readily recognized that society was constantly preoccupied with things (*papañcābbhiratā pajā*);<sup>17</sup> that this acquisitive instinct led to conditions of strife, conflict and imbalance.<sup>18</sup> The situation was further complicated by the existence of hierarchies of power, wealth and prestige. By the laws of its own being and nature Buddhism, as an organized way of spiritual life, could not directly initiate a social revolution for then it would have projected itself into the social and economic problems of the times. It has often been argued that the Buddha was no social reformer.<sup>19</sup> In such arguments the Buddha's views about the irrelevance of caste distinction is explained away as doctrinaire discussion. But suttas like *Vagala* in the *Sutta Nipāta* and *Madura, Assalāyana* and *Canki* in the *Majjhima Nikāya* are not just doctrinaire dissertations but have a most direct social content. It is readily agreed that the Sangha knew of no caste distinctions but it is parenthetically added that this castelessness of the Saṅgha living in close association with the lay community had no effect on that lay community. This is a proposition difficult to accept. The Buddhist position was made quite clear in the many utterances of the Buddha and in the composition of the Order itself and it was that caste as an

<sup>15</sup> C. V., I, 13, 7

<sup>16</sup> *Milinda Pañha*, pp. 94-95

<sup>17</sup> *Dhammapada*, verse 254

<sup>18</sup> M. N., II, p. 120

<sup>19</sup> See Oldenberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 153. Fick, *Social Organization in North-East India in Buddha's Time* (Trans. by Maitra), p. 32

institution was unacceptable to the Buddhist community. In fact the whole trend of Buddhist teachings was to create an equalitarian ethos which would cut across tribal lines and the distinctions of caste and race. The Buddha had said : "I assert that lineage does not enter into a man's being either good or bad; nor do good looks or wealth."<sup>20</sup> He had challenged the extravagant claims put forward by the priesthood. During its third phase of becoming an instrument of social transformation Buddhism had postulated certain new norms and goals of social behaviour. The ideal put forward before society now was the creation of a *sappurisa* or an *uttamapurisa*.<sup>21</sup> The basis of this new society were *vissāsa* (mutual trust, co-operation in the place of conflict and acquisitiveness),<sup>22</sup> *asāhasa* (non-violence), *samatā* (basic equality of all human beings) and *dhamma* (righteousness as an ultimate value). In fact the four pillars of this society were declared to be *sacca* (truth, homogeneity, unity through an absence of invidious distinctions based on birth, wealth or family in the matter of social evaluation,) *dhamma* (righteousness, goodness, morality) *dāna* (charity as a way of life rather than a specific set of isolated acts) *asāhasa* (non-violence, violence being the negation of righteousness.)<sup>23</sup> The rule of *dhamma* was to be looked upon as of all-pervasive force, valid as much in the home as in the market-place as indicated in *dhammena mātāpitaro bhareyya, payojaye dhammikam so vanijjam* (righteously he should support his parents and righteously he should carry on his trade.)<sup>24</sup> The Five commandments for the laymen namely, abstinence from violence, stealing, falsehood, immorality and drinking intoxicating liquors, were a simple formalization of the four pillars of society and became the basis of Buddhist social ethics. When to these were added Faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, respect for elders and women,<sup>25</sup> disciplining of the mind in the way of righteousness, the formulation of the Buddhist social ethics was completed. These ideals were postulated as a

<sup>20</sup> M. N., II, p. 179

<sup>21</sup> Dhp., Verse 54

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., Verse 204

<sup>23</sup> See Dhp., Verses 84, 129, 142, 223, 256, 257

<sup>24</sup> Sutta Nipāta, Verse 404

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the seven conditions of stability as preached to the Vajjis by the Buddha, *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta, Dīghanikāya*, S. B. E., XI, pp. 3-5

middle way between the two extremes of aggressiveness resulting in constant preoccupation with acquisitiveness to the exclusion of all other considerations and indulgence leading to dissipation and degradation. Reason, moderation, harmony, a constant awareness of the primacy of righteousness, the ennobling nature of charity as a way of life, compassion and wisdom were the norms which were now constantly put before society. This society was conceived of as a "universal" as distinguished from a tribal society; it was the community of the righteous anywhere and everywhere unencumbered by rules of tribal, regional or caste affiliations.

These were the social ideals that Early Buddhism espoused and put before the society of its times. The role of the Saṅgha was now that of the custodian of the moral and spiritual values of society. The Saṅgha now, in this final phase, became the spiritual preceptor, the personal counsellor and the educator of the society within which it lived. It functioned within society though it was not of it. The *Dhamma* had now become both a spiritual and social force. It became an instrument dedicated to the creation of certain values like *samatā* (cf. Aśoka's insistence on *dandasamatā* and *vyavahārasamatā*), *dāna sacca* and *dhamma*. These social ideals were of general applicability and cut across divisive lines of caste, tribe and race and thus provided the social cement to fuse the diverse ethnic and cultural elements into a harmonious social group based on certain basic postulates."

B. G. GOKHALE

## Buddhist Controversy over the Five Propositions

At an ancient time to which we refer, five propositions derogatory to the dignity of Arhats were discussed in the Buddhist Communities of Ceylon as well as of the Indian continent<sup>1</sup>. They are explained both in the Abhidharma of Sarvāstivādins (*Jñānaprasthāna* of the IIIrd century after the Nirv., T. 1543, k. 10, p. 819 b; T. 1544, k. 7, p. 956b)<sup>2</sup> and the Ceylonese Abhidhamma (*Kathāvatthu*, II. 1-5, pp. 163-203). They were taken up later again and discussed in the *Vibhāṣā* (T. 1545, k. 99, p. 510 c), *Kośa* (I. p. 2), the glosses of Paramārtha and the Treatise of Ki-tsang on the sects<sup>3</sup>. In these are found the enunciation of those propositions and the references furnished by the authors and in the ancient sources to the date of their invention and the name of their inventor. On the whole the references are not concordant.

**THE FIVE PROPOSITIONS:** In the sources enumerated above, the five propositions (*Pañcavastu*) are formulated in the following manner:

- (a) The Arhat can be seduced by others and may have seminal losses while asleep.
- (b) Though they are freed from sullied ignorance (*klisṭa-avidyā*) they remain meanwhile subject to unsullied ignorance (*aklisṭa ajñāna*), the residue of their old impurities.
- (c) Though free from doubt with regard to the three doors of deliverance (*vimokṣamukha*) they remain subject to doubt with regard to the external things, and even the four holy truths.

<sup>1</sup> Les textes pāli sont cités d'après les éditions de la *Pāli Text Society* de Londres; les textes chinois d'après l'édition du *Taishō Issaikyo* de J. Takakusu et K. Watanabe (T).

<sup>2</sup> Sur ce texte, voir Ś. Sāstri, *Jñānaprasthānāśtra retranslated into Sanskrit*, vol. I, Santiniketan, 1955.

<sup>3</sup> P. Demiéville, *L'origine des Sectes bouddhiques d'après Paramārtha*, Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, I, 1932, pp. 15-64. On trouve dans cet ouvrage la traduction du Traité de Ki-tsang et des fragments du commentaire de Paramārtha au Traité de Vasumitra.

- (d) They can be taught by others and owe them their salvation.
- (e) The exclamation: "Oh sorrow" may be regarded as a means destined to initiate the appearance of the Way.

These propositions aim at nothing less than dethronement of the Arhat from the enviable position enjoyed by them from the very beginning. These appear to be the characteristics of the commoners (*prthagjana*) instead of the perfects (*ārya* = *arhat*), of laxity in place of austerity, nay, in fact, the laymen sought equality with the religieux in spiritual attainments. The heresy, if there be any, endured for a long time and served within the community as a mischievous leaven: it is concerning this that the Buddhist schools were set against one another and became divided among themselves.

When did the heresy appear and who was its inventor? Here are the answers given in the sources:

1. Vasumitra: In 116 PN during the reign of Aśoka, among the Nāgas and their partisans.

2. Vibhāṣā and Mahāyānist authors supporters of the Vibhāṣā: During the reign of Aśoka as a result of the activities of Mahādeva.

3. Saṃmitīya tradition: In 137 PN, among the Sthaviras Nāga and Sāramati, and the Bahuśutas.

4. Bhavya: In 160 PN, during the reign of Aśoka.

VASUMITRA: Vasumitra, a Sarvāstivādin teacher, who lived 400 years after Parinirvāṇa and who was posterior by a century to Kātyāyanīputra, author of the Jñānaprasthāna, wrote a book on the Buddhist sects entitled *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*<sup>4</sup>. The book was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva between 385 and 431 (T. 2032), by Paramārtha between 557 and 569 (T. 2033) and by Hiuan-tsang in 662 (T. 2031); it is commented in Chinese by K'ouei-ki in 662 (TKS.A. LXXXIII, 3) and translated into Tibetan in the IXth century by Dharmākara (Tanjur, Mdo. XC, 11).

<sup>4</sup> Sur Vasumitra voir J. Masuda, *Origin and doctrines of early Indian Buddhist Schools*, Asia Major, II, 1925, pp. 1-78; E. Teramoto et T. Hiramatsu, *Samayabhedoparacanacakra...*, Kyoto, 1935; A. Bareau, *Trois traités sur les sectes bouddhiques attribués à Vasumitra, Bhavya et Vinitadeva*, Journal Asiatique, 1954, pp. 229-266.

The book opens with a reference to the five propositions (T. 2032, p. 18 a 9-14; T. 2033, p. 20 a 15-25; T. 2031, p. 15 a 15-23): "One hundred and sixteen years after Parinirvāṇa of Buddha, there was a town called Pāṭaliputra. Then king Aśoka reigned over Jambudvīpa, ruling over the universe. At that time the Great Community (*mahāsaṃgha*) was divided into schools and made variations in the law. There were then the bhikṣus: (1) the first called *Neng*, Nāga (variant: *Ta-Kouo*, Mahārāṣṭra; *Long-kia*, Nāga); (2) the second called *Yin Yuan*, Pratyaya (variant: *Wai-pien*, Prācyā; *Pien-pi*, Pratyantika); (3) the third called *To-wen*, Bahuśruta; (4) the fourth called *Ta-to*, Sthavira. They discussed the five propositions (*pañcavastu*) instituted by the heretics. It is in this way that for the first time after Buddha, two schools came into being, one called Mahāsāṃghika and the other Sthavira."

Among the translators, Hiuan-tsang alone precisely states that the originator of the Five Propositions was Mahādeva, the information being taken from the *Vibhāṣā*. According to Vasumitra and his first translators, names of the heretics were yet unknown. The comparison of the versions clearly reveals that the Pañcavastu was criticised by the Sthaviras but adopted by these Saṅghas of the Nāgas, of the Prācyas or Pratyantikas, lastly of the Bahuśutas. We may ignore entirely the first two Saṅghas. According to the comments of K'ouei-ki (l.c), the Nāgas whose name implies an irresistible power and an obdurate obstinacy, were the chief organisers of the dispute and of the schism that followed; the Prayantikas sided with the heretics, and without being the originators of the disputes not possessing the irresistible power, followed and supported the heresy; lastly the Bahuśutas comprised the commoners (*prthagjana*) still occupied with study (*śaikṣa*), but observing the prohibitions and acquiring vast knowledge.

Personally in the first two names we notice ethnical: heresy originated with the Nāgas whose primitive habitat was, according to the tradition of the Purāṇas, the region of Narmadā, a tributary of Mahārāṣṭra to which the version of Paramārtha refers; thence it was extended to the neighbouring regions designated by Vasumitra under the vague denomination of "Frontier Regions" (Pratyantika).

As far as the riverine residents of the Gangetic basin and of Yamunā are concerned, the Mārāṭhā country was situated in Southern India. Now, according to the Aśokāvadāna (T. 2042 k. 5, p. 120 c

11-121 b 1; T. 2043, k. 9, p. 162 a 1-162 c 8)<sup>5</sup>, the Sarvāstivādin community of Mathurā under the leadership of the famous patriarch Upagupta at the time of Aśoka, was put in a flutter by the visit of a monk who hailed from Southern India, but no notice is taken of his name. Before his admission into the religion, this monk committed fornication with a woman of another family. He killed his mother for having reproached him for his conduct. He then sought the hand of his beloved. Being repulsed by her he retired from the worldly life, learnt by heart the text of the Tripitaka and gathered around him a number of disciples. He then betook himself to Mathurā to discuss with Upagupta, but the latter being aware of what crime he had been guilty, refused to have a discussion with him and so the monk returned to his native country taking with him the band of his disciples.

It would be tempting to find in that religious person a champion of heresy of the Five Propositions which the holy patriarch Upagupta, chief of a school of Arhats, could only condemn. But the religious man had already exercised an ominous influence over those disciples of Upagupta, who remained still in the stage of commoners (*prthagjana*). They remonstrated with their master for his impoliteness to a foreigner and Upagupta, in order to appease those critics, was compelled to appeal to his master Śāṇavāsa.

This anecdote referred to in the Aśokāvadāna bears remarkable resemblance to the version of the Vibhāṣā.

THE VIBHĀṢA: This great book on the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādin compiled in the 2nd century of our era by the Kashmirian Arhats, devotes quite a chapter (T. 1545, k. 99, p. 510 c. 23-512 a 19) to the heresy of the Five Propositions. It attributes the invention to a certain Mahādeva about whom it narrates a long story though less edifying and tries to paint his character in a black manner.

Mahādeva was the son of a merchant of Mathurā. His father went abroad, leaving his son at home. At the age of twenty, the son became fine in appearance; and his mother fell in love with him and had secretly intercourse with him. During more than six years, the son did not know that his mistress was his own mother, then

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. Przyluski, *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, Paris, 1923, pp. 366-369.

though he came to know of it, he did not give up his passion. The father came back from abroad, having acquired great wealth; little before his arrival, the mother being afraid of his getting scent of this affair persuaded her son to administer poison to him. Mahādeva administered the poison and killed his father; then he secured his wealth and continued to live with his mother. But in the long run, when he was found out, he felt ashamed and ran away and concealed himself with his mother in Pāṭaliputra. He met there the Arhat monks whom he had previously revered in his own country, and he murdered them also lest they might betray him. Then he killed his own mother finding that she played false with him. Having thus committed three ānantarya-sins, he realised the evils and felt deep remorse; and in order to wash out those sins he gave up his family life. He then entered into the monastery of the Kukkuṭārāma where he heard a monk recite a stanza on the redemption of sinners by good conduct; this monk ordained him by giving him *pravrajyā*.

Mahādeva listened to and studied the Tripitaka and collected several followers. The king of Pāṭaliputra (whose name is not given) when got to know of this, invited him to his palace and bestowed on him his offerings. Returned to the monastery, Mahādeva formulated by turn the five heretical propositions explained above. On account of the controversies which the heresies raised, the king sought advice of Mahādeva to settle the dispute. The latter told him that, according to the Vinaya, it was the majority that decided the controversies. The king then put two parties in two sides, and as the party of Mahādeva was greater in number, he decided in his favour and condemned his adversaries. It is thus that the religious people of the Kukkuṭārāma were divided into two schools: the school of the Sthaviras and the school of the Mahāsāṃghikas.

The Sthaviras however wanted then to quit the monastery. Being apprised of their intention, the king ordered to put the Sthaviras on a rotten boat and to throw them into the river Ganges, and then it would be known who was an Arhat and who was a commoner. At the critical moment five hundred Arhats exercising their magical powers rose in the air and went to Kasmir where they scattered themselves up hills and down dales. Having received the news the king sent to them a messenger to bring them back to his capital, but they declined his invitation. The king then made a

gift to the church of the whole kingdom of Kasimir and built there five hundred monasteries for the residence of the saints; these monasteries received the names of the various forms taken by the saints when escaping from Pāṭaliputra, for example: Garden of Pigeon (*Kapotārāma*) etc., and the Vibhāṣā adds "It is reported that these monasteries are still flourishing." The king of Pāṭaliputra then conferred his favours upon Mahādeva and his disciples who lived near him. Mahādeva passed away after being held in high estimation by the people but, when they wanted to burn his dead body in the cremation ground, the fire could not be ignited and it was necessary to use as fuel the excrements of dogs; his body was then burnt, but suddenly a violent wind arose and dispersed the ashes of the heretic.

Now according to Vasumitra, the enunciator of the Five Propositions, remained anonymous. The Vibhāṣā, a century later, finds him a name and attributes to him quite a history. It treats him definitely as an adversary, laying against him the charge of all the unatonable crimes and invents for him an unhappy end. It should be noted that the Mahāvibhāṣā only (T. 1545) takes notice of Mahādeva and that it is not similar to that found in the Vibhāṣā of Buddhavarman (T. 1546).

But once introduced the legend died hard. Adopted with enthusiasm by the Sarvāstivādin, it received valid recognition from the Mahāyānist teachers. But as these latter did not lose their sympathy for the Mahāsāṃghikas whom they regarded as their distant precursors, they endeavoured, otherwise to clear up the memory, at least to attenuate the wrongs committed by Mahādeva, the initiator of the Mahāsāṃghika schism.

#### MAHAYANIST AUTHORS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE VIBHASA:

1. In the VIth century, Paramārtha (557-569) in his criticism of Vasumitra (summed up in T. 2300), and his pupil Ki-Tsang (549-623) in his Treatise on the sects (T. 1852) reproduced the account of the Vibhāṣā after introducing therein substantial modifications<sup>6</sup>: Upto 116 PN there did not appear heterodox opinions within the Saṅgha. After

the 116th year appeared Mahādeva, of the Kauśika family, son of a merchant of Mathurā. Having committed three ānantarya-sins, he gave up his worldly life and went to Pāṭaliputra by conferring ordination upon himself. He received entrance into the palace of Aśoka where he had secret intercourse with the queen. He entered again into the monastery. He took up the Mahāyāna sūtras and incorporated them into the Tripitaka. He fabricated, on his own authority, many sūtras wherein was formulated the quintuple heresy and summing them up in a stanza, he recited it after the recitation of the śilas in the Uposatha ceremony. Many controversies having arisen in the monastery, King Aśoka on his own authority, took recourse to voting to settle the dispute. The partisans of Mahādeva were then greater in number. The Arhats, who were in minority, frightened the community by exhibition of some magical powers. The queen exercised her influence and had the Arhats thrown into the Ganges in boats of broken staves. The Arhats took flight and went away to Kasmir, some transforming themselves into fishing-float pigeons, others into birds. After arriving at the destination they took again their ordinary forms. Meanwhile the queen realising her error repented and was converted. After the death of Mahādeva, Aśoka looked for the Arhats of Kasmir and invited them to return to Pāṭaliputra. As Mahādeva had introduced the Apocrypha into the Tripitaka, the Arhats gathered together in Council (the third since the beginning) and recited once more the canon of the scriptures. It was at that time that the divergences of opinion among them took place ending in the formation of two separate schools; that of the Mahāsāṃghikas and that of the Sthaviras.

It will be noticed that Paramārtha quickly passes over the sins of Mahādeva, seeks to acquit Aśoka of finding fault with the queen, attributes to the heretic a scriptural activity which the Vibhāṣā did not mention at all, and poses a third Buddhist council with a new compilation of the Tripitaka; after which only the schism was ultimately placed.

2. In the VIIth century, the master of the Law, Hiuan-tsang, sums up once more the story of the Vibhāṣā, but with more faithfulness than that of Paramārtha. The passage is found in the Si-Yu-Ki (T. 2087, k 3, p. 886 b. 11-22):

7 Cf. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, London, 1904, I, p. 26 f.

A hundred years after Parinirvāṇa, Aśoka king of Magadha extended his power over the whole world; he revered the Triratna and loved all beings. There were in his capital among the religious Buddhists, 500 Arhats and 500 commoners (*prthagjana*) whom the king patronised impartially.

The religious commoners included in their ranks a certain Mahādeva "a man of great knowledge and of great talent, keen investigator of the Nāmarūpa" (sic) who put in treatise his personal views and his heretical observations. The controversy having burst forth, Aśoka took the side of Mahādeva and the commoners, and tried to drown the Arhats in the Ganges. But the latter fled away to Kasmir where they established themselves up hills and down dales. The king at once became repentant for their departure and himself set out to invite them to return to his capital. On their refusal to return, the king built for them 500 samghārāmas and made a gift of Kasmir to the Church.

Hiuan-tsang agreeing with the Vibhāṣā, affirmed that the persecuted Arhats remained in Kasmir and refused to return to Pāṭaliputra. In these conditions there could be no question of the session of the third Buddhist Council, which, according to Paramārtha, had taken place at Pāṭaliputra after the return of Arhats. However, in another passage, where describing his visit to the Kukkuṭārāma of Pāṭaliputra, Hiuan-tsang (T. 2087, k. 8, p. 912 b)<sup>8</sup> states that King Aśoka after his conversion to Buddhism convoked in his monastery a saṅgha of thousand members "comprising of two communities: one of the saints (*ārya*), the other of the commoners (*prthagjana*)". In it there is a reference to the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāṃghikas but nothing is said that they held a council and proceeded with a fresh recitation of the Tripitaka.

Though accusing his Mahādeva of heresy, Hiuan-tsang does not make at all any mention of the Five Propositions to which people refer generally. He praises his knowledge and his talent and described him as a subtle investigator of the "Nāma-Rūpa" otherwise known as the five Skandhas. But the question of the Nāma-Rūpa preoccupied more the Sarvāstivādins than the Mahāsāṃghikas. It may be asked

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, II, p. 89.

whether in the opinion of the Chinese master, Mahādeva was not a Sarvāstivādin teacher; but, if so, it would be contrary to the whole tradition, according to which the heretic was the initiator of the Mahāsāṃghika schism.

It seems that the great Hiuan-tsang did not try to harmonise the informations which he collected carefully from his readings, notably from the Vibhāṣā, and the many oral traditions gathered by him locally to which he refers "in bulk." His account about the settlement in Kasmir of five hundred Arhats thrown by Aśoka into the Ganges followed immediately the story of the conversion of the Kasmir in the year 50 PN. by Madhyāntika and his five hundred Arhats (T. 2087, k. 3 p. 886a 19-886b 11). Obviously it referred to an identical event, but divided into two for some chronological reasons.

3. K'ouei-ki (632-682), disciple of Hiuan-tsang, in his criticism on the Yogācāryabhūmī of Asaṅga (T. 1829, k. 1 p. 1 b) tries to rehabilitate Mahādeva by presenting him as a victim of calumny: "High was his reputation, great his virtue; though young he had realised the Fruit; he was respected by kings and nobles and venerated by monks. And that is the reason for which were imputed to him the three ānantarya-sins to which were added the Five Propositions...". It is not the only text favourable to Mahādeva. There was already an earlier commentary on the Ekottara, half-Mahāsāṃghika half-Mahāyānist, the Fen-pie-kong-to-louen, translated into Chinese between 25 and 220 A.D. which spoke of a saintly king Mahādeva endowed with four brahmavihāras and qualified him as *Ta-che*, or great Bodhisattva (T. 1507, k. 1, p. 32 c 8-10.)

MAHADEVA II: In order to complete the record it should be noted that besides Mahādeva I, the initiator of the Five Propositions and instigator of the schism, the sources point out the existence of a second Mahādeva, a Mahāsāṃghika teacher who lived 200 years PN, continued to teach the Five Propositions and provoked new secessions inside the Mahāsāṃghika sect. This Mahādeva II<sup>9</sup> is well known to

<sup>9</sup> Sur l'existence de deux Mahādeva ou d'un Mahādeva rédoublé, voir déjà N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1945, II, p. 120; P. Demiéville, *A propos du Concile de Vaiśālī*, T'oung Pao, XL, p. 268.

Vasumitra who it is seen did not make any mention on Mahādeva I. Here are some references:

1. *Vasumitra*, tr. *Kumārajīva* (T. 2032 p. 18 a 17-20). "Then in two hundred years Mahādeva a heretic (*tīrthika*) gave up his worldly life and resided in the Caityaśaila. In the Mahāsāṃghika sect developed anew three sub-sects: Caityika, Aparaśaila and Uttaraśaila."

2. *Vasumitra*, tr. *Paramārtha* (T. 2033, p. 20 b 2-4): "When two hundred years had elapsed, there was a heretic called Mahādeva who eschewed the worldly life and joined the Mahāsāṃghika school; he resided alone in Mount Saila and taught to the Mahāsāṃghikas the Five Propositions. Thence there were two new secessions: school of Caityaśaila and school of Uttaraśaila (and according to the Tibetan version, school of Aparaśaila)".

3. *Vasumitra*, tr. *Hui-an-tsang* (T. 2031, p. 15 b 1-4): "When two hundred years had elapsed there was a heretic who left the worldly life, gave up falsehood and reverted to the correct mode; he was called also Mahādeva. Being recluse of the Mahāsāṃghika sect he received full ordination; he was erudite (*bahuśruta*) and energetic (*vīryavān*); he resided in the Caityaśaila. To the community of this sect, he explained again the Five Propositions which provoked discussions and sub-divisions into three sects: Caityaśaila, Aparaśaila and Uttaraśaila.

4. *Sāriputrapariprcchā*, tr. by an anonymous writer between 317 and 420 A.D. (T. 1465 p. 900 c 6-12) "In the Mahāsāṃghika school, two hundred years after my Nirvāṇa, there will appear as a result of disputes the schools: Vyavahāra, Lokottara, Kukkulika, Bahusūtaka, Prajñaptivāda. Two hundred years after the discussions, will be added to those Five schools, the school of Mahādeva, that of Caityika and that of Uttaraśaila".

5. *Paramārtha and Ki-tsang*: When two hundred years had completed, an upāsaka-king of Magadha (according to K'ouei-ki, king *Hao yun* "Loving the clouds") propagated widely the Law of Buddha, and in order to take advantage of his bounties, all the heretics took to religious life. Mahādeva who was ordained by himself took upon himself their headship, received new disciples and ordained them in his own saṅgha. The king made a selection among those monks who

were "parasites" (*steyasmvāśika*) and authorised only one party among them, the three hundred more intelligent ones, to live in Magadha. Mahādeva being no more tolerated by them left the place and established himself separately in the mountain with his partisans. Then among those mountain-dwellers themselves, arose certain differences of opinions and thus were formed the two schools called Caityāśaila and Uttaraśaila.

Should one see in this Mahādeva II localised by all the sources in the mountainous regions of Andhra an arbitrary division into two Mahadevas? or should one reject the historicity of the two Mahādevas and see only in them an expedient intended to show the progress of a heresy originating in Southern India among the Nāgas of Mahārāṣṭra, and spreading from Saṅgha to Saṅgha, ending ultimately in Mahāsāṃghika schism, and after many advancements it finally triumphed over some churches, notably the Caityika and Sailas of Andhra? We leave to the reader the responsibility of answering these questions.

**MAHADEVA IN THE PĀLI SOURCES:** The Ceylonese school was firmly pronounced against the Five Propositions which it exposed and refuted in the *Kathāvatthu* II, 1-5 (p. 163-203), but did not furnish any reference to their author. The commentary restrained itself by stating precisely that the heretical propositions were taught by the Pubbaseliyas, Aparaseliyas and others.

Among the numerous Mahādevas known to the Pāli tradition, Professor Malalasekera has pointed out no less than nine<sup>10</sup>, none of whom makes a good heretic figure. Two among them were contemporaries of Aśoka: One Mahādeva minister of Aśoka who took measures for despatch to Ceylon a branch of the *Bodhiyrkṣa* (Mahāvaṃsa XVIII, 20); a Mahādeva Thera who played a considerable role at times as a religious master and as a Buddhist missionary. In fact he conferred the ordination (*pabbajjā*) on Mahinda, son of Aśoka (Dīpavaṃsa, VII 25; Mahāvaṃsa, V, 206; Samantapāśādikā p. 51); then after the council of Pāṭaliputra, in 236 PN, he set out to preach the Good law to Mahisamāṇḍala where he converted 40,000 souls and conferred ordination on 40,000 young men (Dīpavaṃsa VIII, 5;

<sup>10</sup> G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London, 1938. II, pp. 505-506.

Mahāvāṇīsa, XII, 3 and 29; Samantapāśādikā, p. 63, 66). In Mahisamañḍala, Andhra and the region of Dhānyakaṭaka where the Pubba and Aparaseliya sects had their seat, some authors think that Mahādeva was founder of those schools which issued out of the Mahāsāṃghika stock and which adhered to the Five Propositions<sup>11</sup>. But if the Mahādeva in question had been a heretic, it becomes difficult to explain how the Ceylonese Chronicles make him a disciple and confidant of a very orthodox monk like Moggaliputta Tissa, a declared Vibhajyavādin, and could count him as one of the great propagators of the True Law. Then Mahisamañḍala is not certainly the country of Andhra, but may be Mysore, may be and still more probably Mahiṣmat or country of the Mahiṣakas, associated by the Purāṇas with Mahārāṣṭra which had as its capital Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā.<sup>12</sup>

**THE SAMMATIYA TRADITION :** It is mentioned for the first time in the VIth century by Bhavya or Bhāvaviveka, author of the Tarkajvālā (Mdo XIX, p. 162 b c-163a 3; cf. Mdo XC, No. 12)<sup>13</sup>, reproduced later with some modifications in the XIVth century by Bu-ston (tr. Obermiller, II p. 96), in the XVth by Gzon-nu-dpal (Roerich, *Blue Annals*, I, p. 96), and in the XVIIth by Tāranātha (tr. Schiefner, p. 52). According to this tradition, in the year 137 after Nirvāṇa, under the King Nanda and Mahāpadma (sic), an assembly took place at Pāṭaliputra in which participated the Sthaviras holding the same view as Mahākāśyapa, Mahāloma, Mahātyāga, Uttara, Revata etc. A monk (of the name of Bhadra) taught the Five Propositions and because of them a great schism was produced in the assembly. The sthavira Nāga and Sāramati—or better Nāgasena and Manoratha—adopted the five Propositions and conformed them to their teaching. Now the religious men were divided into two schools: Sthavira and Mahāsāṃghika, and the quarrel between the two groups lasted for 63 years. Then in the year 102 (correctly in 200) after Nirvāṇa, the sthavira Vātsīputra revised the doctrine correctly.

<sup>11</sup> Voir notamment E. Frauwallner, *Die buddhistischen Konzile*, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, CII, 1952, pp. 240-249.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Text of the Puranic List of Peoples*, IHQ., XXI, 1945, p. 307. Voir aussi B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, London, 1932, p. 22; *India as described in Early Texts*, Londres, 1941, p. 74, 104.

<sup>13</sup> M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1927, p. 81-82.

It is here no more the question of Mahādeva but of a Bhadanta whose heretical views were supported by a Nāga or Nāgasena, whose name recalls the Nāgas, already pointed out by Vasumitra. The schism broke out, not under Aśoka in the year 100 PN (short chronology) but formerly under Mahāpadma of the dynasty of the Nandas in 137 PN (long chronology). The Saṃmatīya tradition follows in fact an identical computation or very near the Ceylonese chronology which counts 218 years between Nirvāṇa and the corona-tion of Aśoka and which attributes the reign of Nandas from the year 140 to 162 PN (346-324 B.C.).

**BHAVYA:** In his Tarkajvālā, Bhavya just referring to the Saṃmatīya tradition summed up above, ascribed in his own account to the Mahāsāṃghika schism a later date: "One hundred and sixty years after the Parinirvāṇa, while king Dharm-Āśoka reigned over Pāṭaliputra, a great schism arose in the Saṅgha after some controversies, and the saṅgha was split up into two schools, Mahāsāṃghika and Sthavira<sup>14</sup>" But the proposed date: "160 in the reign of Āśoka" does not respond to any known computation and does not tally either with the short chronology which places Āśoka in 100 PN or with the long chronology that makes him reign from 219 to 256 PN. However the same date, 160 PN, is still mentioned by other authors and notably by Bu-ston (II, p. 96) who attributes the origin of the schism not only to the advent of the Five heretical Propositions but also to the fact that the Arhats "read the speech of Buddha in four different languages: Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhrāmṣa and Paiśācika".

**CONCLUSIONS:** The scrutiny of the records has brought to light the doubts and the chronological contradiction concerning :

1. *The date of schism:* in 137 PN during the reign of the Nandas; in 100, 116 or 160 during the reign of Āśoka.

2. *The instigator or instigators of the schism:* the Nāgas of the Southern India helped by their neighbouring Pratyantika and the Bahūśrutas; a monk called or surnamed Bhadanta; lastly Mahādeva. The last one is presented either as a culpable criminal of the three ānantaryas, or as a man full of knowledge and of talent, unjustly slandered, or lastly as a Sarvāstivādin, "a subtle investigator of the Nāmarūpa."

<sup>14</sup> Td., *ibid.*, p. 78.

3. *Causes of the schism*: the controversies provoked by the appearance of the Five Propositions, the introduction of Mahāyānist sūtras in the Tripitaka or even the translation of the Scriptures in four different languages.

4. *The consequences of the schism*: Having taken refuge in Kasmir the Sthavirian Arhats established themselves there finally or again after a short sojourn returned to Pāṭaliputra where they convoked a new council. As to the instigator of the schism (Mahādeva) either he lived at Pāṭaliputra till his death or he went to the mountainous regions of Andhra where he continued to teach his thesis to the Pūrvā, Apara and Uttaraśailas. But some sources regard Mahādeva the teacher of the Śailas as a personage different from Mahādeva, the originator of the schism.

The contradictions lead us to reject the chronology as apocryphal. Moreover it is of very little importance. It matters little whether the heresy originated under Aśoka or century earlier, whether its author is called Nāga, Mahādeva or Bhadanta, or whether the Sthavirian Arhat took refuge temporarily or permanently in Kaśmir. The fact seems certain that, between the death of Buddha and the reign of Aśoka the Maurya, the Buddhist community had been subject to centrifugal forces which must have brought about finally the secession. The causes of dissension were multiple. Some religious men in possession of the Fruit of Arhat claimed to monopolise the sanctity; they roused the jealousy of the commoners (*prthagjana*), and the latter invented the Five Propositions for the sole purpose of humiliating the Arhat and of outraging their honour. Some monks who, whether assembled again in councils or not, had recited in common the words of Buddha, gave themselves out as the only depository of same and wanted to impose on their colleagues the canon of their compilation which they had just put together. But the latter resisted the imposition; they had themselves memorised the words of the Master or did not consider the canon as closed and found out the introduction therein of new compositions more or less conformable to the primitive teaching. At least there was no unanimity in regard to the secondary points of doctrine and discipline: in the matter of Vinaya notably the laxist tendencies were manifest in some communities (Vaiśālī, Kauśāmbī). The dispute brewed for a long time before resulting in a secession. If

an old evidence is to be believed, we mean that of the Mahāprajñā-pāramitopadeśa or of its translator Kumārajīva (T. 1509, k 2, p. 70 a), the Great Community remained intact till the time of Aśoka; "When Buddha was dead, when the Law was recited for the first time, it was still like the time when Buddha lived. A hundred years after, King Aśoka called a big quinquennial assembly (*pañcavarsapariṣad*) and the great masters of the Law held discussions. Because of their differences, there appeared some distinct sects (*nikāya*), each having a name, which eventually became developed."

The fact is that the division of the Saṅgha did not at all put an end to the polemics, and that the Five Propositions continued to be discussed. The Theravādin and the Sarvāstivādin combatted them in the Kathāvatthu, the Jñānaprasthāna and its Vibhāṣā respectively. The Saṃmatīya, the Vātsīputriya and the Mahīśāsaka rejected them in the same manner. As a set off, they found some defenders among the Mahāsāṃghika and their sub-sects Bahusutīya, Caitya and Saila, and were even adopted by a school of the Sthavirian stock, that of the Haimavata.<sup>15</sup>

ET. LAMOTTE

<sup>15</sup> A. Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Saigon, 1955, p. 291.

## Some Buddhist Thinkers of Andhra

A historical study of the Buddhist philosophical literature reveals the great contributions made by the ancient Andhra area to the growth of the various systems of Buddhist thought. In two earlier papers<sup>1</sup> an attempt has been made to trace the growth of Buddhism in Andhra from the time of the Buddha; and it was also shown that Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva came from the same area in Andhra. Here it is proposed to find out the place from which certain other Buddhist thinkers hailed. Sometimes these thinkers had their main field of activity in the Andhra area.

1. In a Chinese work (*Shittanzo*) Aśvaghoṣa was considered to belong to South India<sup>2</sup>. The Nāgārjunakonda bas-reliefs present in full the story of *Saundarananda*. The first of these shows the Buddha's conversation with Nanda and Sundarī; the second reveals Nanda after the shaving, with a figure holding his head-dress; the third is the visit to India's paradise. The dress of the Buddha and Nanda recalls the tenth canto of *Saundarananda*. Another figure shows Arhat Nanda going to preach almost reminding us of 18.58,62 of the poem. It is not possible to say whether these sculptural representations were based on the poem, or the poem itself was written to depict them. Johnston has ably argued that Aśvaghoṣa belonged to the Bahuśrutīya sect<sup>3</sup>, and this accords with the fact that an āyaka pillar at Nāgārjunakonda caitya mentions the existence of the Bahuśrutīyas in that locality<sup>4</sup>.

2. *Mañjuśri-mūla-tantra* assigns Āryadeva to Sainika-pura<sup>5</sup>, and calls him a non-Aryan. Buston, following the lead of this text, puts him in Simhala, while other Tibetan chronicles observe that his father ruled over Señ-ga-gliñ. Yuan Chwang speaks of Deva P'usa of Chi-

1. See *IHQ.*, 1955 on 'Rise and growth of Buddhism in Andhra' and on 'Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva'.

2. See B.C. Law's monograph on Aśvaghoṣa.

3. Johnston : *Buddhacarita*, Part 2, xxxiii-xxxv.

4. इवं विहरो स व जिन नियतो अचरियनं बहुसुतयनं पतिथपितो ।

5. अपरः प्रत्रजिः श्रेष्ठः सैहिकपुर वास्तवी ।

अनार्या आर्ये संज्ञो च सिंहलद्वीपवासिनः ॥

shih-tzu-kuo<sup>6</sup> which may be a transliteration or a rendering of Simhadharaputrapura. The *Bṛhatkathā* observes that Dipakarṇi was fortunate enough to find, in accordance with a dream he had, a boy borne by a lioness. This boy was a Simhadhara, otherwise known as Śāta-vāhana or the one who was carried by a lion. Āryadeva, then, belongs to the town ruled by the Śātavāhanas; and it is called Señ-gagliñ, Sakāla or Sagāla which was later pronounced Singala<sup>7</sup>. This Sagāla is the same as the modern Śrī-kā-ku-lam which was, according to the traditional accounts, the original home of the Śātavāhanas. This Śrīkākulam lies due north east of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and as such it justifies Candrakīrti's statement that Āryadeva came southwards to meet Nāgārjuna. Señ-ga-gliñ, Sagāla and Śrīkākulam refer to one and the same place which now appears in the Krishna delta near Masulipatam; and it is not surprising to believe that a place on the banks of a river in the delta could be mistaken for an island.<sup>8</sup>

3. Maitreyanātha has been associated with Potala which has to be located near modern Bodhan in the Hyderabad territory<sup>9</sup>. Of his disciple Asaṅga, we are told that he belongs to Peshawar. Here we are asked to rely on the Chinese or on the Tibetan traditions. But as Prof. Demieville observes, Chinese tradition, for all the mass of documents on which it rests, hardly affords, at least for the early period, more positive historical information than Indian tradition with the complete absence of documents<sup>10</sup>. This applies to the Tibetan traditional dates as well. We find that Asaṅga was known as the sage of the Ajanta; and the caves of Ajanta in his day were known as Acinta-puri-vihāra<sup>11</sup>, probably named after the original name of Asaṅga which may have been Ajita.

6 Watters, II. 320. Modern Nellore was originally called Vikrama-Simha-pura.

7 Evans-Wentz: *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation*, pp. 113, 156-7.

8 *IHQ.*, 1955 on 'Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva'.

9 *IHQ.*, 1955 on 'The Rise and growth of Buddhism in Andhra'.

10 See Johnston: *Buddhacarita*, pt. 2, xvi.

11 Evans-Wentz, 158.

4. Dinnāga, as per the Tibetan tradition, was born in Simhavaktra near Kāñcī, lived in a cave on Bhoraśaila in Orissa, and sojourned in Nalanda. Fortunately enough, this misleading statement does not find a place in Yuan Chwang. Yuan Chwang entered the An-to-lo (Andhra) country, saw its capital P'ing-k'i (Vengi), and found a hill 200 li further southwest of the town. On the ridge of this isolated hill, he observes, was a stone tope where Ch'en-na (Dinnāga) P'usa composed a treatise on logic. "Mañjuśrī summoned him to develop for the benefit of posterity the *Yogacara-bhūmi-śāstra* originally delivered by Maitreya"<sup>12</sup>. It was on this hill near Vengi in the West Godāvarī district that the *Pramāṇsamuccaya* was composed. He was born in Simhapura or Nellore.

5. Of the critics of Dinnāga's system of logic the most famous Buddhist thinkers appear to be Buddhapālita, Bhāvaviveka and Candrakīrti. Candrakīrti, the disciple of Buddhapālita, was born in Samanta; and according to the Gaṇḍavyūha, there was a Samantamukha in the Mulaka country. This Mulaka country comprises the area round about the Bhadrācalam hills on the banks of the Godāvarī. Samanta, Samataṭa, Samantamukha are one and the same.

Regarding Bhāvaviveka we have definite information from Yuan Chwang. The pilgrim writes, "Not far from the south side of the capital (Dhānyakaṭaka) was a mountain cliff in the Asura's palace in which the Śāstra-master P'o-p'i-fai-ka (Bhāvaviveka) waits to see Maitreya when he comes to be the Buddha. Then we have the story of this renowned dialectician, who externally displaying the Sāṅkhya garb, internally propagated the learning of Nāgārjuna"<sup>13</sup>. Bhāvaviveka not only belongs to Dhānyakaṭaka, but was originally a follower of the Sāṅkhya. That he was believed to be waiting for the second coming of Maitreya only proves that Maitreya originally belonged to the same place which was chosen by Bhāvaviveka.

Rāhula-mitra, the *parama-guru* of Saṅgharakṣita, appears in one of the inscriptions found near Gollamūdi in the Krishna district. Sthiramati, the student of Vasubandhu, is believed to have come from the Dandaka which extends over a very wide area from the Marāthi speaking tract in the west to the Telugu speaking zone in the east.

<sup>12</sup> Watters, II. 209-210.

<sup>13</sup> Watters, II. 215.

6. Next we have the famous logician Dharmakīrti who has been accepted by tradition to be the relative (nephew) of Kumārila. The Jina-vijaya records:

श्रावोत्कलानां संयोगे पवित्रे जय मंगले  
प्रामे तस्मिन् भहानयां भद्राचार्यः कुमारकः ।  
श्राव-जातिस्तित्तरिको माता चंद्रगुणासतो  
यजेश्वरः पिता यस्य महावादिर्महान् धोरः ॥

Kumārila was an Āndhra hailing from a village called Jayamaṅgala on the banks of the Mahānādī. Dharmakīrti was supposed to be born in Trimalaya or Tirumalaya. The prefix Tri or Tiru is the Dravidian cognate of Śrī; and the word malai means a mountain. Thus Tirumalaya is the Dravidian translation of Śrīsaila or Śrī-Parvata. In his *Vāda-nyāya* we read the interesting statement:<sup>14</sup>

यस्तु नक्षशब्दं मुक्कुशब्दसेव वा नासापर्यायं  
वैति न नासाशब्दं सकथमपशब्दात्...

Here Dharmakīrti is giving the words *nakka*, *mukku*, and *nāsika*. These three are from three different languages, and all mean the nose. Of these the second word is *mukku*, a pure Telugu word meaning the nose. It is not an accident that made Dharmakīrti use this term. It came direct from his mother tongue. Thus a few pages later he distinguishes his mother-tongue from the Dravidian language:<sup>15</sup>

तत् स्वभावस्य अन्यतोऽपि सिद्धेः प्राकृतापभ्रंश-द्रमिडंभ्र-भाषावत्

Prākṛita, Apabhrāmsa, Drāviḍa and Andhra are the languages he takes for examples in his discussion of the correct and incorrect words.

7. We have found reason to disbelieve the Tibetan tradition regarding the home of Dinnāga. Yuan Chwang placed him in Vengi. Jinendrabodhi was said to be the countryman of the venerable Bodhisattva Dinnāga. Nāgārjuna II and Āryadeva II belonged to Śrī Parvata. Likewise there was at the same place a Maitrīnātha who, according to Tāranātha, died nine years after Nayapāla of Bengal (c 1040-1075).

8. Padmasambhava's chief disciple, the Tibetan lady Yeshey Tshogyal, gave an account of the life and teachings of her teacher. According to this biography, Buddha himself decided to take birth from

<sup>14</sup> *Vāda-nyāya*, pp. 103-104.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

a lotus blossom in the Dhanakoṣa (= Dhānyakaṭaka) lake in the country called Urgyan. This country was also called Udyana, Odiyana Ogyan and the like<sup>16</sup>. This is no other than the Andhra country. This country was ruled by Indrabodhi, who adopted Padmasambhava. Indrabodhi is the same as Indrabhūti, the disciple of Anangavajra. Padmavajra, the teacher of Anangavajra, was the author of *Guhyasiddhi*. Indrabhūti was styled Odiyāna-siddha, Avadhūta, Mahācārya and the like. They were practically the pioneers in the Vajrayāna school of Buddhism. According to the Vajrayānists, the Buddha turned the third wheel of the law of Vajrayāna at Dhānyakaṭaka, sixteen years after his enlightenment<sup>17</sup>.

Padmasambhava married Mandaravā, the sister of Śāntarakṣita and Śāntarakṣita belonged to the city of Sahor in the north-western corner of the Andhra country<sup>18</sup>. It was at Śāntarakṣita's suggestion that the king of Tibet invited Padmasambhava to Tibet. Here we have definite evidence to refer Padmasambhava, Śāntarakṣita and the Vajrayāna teachers to the Andhra country. It was in the same area again that the Buddhist thought and religion lingered till the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as the inscriptions during the times of the Velanāṭi-colas testify.

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<sup>16</sup> Evans-Wentz, 105.

<sup>17</sup> See Rāhula Sankritiyāyaṇa's Preface to his edition of the *Vigrabha-vyāvartani*.

<sup>18</sup> Evans-Wentz, 142-4.

## Harṣa : A Buddhist

Harṣa has generally been regarded as a Buddhist. But of late this view has been questioned by some writers, notably by Dr. R. C. Majumdar who cannot believe that Harṣa ever "formally gave up his old faith", i. e., his devotion to Śiva, and regarded other religions as distinctly inferior.<sup>1</sup>

That Harṣa originally was a Śaiva and remained so up to the twenty-fifth year of his reign is well known to most students of history.<sup>2</sup> His Bānskherā and Madhuban Copper-plate Grants of the regnal years 22 and 25 respectively call him a *Parama-Māheśvara*, i. e., a worshipper of Maheśvara or Śiva. His seals similarly mention him as a Śaiva, while referring to his brother, Rājyavardhana as a *Parama-Saugata*, i.e., a Buddhist, and to his father, Prabhākara-vardhana, as a *Paramādityabhbakta*, i.e., worshipper of the Sun. Bāṇa speaks of Harṣa's offering worship to Nīlalohita, i.e., Śiva, before he started on his *digvijaya*.<sup>3</sup> His Sonepat seal bears the figure of Nāndī, the vehicle of Śiva.

To conclude, however, from this evidence that he continued as a Śaiva to the end of his life does not seem reasonable, not only in view of Yuan Chawāng's testimony which shows that by 643 A. D. Śiva had gone to the third place in Harṣa's estimation, but also on account of the testimony from Harṣa's own works and his biography by the court historiographer and poet, Bāṇa. Harṣa's two plays, *Priyadarśikā* and *Ratnāvalī* show no influence of Buddhism. They, obviously, are the works of a young author who enjoyed and liked people to enjoy life. But we have just to turn to *Nāgānanda*, the last and maturest of his plays, to see the great change in his religious attitude. It begins with salutation to the Buddha, deals with the life of a Bodhisattva and preaches in uncompromising terms, the noble doctrine of Ahimsā.<sup>4</sup> It contains veiled references perhaps also to his

1 *Classical Age*, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan Series, pp. 119-120.

2 See R. S. Tripathi's *History of Kanauj*, p. 163.

3 *Harṣacarita*, Nirṇayasāgar Edition, p. 202.

4 See Acts IV and V and the final portion of Act III.

*Mokṣa-pariṣads* and determination, in c. 643 A. D., to fight no more.<sup>5</sup>

We have to notice also a passage in the *Harṣacarita*, which has so far escaped the attention of practically all writers on Harṣa's religion. When maddened by grief at the death of her husband, Harṣa's sister, Rājyaśrī, desires to become a Buddhist nun. Harṣa, while dissuading her from adopting this course, not only arranges for her instruction in the philosophy of the Tathāgata "which brings all misery to an end",<sup>6</sup> but promises also to don along with her the red robes of a bhikṣu, as soon as he had finished his self-appointed task of punishing his brother's murderer, Śaśāṅka, the ruler of Gauḍa.<sup>7</sup> Time, no doubt, never permitted him to implement this resolution. He died rather prematurely. But there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. An orthodox Brāhmaṇa like Bāṇa could hardly have put this statement in Harṣa's mouth, unless Harṣa had actually in his subsequent life become a very devout Buddhist and his conduct given a clear indication that someday he would renounce the world and retire to a Buddhist monastery.

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5 See Canto I, verse 8 which speaks of the grant of *kalpadruma* to suppliants.

6 *Harṣacarita*, p. 256.

7 "Iyam tu grabiṣyati mayaiva samām samāptakṛtyena kāṣāyāṇi"

## Some Buddhist Antiquities and Monuments of Rajasthan

Archaeological excavations and explorations in different parts of Rajasthan have brought to light sufficient material pertaining to the penetration and expansion of Buddhism in this part of the country. The Buddhist antiquities and monuments of this region are of course very few in number; but they are of great importance for a student of ancient Indian History and Archaeology. It is now proposed to describe them in brief here.

### 1. *Bhābrū Rock Edict:*—

It was in the year 1840 A.D. that Captain Burt discovered the well-known Bhābrū<sup>1</sup> Rock Edict of Aśoka. The same was later on transferred to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta. This edict is of great interest because of its having been inscribed on a stone-slab<sup>2</sup> (*śilā-phalaka*) as distinguished from a stone-pillar (*śilā-stambha*). The excavations of the ancient site of Bairat have now proved that this stone-slab inscription must have originally hailed from Bairat itself. Another pillar (of Aśoka), from Bairat, was brought to light by the archaeological remains on the site popularly known as the *Bijaka-kī-Phārī*<sup>3</sup>. One of the fragments of such a pillar, having the usual Mauryan polish, even bears the Brāhmī letter *na* in the script of the third century B.C. D. R. Sahni (*ibid*, p.28) is of the opinion that the Buddhist monuments at Bairat were perhaps destroyed by the White Hun leader Mihirakula towards the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

The Bairat Edict of Aśoka of course bears testimony to Aśoka's ardent faith in the Buddhist lore and his royal injunctions to the

1 Bhābrū is about 12 miles in a direct line to the north of Bairat, the latter being ancient *Virāṭapura* and distant about 52 miles from Jaipur City. Virāṭapura was the capital of the *Matsya* country. For details consult B. C. Law's paper in the *Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, pp. 2, 11, 12 etc.

2 "This stone is an irregularly shaped block of grey granite, of the kind so abundant at Bairat and measuring about 2 feet in length, the same in width and a foot and a half in thickness" (D. R. Sahni, *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat*, Jaipur State, p. 18 and plate II for its photograph).

3 *Ibid*, pp. 26 ff. and plate VI. a.

Buddhist friars and laymen to pay rapt attention to Buddhist ideology and to devote themselves to the study of the particular passages (seven in number) from the Buddhist scriptures<sup>4</sup>. The text of the Bairāṭa epigraph runs thus:—

- (1) *Rpi (pri) yadasi lājā Māgadbe samgham abhivāde (tū)-nam  
ābā apābādhatam ca phāsuvihālatam ca*
- (2) *vidite ve bhamte āvatake hamā Budhasi dhammasi samghasī  
ti gālave cām rpa (pra)sade ca e keci bhamte*
- (3) *bhagawatā Budhe(na) bhāsite save se subhāsite vā e cu  
khu bhamte hamiyāye diseyā hevam sadhamme*
- (4) *cila (thi) tīke hosatī ti alabāmi bakam tam vātave. imāni  
bhamte (db)am̄ma paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase*
- (5) *Aliya-vasāni Anāgata-bhayāni Munigāthā Moneya-sūte  
Upatisa rpa (pra)sine e cā Lāghulo-*
- (6) *vāde musā-vādam adhigicya bhagavatā Budhenā bhāsite etāni  
bhamte dbamma-paliyāyāni ichāmi*
- (7) *kimti babuke bbikhu (pā)ye cā bbikhuniye cā abbikhinam  
Su(ne)yu cā upadhalayeyu cā*
- (8) *hevam̄mevā upāsakā cā upāsikā cā eteni bhamte imam  
likhā(pa)yāmi abhipetam me jānamtu ti.*

## II. *The Circular Brick-Temple at Bairat* :—

D. R. Sahni's excavations at Bairat also brought to light the remains of a Buddhist Brick-Temple which was circular in shape<sup>5</sup>. In his own words (*ibid*, pp. 30-31), "this is the oldest structural temple and one of those which furnished models for the numerous rock-cut cave-temples of Western and Eastern India. The nearest approach, both in plan and design, is the *caitya* cave of about the first century B.C. in the Tulja Lena group at Junnar..... On the outside, the walls of the temple were inscribed with the Buddhist texts in the *Brāhmī*

<sup>4</sup> For details consult Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 18; B. C. Law, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1946, pp. 93-8; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, 1942, Calcutta, pp. 77-8; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Āśoka*, 1955, Calcutta, pp. 335-6; Senart, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 165 ff.; E. Hultzsch, *Corp. Insc. Ind.*, I, pp. 172 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sahni, *op. cit.*, plates VII, VIII; *ibid*, pp. 28 ff., for details and description.

characters of the Aśokan period. Several bricks inscribed with one or two akṣaras (plate V, e, o and q) were found built in the rectangular enclosure-wall around the temple. A few of them read *pāsam*, *visa*, *vi*, *kama* etc." The existing Buddhist structure (with a *stūpa* in the interior) at Bairat has got an important bearing on the early temple-architecture in India.<sup>6</sup>

Referring to Hwen Tsang's notice of Bairat in the seventh century A.D. (Julien's *Hwen Tsang*, II, 206), General Cunningham (*Arch. Surv. Report*, Simla, 1871, Vol. II, p. 246) remarks that according to the Chinese pilgrim, "the capital was 14 or 15 *li* or just  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles in circuit, which corresponds almost exactly with the ancient mound on which the present town is built. The people were brave and bold and their king, who was of the race of *Fei-she*, or a Bais Rajput, was famous for his courage and skill in war. *The place still possessed 8 Buddhist monasteries but they were much ruined and the number of monks was small.* The Brahmans of different sects, about 1000 in number, possessed 12 temples, but their followers were numerous, as the bulk of the population is described as heretical. Judging from the size of the town, as noted by Hwen Tsang, *the population could not have been less than four times the present number, or about 30,000, of whom the followers of Buddha may have amounted to one fourth.* I have deduced this number from the fact that the Buddhist monasteries would appear to have held about 100 monks each, and as those of Bairat are said to have been ruined, *the number of monks in Hwen Tsang's time could not have exceeded 50 per monastery, or 400 altogether.* As each Buddhist monk begged his bread, *the number of Buddhist families could not have been less than 1200, allowing 3 families for the support of each monk, or altogether about 6000 lay Buddhists in addition to the 400 monks*" (cf. also G.H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, Vol. I, Hindī, 1927, p. 10; S. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884, Vol. I, p. 179).

### III. *Northern Black Polish Ware from Bairat:*—

The ancient site of Bairat also yielded the well known *Northern Black Polish (N. B. P.) Ware* which is so characteristic of the Mauryan

6 Cf. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist & Hindu Periods)*, Second Edition, Bombay, p. 15.

period<sup>7</sup> in India. It is now extremely essential to explore the region for the distribution of the *N. B. P.*<sup>8</sup> ware in Rajasthan.

#### IV. *Remains at Nagari*:—

A fragmentary stone inscription, in the *Brāhmī* script on the third or second century B.C., was excavated at Nagari (ancient Madhyamikā, near Chittaur, Udaipur region) and is now preserved in the archaeological section of the Udaipur Museum. It refers to a feeling of compassion for all beings in the following words<sup>9</sup> :—

- (i) *Sa(vā)bbutānam dayātham*
- (ii) (*kār*) (*i*) *tā*.

It is just possible that this inscription was drafted and engraved under the influence of Buddhism. The explorations at Nagari also revealed the existence of *stūpas*<sup>10</sup> on the site. This bears testimony to the prevalence of Buddhism there (at Nagari) inspite of its having been an important stronghold of the *Vaiṣṇava*<sup>11</sup> pantheon. Describing the remains at Nagari, Dr. Bhandarkar (*Memoirs...*, *op. cit.*, p. 119) writes that “it is a structure built in horizontal tiers and must be a *stūpa* as indicated by the heavy sausage-shaped garlands” (cf. *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, VI (2), 1933, p. 3). Henry Cousens (*Prog. Report of Arch. Survey, Western Circle*, Poona, 1905, p. 59) also noticed an ancient lion-capital of the Aśoka period

7 For a comprehensive list of *N. B. P.* sites in India, consult B. B. Lal's paper in *Ancient India, Bull. of the Arch. Survey of India*, New Delhi, Vols. X-XI, pp. 50 ff. and pp. 143 ff.

8 It is equally interesting to note the discovery of the *Painted Grey Ware* at Bairat (*Indian Archaeology 1954-5—a Review*, New Delhi, 1955, p. 61). This is much earlier in date as compared to the *N. B. P.* The Grey ware occurs in the regions of Bikaner and Alwar too.

9 Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Archaeological Remains & Excavations at Nagari*, *MASI*, No. 4, pp. 112-120; G. H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, Hindi, I, 1927, p. 35<sup>3</sup>.

10 Cf. Satya Prakasha, *Rajasthan and its Traditions*, 1951, Jaipur, p. 25; G. H. Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-60; *Arch. Surv. Reports by Carlleyle*, VI, pp. 196 ff. and plates.

11 As is evident from the well known Ghosundi inscription. For details consult., *MASI*, 4, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-20; V. S. Agrawala's paper in the *Sodhapatrīkā*, Udaipur, IV (3), pp. 40 ff; *Ep. Indica*, XXII, pp. 203 ff.....etc.

(according to his own version) lying near the image of Kāñkālī Mātā at Nagarī. Besides this, another sculptured stone from the same site was identified as an 'architrave of some Buddhist gateway' both by Carleyle and Cousens.

#### V. *Stūpas on the Fort of Chittaur:*—

Henry Cousens (*Progress Report of Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, Poona, 1904, p. 45) also refers to the existence of a scattered group of some ten *stūpas* (carved in a stone) about 4 or 5 hundred yards to the north-west of Kālikā Mātā's temple at Chittaur. According to Cousens, "the larger ones stand about 3' 3." high and 1' 8" square at the base. They are all of one pattern. The upper portion is cylindrical, with a domed top.....  
..... Around the base of the cylindrical part is a string-course of 16 little seated Buddhas, each in a little niche. Beneath this is a constricted circular neck with lotus leaves springing from it, an upward row and a downward row. Beneath this, again, the *stūpa* is square with projecting niches, one on each face, in each of which is a seated Buddha. There are 3 distinct positions i. e., the meditative, the witnessing and the teaching attitudes. Beneath each of these is a symbol incised. The *stūpas* are all a good deal weather worn, so that the finer detail of the carving is lost. The hair is apparently not curly but long and is done up into a considerable knot on the top of the head." These pieces have now been preserved and exhibited in an order on an open platform in front of the Śringāra Chaurī at Chittaur itself.

#### VI. *Absence of Buddhist Remains in Western Rajasthan:*—

The ancient sites of the former states of Jodhpur, Jaisalmera, Sirohī and Bikaner<sup>12</sup> do not appear to have yielded anything tangible which may have some bearing on the expansion of Buddhism in Western Rajputana. But no conclusion can be hazarded till extensive exploration and excavation work is conducted in this direction. Hwen

<sup>12</sup> Dr. L. P. Tessitory is said to have discovered traces of the foundations of, what he thought, might have been Buddhist *stūpas* at Mundā and Pira Sultānā in the Bikaner region (H. Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, 1950, Oxford, p. 58).

Tsang refers to the declining condition of Buddhism at *Pi-lo-mo-lo*,<sup>12a</sup> identified with modern Bhīnmāla or ancient Śrīmāla, distant about 120 miles from Jodhpur. According to his information, there was only one *saṅghārāma* (monastery) at Bhīnmāl and that too belonged to the *Hinayāna* sect. It was inhabited by 100 monks who were followers of the *Sarvāstivāda* Sect (cf. Samuel Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, London, p. 270; G.H. Ojha, *Hist. of Raj.*, op. cit., I, 1927, p. 10).

It is equally interesting to note the dearth of Buddhist finds both from Nagar or Karkotanagar and Sāmbhar situated in the Jaipur unit of Rajasthan. As regards the ancient site of Rairh<sup>13</sup> (Jaipur unit), Dr. K.N. Puri (*Excavations at Rairh, Jaipur State*, p. 57) remarked that "Buddhism had no influence, whatsoever, although traces of contact with the Buddhist world have been established by the discovery of a fragment of Chunar sand-stone bowl, a few pieces of highly polished Buddhist pottery and steatite caskets similar to relic-caskets found on Buddhist sites for the enshrinement of the body relics".

### VII. *Remains at Lalsot* :—

"The town of Lalsot, 50 miles from the city of Jaipur, once possessed an ancient Buddhist *stūpa* of a considerable antiquity. Six red stone pillars, belonging to the railings of this monument, have in modern times been utilised in the construction of the *chattris* or cenotaphs. These pillars are 5 feet high, square at the base and at the top and octagonal in the middle portion."<sup>14</sup>

### VIII. *Kota Buddhist Inscription* :—

It is interesting to analyse the opening verses of the Kota Buddhist inscription engraved on a stone, built into a recess under a flight of stairs on the right hand as one enters the Barkhāri gate of the inner wall of the town of Shergarh (Kota Division). It records the construction of a Buddhist temple and a monastery to the east of mount Kośavardhana by the feudal chief Devadatta<sup>15</sup>. It

<sup>12a</sup> Some of the scholars even hesitate in accepting this identification.

<sup>13</sup> Nagar and Rairh were important seats of the Mālava republic: cf. *Arch. Surv. Report*, Simla, VI for the finds from Nagar.

<sup>14</sup> Satya Prakash, *Rajasthan and its Traditions*, Jaipur, 1951, p. 25.

<sup>15</sup> For the Sanskrit text of this epigraph, consult E. Hultzsch, *Ind.*

specifically refers to firm belief in trinity<sup>16</sup>, greatness of Buddha, law of Sugata, the Buddhist Church etc., in the following words:—

ओं नमो रब्रवयाय। जयन्ति वादाः सुगतस्य निर्मलाः समस्तसंदेहनिरासभासुराः। कृतक्रममपातनिपातहेतवो युगान्तवाता इव विश्वसन्ततेः ॥१॥ यो रूपवानपि विभर्ति मदैव रूपमेकोप्यनेक इव भाति च यो निकामं। आरादगात्परधियः प्रतिमत्त्व्यवेयो यो निर्जितारि रजितश्च जिनः स वो व्यात ॥२॥ भिनत्ति यो नृणामोहं तमा वेशमनि दीपवत्। मो व्यादः मौगतो धर्मो भक्तमुक्तिकलप्रदः ॥३॥ आर्यमध्य विमलाः शरच्छर्सि जिताधियः। जयन्ति जयिनः पादाः सुरासुरशिरोच्चिताः ॥४॥

This testifies to State-patronage accorded to Buddhism in this area as late as the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century A.D. It is of course regretted that we have absolutely no information about the Buddhist antiquities of an early period from Kota region.

#### IX. *Buddhist Caves in the Jhalawar Region:—*

Dr. Impey<sup>17</sup> is said to have visited the Buddhist caves at Kholvī<sup>18</sup> (situated in district Jhālāwār of the Kota Division) first of all. Later on, General A. Cunningham visited the place and presented a vivid account of the caves and the topes at Kholvī in his *Arch. Survey Report, op. cit.*, pp. 280-88 and plate lxxxiv. He infers (*ibid*, p. 286) that "the Kholvī excavations are most probably of a later date than the caves of Dhamnār<sup>19</sup> and Bāgh in Mālwā and of Kārlī, Ellora and other places in Southern India." He (*ibid*, p. 288) even assigns them a date ranging from 700 to 900 A.D. The Buddhist caves at Kholvī thus have to play a great role in the realm of Buddhist iconography and architecture of Rajasthan during the post-Gupta period. In this connection, mention may also be made of a colossal standing

*Antiquary*. XIV, pp. 45-6 and M. L. Sharma's, *Kotā Rāja kā Itihasa*, Hindi, Vol. I. Appendix III and p. 27; cf. also Bhandarkar's *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions of N. India*, serial no. 21.

16 i.e., *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*.

17 Consult his paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, V, p. 336.

18 About 30 miles from Augar and also 30 miles from the Dhamnār caves.

19 Dhamnār caves are situated in the State of Madhya Bharat. For Dhamnār caves, consult Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Hindu and Survey Buddhist)*, Second edition, p. 143; Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Simla, 1871, Vol. II, pp. 270 ff. and plates.

figure of Buddha at Kholvī. It measures about 12 feet in height and depicts the Buddha in the mode of teaching with his left hand raised to the breast (cf. *ibid*, p. 285 for details; also consult J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1899, Book I, pp. 162-3 for the later date of the Kholvī caves).

It is equally interesting to study the cave architecture as presented by the Buddhist caves at Vināyakā (or Vināyagā or Binnāyagā) situated about 8 miles from Kholvī. Śrī M.M. Śāstri (Custodian of the Kota Museum) has recently informed me that some Buddhist caves exist at Hāthiagor (situated in the Jhālāwār region) too. It now appears that the region round about Kholvī<sup>20</sup> and Vināyakā was once an important stronghold of Buddhism. Śrī G.L. Vyas (Custodian of the Jhālāwār Museum) has also stated that there exist about 16 Buddhist caves at Vināyakā and that some Buddhist *stūpas* can be seen in front of these caves. Besides this, some images of seated Buddha have also been carved out nearby.

A passing reference may also be made to the discovery of the Mandsor Inscription of the *Mālava* year 524. It opens with the auspicious phrase *siddham* whereas the first verse is a *māngalācarana* expressing adoration to *Sugata* (the Buddha; *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVII, no. 1, pp. 12 ff.):— *Siddham. Ye(ne)dasamudbhavanirodha-paramparāyā magnam jagadvidhadubhkhānirantarāyām. Titrāsunā tripadironiradeśi dharmmastasmai namostu Sugatāya ga(tā)ya śāntim* i.e., “Obeisance to *Sugata*, wishing to save the world (which is) plunged in the uninterrupted series of births and deaths closely associated with misery in various forms, enjoined a religion consisting of 3 steps (stages) and who attained peace” (*ibid*, p. 16). It refers to the construction of a “*stūpa* accompanied by a well [in commemoration] of the *Buddha*, who having overcome the evil influences of all elements (*dhātu*) preached the accomplishment of all actions, the *stūpa*, the structure of which was as white as the *kunda* flower and the moon and the pinnacle of which touched the clouds” (*yo dhātumātre batadhātudosāḥ sarvvakryā siddhim uvāca tasya. Kundenduśubhrobbhṛavighṛīṣṭayaśtiriyam kṛto dhātudharāḥ sakūpāḥ*). This *stūpa* was situated within the limits of the *Lokottara Vihāra*

<sup>20</sup> One has to pass through Dug (the headquarters of a *talsil* of the Jhālāwār Distt.) on way to the Kholvī caves.

(verse 18) and this led M. B. Gadre (*ibid.*, p. 13) to suggest that the latter "was possibly the proper name of some local Buddhist monastery, probably named after the *Lokottaravāda* sect of the *Hinayāna* form of Buddhism."

The phrase "*Syādvādagrahānigrahāgadavidbirvividhvastavaitanḍikachadma Saugatagarvaparvataabbidāvajrapratāpodhanah....ryabhaṅga-kaśamah Śrī Vedāṅgamunih prasiddhamahimā yasya prasādām vyadhāta*" occurring in the Inscription of V.S. 1028 from Ekalingajī (14 miles from Udaipur; *IBBRAS.*, Bombay, XXII, old series, verse 17, lines 15-16, pp. 166-7) of course refers to the existence of unhappy relations between the adherents of the Buddhist and the *Śaiva* pantheons. Vedāṅgamuni, of this record, was a follower of the *Lakuliśa-Pāśupata* sect and has been described, here, as a great opponent of the Jainas (believers in the *Syādvāda* philosophy) and the Buddhists (cf. *sangata*; *sugata*=Buddha) alike. It is regretted that this inscription fails to throw any light on the causes of this revolt against Jainism and Buddhism in this particular case.

This is a brief account of some Buddhist remains from Rājasthāna. The material, in this direction, is of course very scanty but the existing Buddhist monuments and remains of the region are very important for the reconstruction of the religious history of the area during the early historic and the pre-mediaeval periods.

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA

## Buddhism in the Classical Age

(as revealed by archaeology)

The period under review, designated by scholars as "Classical Age", covers a period of about four centuries. It begins with the Gupta rulers in the administrative horizon of India, their glorious ascent like the midday sun, their temporary eclipse by the Hūṇa invaders, and their gradual setting down. Then the twilight of various petty rulers and then the advent of the Moon in the form of Harṣavardhana with many other rulers scattered all over the country like stars in a nocturnal sky. Then with the disappearance of Harṣa, there is again a dark period, which ends with the azure with the glimpses of morning light just before the rise of another Sun in the horizon, the Pālas.

For the history of the Buddhist church in the classical period, there is a considerable number of inscriptions and archaeological remains in the form of images, shrines, *stūpas*, cave-temples, *caityas*, etc. which enable us to rebuild a complete structure of the history of the religion.

Though Buddhism was not a state religion in this period,—none of the main ruling families of this period having professed the religion of Sākyā-Muni,—still, following the general Indian tradition of religious toleration which favoured the growth of diverse rival religious sects side by side in the Indian soil, most of the Indian kings patronised religions other than their own. A study of the archaeological remains reveal to us the fact that as on the one hand the Buddhist kings made religious grants to non-Buddhist communities, in the same manner the non-Buddhist kings also did not refrain from stretching their bounteous hands to the Buddhists. And this spirit of sympathetic co-operation stimulated the art, architecture and sculpture of this period to rise to such a level of perfection that it drew unstinted admiration of art-connoisseurs for many centuries. Though the Gupta kings held political supremacy up to the end of the 5th century A. D., the era of art which began with them lasted much longer up to the 7-8th centuries A. D. And the influence of Gupta art spread far beyond the historical and geographical boundaries of the Gupta empire.

The Buddhist monuments consist mainly of (1) Pillars, (2) *Stūpas* (3) Railings, (4) *Caityas* or prayer halls and (5) *Vihāras* or monastic abodes.<sup>1</sup> The images, which play a great part in the history of the development of the Buddhist church, were introduced at a later date. In the hilly tracts, the Buddhist establishments are hewn out of living rocks—splendid specimens of rock-architecture. In fact, the earliest and the major number of the cave-temples of India are Buddhist. In the Buddhist literature the mode of preparing *stūpas* was suggested by Buddha himself<sup>2</sup>, and the worship of *stūpas* commenced immediately after his demise. In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* it is said that after the demise of the Buddha, a dispute arose among the Mallas, Koliyas, Sākyas and others for possession of the relics of Buddha's body, which were at last divided among eight chiefs, each of whom built a *stūpa* over them in their respective countries<sup>3</sup>. During the life-time of the Buddha, his religion was confined to Middle India. It was during the reign of the Emperor Aśoka that the religion gained a wide popularity. Aśoka erected several *stūpas* and pillars all over India, especially at the places associated with some memorable event in the life of Buddha. The fabulous number of eighty-four thousand *stūpas* erected by Aśoka in place of seven out of the eight *stūpas* erected over the relics of Buddha may be incredible, but that their number was quite large appears to be true. And the places around these *stūpas* must have been important centres of Buddhism for a few centuries upto about the fourth century A. D. when the building of new *stūpas* became less in number but there was enlargement or alteration of the older ones. Pillars became very rare and railings encircling *stūpas* in vogue from the earliest period of the Buddhist architecture—also became much rarer, and probably the only stone railing that may be ascribed to this period is one of the two sets found at Bodh-Gaya, the older one being of the time of Aśoka and made of the same kind of polished sand-stone peculiar to all Aśokan monoliths. The more popular Buddhist architectures of this period are the *Vihāras* or a group of monastic abodes for the residence of monks, *caityas* or prayer halls enshrining *stūpas* and images of Buddha.

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson, *History of Ind. & Eastern Architecture*, Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, *Dighanikāya*, XVI. 5. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, XVI. 6. 25.

Figures of Buddha were in some cases carved on the *stūpas* placed inside the *caityas*. These *Vihāras* and *Caityas* gained in popularity and increased in number. The *Vihāras* were used to be made by the Buddhists from the earliest period of its organisation—from the life-time of its Founder who himself lived in various *Vihāras*. *Caitya* halls were introduced somewhat later, the earliest form of paying homage by the Buddhists being the erection and worship of relic *stūpas*. With the rise and development of Mahāyāna, *Caitya* halls became more and more popular and the cultural atmosphere and the patronising spirit of the rulers encouraged the Buddhists of this age to revive their intellectual activities, particularly in the art and architecture of the *Caityas* and *Vihāras*. Lastly, with the growing popularity of Mahāyāna, and the gradual introduction of various gods and goddesses into its pantheon the family of Buddhist gods became enlarged to a considerable extent. This large pantheon gave inspiration and ample scope to the display of skill by the sculptors whose productions are really a treasure for all times. The archaeologists' spades have brought to light before us the long mute story of those forgotten far off days and we remain struck with wonder and admiration when we think of the men of that remote past who could build such magnificent structures with such delicate ornamentations and graceful and lovely figures with their hands and very meagre implements. We shall now begin our survey of the state of Buddhism during the Gupta period and commence with the extreme north-western part of India.

Buddhism reached the north-western region through the proselytising efforts of Aśoka. Three inscriptions found from Swat<sup>4</sup> corroborate the statement of the Chinese travellers that Buddhism lingered on this region upto the 7th century A. D. The characters of these inscriptions resemble the so-called north-western Gupta characters. These inscriptions, being quotations from the Sūtras, are very important from the literary standpoint.

It was Aśoka who was responsible for the introduction of Buddhism into the Gandhāra region. Here he built several *stūpas* which were seen by the Chinese pilgrims. After Aśoka, the region passed into the hands of foreign rulers who could have the religion easily rooted out from the territory but they did not do so, and on the other

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, VI, 133-4.

hand the great Kushān king Kanīṣka helped it in its further development. Kanīṣka very probably repaired the older *stūpas* or built new ones in their places, and it is said that during his time Gandhāra became a popular centre of Buddhism. The rulers, who governed this place after Kanīṣka, did not show much interest in Buddhism, which therefore gradually faded out in the area. But that religion of Gautama did not totally disappear from these places at least upto the 7th century, is proved by the records of the Chinese travellers as well as by archaeological discoveries. The Dharmarājika Vihāra built by Kanīṣka was seen by Fa-Hian in the 5th century in a flourishing condition. Hwen-tsang, who came to India in the early 7th century, reports that he saw many *stūpas* and monasteries in this region, in a somewhat decayed condition but their glory and sanctity were not much diminished. The Buddhist establishments of Mohra-Moradu and Kalvan appear around the Dharmarājika *stūpa*. The Archaeological reports tell us that *stūpas* and other buildings continued to be erected around the Dharmarājika *stūpa* from the 4th to 7th centuries A. D. The Bhāmala monastery in Taxila was built about the 4th or 5th century A. D. On the tiled pavement in front of the western steps of the main *stūpa* at Bhāmala is depicted the *Dharmacakra* and various other symbols, like Swastikā, lotus, rosettes, concentric circles, quarter-foils of Pipal leaves, crosses, spirals and double-axes<sup>5</sup>. A few decades later, the whole of this region must have been set on fire, apparently by the formidable enemy of India, the Hūṇa invaders, Toramāna and Mihirakula as is proved by the traces of incendiarism on the sites like some half-burnt birch bark manuscripts written in upright Gupta characters of the 5th century A. D., found from Juliāñ<sup>6</sup>.

I. In Sind, the brick-built *stūpa* of Kahu-jo-daro near Mirpur-khās contains ornamentalations and patterns resembling those at Sarnāth and at Mathurā. Clay tablets containing the well-known Buddhist formula "Ye dharma—" etc.. in 7th-8th century characters go to prove that Buddhism still had its hold over this place. The *stūpa* named Sudharanjo-daro near Tando-Mohamed-Khan, of which unfortunately nothing but the square plinth is extant, is also assigned to about the 5th-6th century A. D., on the basis of the evidence furnished by its carved bricks lying scattered.

II. That there was a net-work of Buddhist institutions with a considerable number of devotees in the Kābul valley and the Punjab region of India from the remotest period of its history is further proved by the inscriptions found in the neighbouring places. An inscription on a stone-slab from Kura in the salt-range records<sup>7</sup> the erection of a *Vihāra* "for the congregation of monks of Bhagavat Buddha by the lord of the *Vihāra*, Rotta Siddha Vṛddhi, son of Rotta Jaya Vṛddhi whose name was honoured by the lord of Naschira, for the benefit of the relatives of the donor and the queens, princes and princesses, of Mahārāja Toramāṇa Sāha Jauvala for the acceptance of the teachers (Ācāryas) of the Mahiśasakas." The characters resemble the older Buddhist nail-headed inscriptions of the Gupta period with some peculiarities. The Toramāṇa mentioned in this inscription is certainly not the famous Huṇa king of the same name, who was rather a staunch antagonist to all Indian religions—not to speak of Buddhism—but might be some other independent king bearing similar name and ruling over some territory in North-Western India. Traces of Buddhism in Punjab are found in an inscribed brass image of Buddha found in Fatehpur (Kangra dist.) approximately of the 6th century A.D. which records<sup>8</sup> the pious gift of the Buddhist friar Dharmapriya together with his brother Dharmasimha and with his preceptor of the same name (viz. Dharmasimha), and "with all sentient beings".

III. Kashmīr was a great centre of Buddhism of the Sarvāstivāda school of the Hinayāna sect from a very early period. Its later history is furnished by literary as well as architectural evidences. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, of the thirteen missionaries sent by Aśoka to preach Buddhism in different countries, one named Majjhantika was sent to Kashmir and Gandhāra. According to some opinion including that of Hwen Tsang, Kashmir was the venue of the Buddhist council held under the auspices of Kaṇiṣka. The *Rājataranginī*, the famous chronicle of Kashmir by Kalhaṇa, tells us that Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side in Kashmir during the reign of the great king Lalitāditya Muktāpiṭa (699-735) when the *Vihāras* and *Caitya* of Parihāspura (mod. Paraspur) and the *Vihāra* of Huviṣkapura (mod. Uskara) were built. The *Vihāra* of Uskara seems to have been built at least some time before that, because, Hwen Tsang, who

7 *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 238.

8 *ASI. Ann., Rep.*, 1904-5, pp. 107-8.

visited Kashmir a few decades earlier and lived there for two years, is said to have spent a night in the Huṣkara Vihāra, which must be the same as that at Huviṣkapura. Another monastery mentioned by the pilgrim was the Jayendra-Vihāra. The Chinese pilgrim is said to have seen about 100 monasteries in Kashmir, but Wu-K'ung who lived at the same place about a century later, reports to have seen about 300 monasteries.<sup>9</sup> The most remarkable early Buddhist remains at Kashmir are unearthed at Harwan near Srinagar. It occupies a lovely situation on a slope facing the beautiful Dal lake, with a mountain range on its background. The remains reveal a large Buddhist establishment with a *stūpa* in its courtyard, a *Caitya* hall and some monastic abodes around them. The *Caitya* hall which occupies a prominent position on the highest part of the plateau is one of the rare specimens of the type in northern India, bearing remarkable affinity to those of the rock-cut *Caitya* halls in the southern parts of India. Numerous terracotta plaques found at the site are unique specimens of Indian art. As observed by Percy Brown, "the remains at Harwan indicate that the memorable impact of diverse historical cultures, which took place in this part of Asia in the early centuries of the first millennium, also had repercussions on the arts of Kashmir<sup>10</sup>." And though we have hitherto found no inscription from Kashmir, the deficiency is more than made up by the monumental discovery of a number of Sanskrit manuscripts of various Buddhist texts from a *stūpa* at Gilgit, written in characters of 5-6th century A.D. These manuscripts are supposed to be the earliest manuscripts so far discovered in India, and were hitherto known to have existed only in their Tibetan translations.<sup>11</sup>

IV. For the region lying between the north-western countries and Mathura, we have practically no archaeological materials to depict the story of the condition of Buddhism in these regions. Hwen Tsang reports to have seen a number of Buddhist institutions and also Buddhist devotees in this region. Mathura and its neighbourhood was a great centre of Jainism as well as of Buddhism from a very early date, the form of Buddhism being mainly the Sarvāstivāda as it is associated with the name of Upagupta, the religious teacher of Aśoka,

<sup>9</sup> Watters, I, pp. 258ff; cf. IA., 1895, p. 342ff.

<sup>10</sup> P. Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 186.

<sup>11</sup> *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. N. Dutt.

who is said to have had great success as a missionary in this region and converted numerous people. An inscription of the time of Kanis̄ka records that the Sāmmitiyas also resided at this place. Hwen Tsang is said to have seen the followers of Mahāyāna also. The Chinese travellers saw here about twenty Buddhist monasteries and a large number of devotees. But unfortunately no remains of any monastery have so far been found out in this area, though numerous Buddhist figures, some of which are inscribed, prove that at one time the place was a flourishing centre of Buddhism. The sculptures of Mathura had a peculiar type of its own and its school of art, which developed almost immediately after that of Gandhara, is regarded as the connecting link between the Gandhara and the Gupta school of art. Some Buddhist figures of the early Gupta period hailing from Mathura clearly manifest the vestiges of the older form of art mingled with the glimpses of the advancing Gupta art.<sup>12</sup> The Boston Museum of America has in its collection some images of Buddha from Mathura belonging to the Gupta period.<sup>13</sup> Two inscriptions inscribed on the pedestals of two standing Buddha images from Mathura have been discovered. These, on paleographic grounds, are to be placed at an interval of about a century. These are regarded as the latest inscriptions so far found in this region. The earlier one, ascribed to the middle of the 5th century A.D., is inscribed on the pedestal of a broken image of standing Buddha and records the gift of the figure by some "Vihārasvāmīni Devatā", most probably a "Mother Superior" of a nunnery, "for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by her parents and all sentient beings". The later one is the gift of another nun of the name of Jayabhaṭṭā to a monastery named Yaśovihāra.<sup>14</sup> Not only stone but bronze images also have been discovered from Mathura and other places which add to the glory of the artists of this period.

V. The city of Śrāvasti is prominent in Buddhist literature for continued presence and activities of Buddha himself. It is identified with the modern ruined city of Saheth-Maheth in the Gonda and Bahraich districts of U. P. where Gen. Cunningham discovered a colossal image of Buddha with the name of Śrāvasti inscribed on it. Archaeological excavations have brought to light many of the sites

<sup>12</sup> ASI., 1922-23, p. 168-69.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Boston Museum Catalogue* by Coomaraswamy.

<sup>14</sup> CII., III, pp. 262ff, 273ff.

mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims and those agree reasonably with their description. The Jetavana-vihāra with its eastern and northern gates, as described by Fa-Hian, has been brought to light by Gen. Cunningham at Saheth. The Aṅgulimāla-stūpa, the Gandha-kūṭī, and the Kosāmba-kūṭī have been identified by the excavators. Five brickbuilt monasteries together with a shrine and a stūpa have been unearthed in this area and very likely these belong to our period of survey. There are some structural remains of the Gupta and subsequent periods, as also of the earlier period testifying that the site was occupied from the Kushān upto the 11-12th centuries A.D. The sculptures so far found at this site are anterior to the classical period, and it is strange enough that no sculpture of this period has hitherto been come to light. But there are many inscribed terracotta seals and sealings bearing the Buddhist creed in scripts of the 6th-7th century.

VI. Prayāga or the district around Allahabad was the centre of Buddhism from the lifetime of Buddha. Kausāmbī, modern Kosam near Allahabad, where the Ghoṣitārāma monastery mentioned in the Buddhist literature has been unearthed together with an inscription of the earlier centuries mentioning the name of the monastery, was sanctified by the presence of the lord himself. The records of the Chinese pilgrims prove that this country continued to be a centre of Buddhism in subsequent periods also, at least upto the 7th century when Hwen Tsang visited India, and Harṣavardhana was ruling in this region. Though there is no inscription either of Harṣa or any other ruler, both Hwen Tsang and Harṣa's biographer Bāṇa depict the king as a great patron of Buddhism. The quinquennial religious assembly organised under the auspices of Harṣa is said to have taken place during the visit of the Chinese pilgrim at Allahabad. Hwen Tsang speaks eloquently of the assembly and the favour shown to Buddhism by its inaugurator, Harṣa. Two inscriptions belonging to periods earlier than Harṣa found in the neighbouring areas relate the continuation of the religion from its inception. Of the two inscriptions, the first, ascribed to the reign of the Gupta ruler Kumāragupta I, found at Mankuwar in the Allahabad district records the installation by a monk called Buddhamitra of the stone-figure of Buddha, on which appears the inscription<sup>15</sup>. An attempt has been made to identify this Buddhamitra

<sup>15</sup> *CII.*, III, p. 45ff.

with his namesake, the teacher of Vasubandhu<sup>16</sup>. The other inscription, found in a village named Deoriya in the same district, though undated, is assigned to the 5th century on paleographic grounds, and records the gift of the image of Buddha by a Sākyā monk Bodhivarman<sup>17</sup>.

VII. K a s i a in the Gorakhpur district is the modern site of ancient Kuśinagara, the site of hallowed memory in the history of Buddhism as the place of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, and as such one of the four great places of pilgrimage for the Buddhists. Kasia has yielded a large number of archaeological materials which show that the origin of the place goes back to a remote antiquity, even as early as the Mauryan age. Of the many *Mahāparinirvāṇa Caityas* found at this place, the main one, designated Māthā-kuvar-kā-koṭ, by the local people, is supposed to have been rebuilt at this period. A colossal recumbent stone image of Buddha in the pose of attaining *Mahāparinirvāṇa* has been unearthed at Kasia. It bears an inscription under its pedestal which records the gift of the same figure by an abbot (Mahāvihāra-svāmin) named Haribala.<sup>18</sup> Again, in the relic chamber of a large *stūpa* behind the Nirvāṇa temple at Kasia, was found a copper vessel—probably containing the relics, with an inscribed copper lid. The inscription contains the Buddhist *Nidāna Sūtra* and also the record of the gift (of the vessel) by the pious Haribala, obviously the same person as the donor of the image mentioned above. It is also stated in the inscription that the urn belonged to the Nirvāṇa-caitya, confirming the identity of Kasia with the ancient Kuśinagara. Further evidence of the identity of Kasia with Kuśinagara is supplied by a number of clay seals depicting Buddha in the attitude of attaining *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, with the *Dharmacakra* or the wheel of Law underneath, and the legend 'Mahāparinirvāṇa Bhikṣusaṅghasya' on it in Gupta characters, or 'Sri Mahāparinirvāṇa mahāvihāriyārya bhikshusaṅghasya' in 8th century characters. Some official sealings with legends in Gupta characters and fragmentary stone inscriptions have also been found in the area.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> IA., 1912, also *Allan Cat. of Gupta Coins*, p. XLII.

<sup>17</sup> CII, III, p. 271 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 272.

<sup>19</sup> ASI. Ann. Rep., 1911-12.

VIII. Sarnath had the singular fortune of being the birth place of Buddhism as well as of the Buddhist Saṅgha, the two jewels of the Buddhist Trinity. The first monastic organisation formed at Sarnath continued to exist here in subsequent days. Aśoka, who is credited with building numerous Buddhist edifices, constructed the Dharmatājika *stūpa* here, and erected one of his edict pillars, the stump of which still remain in situ. Its inscription portion has been preserved in such excellent condition that it can be read quite easily even after such a long interval of time. The *stūpa* was seen by Hwen Tsang, and it remained extant even about two centuries ago, when a local chief of Benares, Jagat Singh by name, destroyed it for procuring stones. The lion capital crowning the pillar which has been adopted recently as the insignia of the Republic of India, is exhibited in the adjoining museum. In the Suṅga, Kānva, and Andhra periods, the Sarnath monastery continued to exist in an insignificant way, but it was revived again in the Kushan period, specially under Kaṇiṣka. The most notable statue of the period of Kaṇiṣka found at Sarnath is the colossal Bodhisattva figure with the umbrella dedicated by the monk Bala. The Buddhist art attained the summit of its glory at Sarnath during the Gupta period, and a considerable number of Buddhist images which have been unearthed from Sarnath during excavations as well as those of the same period found from Mathura, are regarded as the finest specimens of Indian art. The main shrine of Sarnath is supposed to have been erected during the Gupta period, but who was its patron, is not yet clear. The famous Dhāmekh *stūpa*, still extant at Sarnath, must have been rebuilt on an earlier nucleus during this period, and show a marked distinction in its formation compared with other *stūpas* of earlier date. A fair number of inscriptions found from Sarnath help us to ascertain the condition of Buddhism in this period. An inscription of the 4th century A. D., on the pedestal of a broken image of standing Buddha, records the gift of the statue by a Buddhist nun 'Dharmmade'. The inscription below a sandstone bas-relief representation of three scenes of the life of Buddha, belonging to the 5th century (now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) records that the sculpture was made by the order of a religious mendicant named Harigupta. An inscription on a figure of Buddha, assigned to the reign of Kumāragupta (II) records the gift of the image by a certain monk Abhayamitra. Another

image contains the inscription 'Deya-dharma-yam Kumāraguptasya' which suggests that the donor was perhaps the Gupta king Kumāragupta himself. Two other inscriptions of the monk Abhayamitra have been found at Sarnath on the pedestals of two similar beautiful Buddha images standing on lotus, assigned to a later period, to the reign of Budhagupta. There are also the 5th century inscription of the gift of the monk Silasena and the 6th century gift of the great lay-devotee Narṇnana as well as the gift of a pillar used as a lamp-post in the main shrine by the devout worshipper Kirti, belonging to the 5th century. A peculiar fact about the inscriptions of this period is that they seldom state the particular sect of Buddhism to which the donors or the donee belonged. And as such we are confronted with a difficulty to ascertain the form of religion prevalent in a certain locality. This difficulty is somewhat solved by two dedicatory inscriptions on a railing-stone at Sarnath, recording the paying of homage to the Sarvāstivādin teachers. Sten Konow remarks about these inscriptions: "the inscription consists of two distinct parts in different characters. The beginning belongs to the 3rd or 4th c. A. D. The final portion....is older by about four centuries. It appears that the first part of the earlier inscription has been erased and a different beginning substituted." From these, it becomes evident that the Sarvāstivādins were predominant in this region, and previously some rival sect had its centre in the same region. The later sects scratched the previous names and substituted that of their own<sup>20</sup>.

IX. The city of Pāṭaliputra, modern Patna, had no less importance in the history of Buddhism than its political one. It became the capital city as early as the time of the grandson of Bimbisāra. Aśoka too had his capital at this city, and this place must have been a centre of Buddhism from that very period. Fa-Hian in the early 5th-6 c. saw a large monastery with the adherents of the Mahāyāna sect, and another with those of the Hinayāna faith. Both the monasteries contained numerous priests and were great centres of learning. But Hwen Tsang, two centuries later, found the city almost deserted, with very few Buddhist and Brahmanic ruins scattered here and there. Archaeological excavations have brought to light what is supposed to

be the palace of Aśoka, and recent excavations have unearthed some Buddhist establishments which, if further excavations are carried on, might, in the long run, be identified with those referred to by Fa-hian.

X. The illustrious institution of Nālandā did not rise into prominence till the later part of the Gupta rule. According to Tāra-nātha Nālandā was a flourishing centre of Buddhism as early as the time of Nāgārjuna (i. e. 2nd c. A. D.), who is said to have passed his academic as well as teaching career in the monastery of Nālandā. But we have no archaeological or epigraphic record in support of the statement. All the Buddhist Vihāras, from their earliest history, provided educational facilities particularly of the Tripitaka. In the same manner, the Nālandā monastery with its educational activities might have existed in an insignificant position from an earlier period, till it gained the world-wide reputation as a University centre at the time of the late Gupta rulers. Archaeological reports also do not prove its importance before that period. Probably it was not before the time of Kumāragupta that the Nālandā monastery came into prominence, as the coin of the king found on the site claims to prove; the inscribed copper-plate ascribed to Samudragupta is supposed by scholars as spurious; and Fa-Hian does not mention a single word about the monastery of Nālandā, though he speaks of the village Nalō and the Sāriputra tope. On the other hand, Hwen Tsang, two centuries later, speaks highly of the monastic establishment of Nālandā, of its patron kings, of the succession of teachers, the fame of whose vast knowledge and scholasticism spread all over Asia and attracted students from far off countries. Under one of them, viz., Śīlabhadra, he himself studied for a long period. The architectural remains of Nālandā disclose several strata which indicates that the buildings were built and re-built several times, and was in a flourishing condition upto the period of the Pālas. The majority of the inscriptions from Nālandā belongs to the age of the Pālas. For the period under review, we have very few inscriptions, one of which is quite interesting. This is the inscription of the time of Yaśovarmadeva, the characters of which resemble those of Ādityasena found at Āpsad, and hence is placed in the 6th century A.D. It records certain gifts of Mālāda<sup>21</sup>, son of a minister of Yaśovarmadeva, to the temple of Buddha, erected by

Bālāditya at Nālandā. Though some difference of opinion have occurred about the identity and date of the Yaśovarmadeva during whose reign the gift was made<sup>22</sup>, this inscription is of considerable value as it confirms the statement made by Hwen Tsang, that the Nālandā monastery was built by 'Bālāditya Rājā'. The inscription gives the description of the Nālandā monastery as follows: "Bālāditya, the great king of irresistible valour, erected a great and extraordinary temple of the illustrious son of Suddhodana (i. e. Buddha) here at Nālandā. Nālandā had scholars well-known for their (knowledge of the) sacred texts and art, and (was full of the) heaps of the rays of *Caityas* shining and bright like white clouds. It had a row of Vihāras, the line of whose tops touched the clouds—Nālandā had temples which were brilliant on account of the net-work of the rays of the various jewels set in them and was the pleasant abode of the learned and virtuous Saṅgha"—From the record it seems probable that the donor Mālāda himself also took to the life of a monk and his sister Nirmilā mentioned in the inscription might also have been a nun. Besides this and one or two other minor inscriptions, numerous votive inscriptions—some of them bearing different Buddhist sūtras—and clay seals bearing the name of the organisation of the Bhikkhus of Nālandā ('sri Nālandā mahāvihāriya bhikkhusaṅghasya'), belonging to different periods, have been unearthed during excavations. Two of the carved bricks bear on them the complete *Pratītyasamutpādasūtra* and its exposition in Gupta characters, which is supposed to be unique of its kind<sup>23</sup>.

XI. The township of Rājagṛhi, modern Rajgir, where the Buddhistic monastic institution developed during the life time of Buddha was found by both the Chinese pilgrims as almost deserted, and archaeological reports also ascribe practically nothing to this period, except the *stūpa* of Giriyeuk near Rajgir, which has a shape quite different from the earlier ones.

XII. Bodh-Gaya is a place of perpetual interest not for the Buddhists only, but for everyone who is in the least interested in the religion of the Buddha, because it is here that Gautama Buddha attained his supreme knowledge, and as such, is being visited by numerous Buddhists as well as non-Buddhists from the earliest times. Aśoka made a pilgrimage to this place, in commemoration of which

he constructed a railing around the Bodhi tree and the seat of the Buddha underneath it, and perhaps also erected a pillar as is supposed from some carvings of Bharhut, but this assumption does not find support from the Chinese pilgrims. Two sets of railings are to be found at Bodh-Gaya, one belonging to the time of Aśoka with the stories of Buddha's life carved on them, and the other belonging to the Gupta period, with the typical Gupta ornamentations pictured on them. A peculiar fact is that all the inscriptions, both old and new, are incised on the older set of railings.<sup>24</sup> The Bodh-Gaya temple shows marks of additions and alterations, and the nucleus of the present temple is supposed to have been originated in the Gupta period. Of the inscriptions of Bodh-Gaya pertaining to our period, the earliest is the one ascribed to the reign of Mahārāja Trikamala, possibly a feudatory of the Gupta monarchs. It records that two monks, both teachers of Vinaya, caused one Sīnharatha to dedicate the image of the Bodhisattva, evidently the one on which it is incised, with the help of two other persons, one of whom is a female lay devotee and the other an expounder of the holy text.<sup>25</sup> Then there are the two inscriptions of the Ceylonese monk Mahānāman, dated in the 6th century A.D., one recording the erection of a 'Maṇḍapa' for Buddha within the area of Bodh-Gaya, and the other recording the gift of a figure of Buddha, by the same person. This monk Mahānāman is recorded to be an inhabitant of Laṅkādvīpa or the island of Ceylon, and is doubtfully identified with the author of the well-known Pali chronicle of Ceylon, viz. the *Mahāvatīsa*<sup>26</sup>. But whatever his identity might be, these two inscriptions testify to the fact that people from such a distant country like Ceylon retained their connection with this place (which began with the mission sent by Aśoka), even in this period, though it is evident from other inscriptions that these are not the first pilgrims from Ceylon to Bodh-Gaya.<sup>27</sup> That pilgrims from Ceylon continued their visit to this place in subsequent centuries also, is proved from a 6th or 7th century inscription in which it is stated that some scion of the ruling family of Lanka, Prakhyātakirtī by name,

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Barua, *Gaya* and *Bodh-Gaya*, p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> ASI, *An. Rep.*, 1922-23, p. 169.

<sup>26</sup> For details see *CII*, III, p. 274ff.

<sup>27</sup> ASI, *An. Rep.*, 1908-09; Bloch's *Report on Bodh-Gaya*, p. 156.

caused some buildings to be made here ("at Triratna" as the expression runs).<sup>28</sup> Another fragmentary inscription from the same place and the same period records the pious gift of an unknown devotee for the plastering, regular repairing, maintenance of lamps in the shrine of Buddha, and in the monastery, as well as the excavation of a well or pond for the use of monks.<sup>29</sup> Another inscription of the 6th century on the pedestal of a Buddha image (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta), records the gift of the image by two Śākyā monks, Dharmagupta and Dāmṣṭrāsenā, natives of an unidentified place called Tisyāmratīttha.<sup>30</sup>

XIII. Buddhism must have penetrated into Bengal at least in the early years of the Christian era, as referred to in the Nāgārjunikonda inscription, even if we leave out of consideration the Mahāsthān inscription written in Maurya characters, which mentions the Chabbaggiya bhikkhus, i.e. the party of six men headed by Devadatta, and as such an anti-party of the organisation of Buddha. Of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian did not visit North Bengal, but he went to the adjacent countries like Cāmpā in the Bhāgalpur district, and Tāmra-lipti, where he himself stayed for two years and studied Buddhist scriptures, and found the religion flourishing with many *stūpas* and monasteries full of monks. Hwen Tsang travelled in Bengal and is said to have seen many *stūpas* and monasteries containing both Hinayānic and Mahāyānic monks. The establishments mentioned by Hwen Tsang and other Chinese pilgrims who visited subsequently, are not yet definitely located, but the numerous ruins scattered all over the length and breadth of Bengal,—the major portion of which is at present included within the area of Pakistan,—suggest that if systematic exploration is carried out, most of the places mentioned by them will ultimately be traced. The prosperous condition of Buddhism in Bengal in the Gupta period onwards is also attested by various documents. The Gunai-ghar copper-plate<sup>31</sup> of the reign of Mahārāja Vainyagupta, a scion of the Gupta family, dated in 506-7 A.D., records the grant of land by the king at the instance of his vassal Mahārāja Rudradatta in favour of the Buddhist Ayavartaka saṅgha of the Mahāyāna sect. The saṅgha founded by Ācārya Sāntideva was living in a monastery called Āśrama-

<sup>28</sup> ASI., *An. Rep.*, 1908-09; Bloch's *Report on Bodh-Gaya*, p. 156.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> CII., III, p. 281.

<sup>31</sup> IHQ., VI, p. 45f.

vihāra, which was dedicated to Ārya Avalokiteśvara and had been established by the said Rudradatta. The plate also refers to two other Buddhist monasteries in the neighbouring area, one of which is designated Rāja-vihāra or the royal monastery. Sāntideva of the inscriptions is surely not the author of *Sikṣasamuccaya*, who is supposed to have lived a century later<sup>32</sup> but some other teacher of the same name. And the name of the particular *sāṅgha* viz. Avaivartaka, found for the first time in this plate, is not mentioned elsewhere. By way of explanation it may be stated that in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* and other Mahāyāna texts, there are a number of references to a spiritual stage 'Avaivartika Bodhisattvasthānam' and also to 'Avivartika', 'Avaivartika teja', and 'Avaivartika' etc.<sup>33</sup> It seems that a sect which aimed at the Avaivartika or 'incapable of sliding back' stage, grew up in this locality, which took the name of Avaivartika or Avaivartika *sāṅgha*. At any rate, this record is a positive evidence that Buddhism took a firm root in Bengal even in this period, under the royal patronage. The condition of Buddhism in the 7th century in Bengal, if not the whole of India, is reflected in an inscription on a copper plate found from Kailan in the Tippeta District of Bengal. It is the donation of an official of a certain king named Sridharana Rāta, to the Buddhist Triratna, as well as some other donations to a number of Brahmins for performing 'the five great sacrifices'.<sup>34</sup> The religious toleration which is the characteristic feature of the Indians, is once more manifested in this inscription. It supplies further evidence to the fact that Buddhism was tending towards merger with Brahmanism and devotees of the Buddha did not refrain from being respectful to Buddhism and Brahmanism in the same breath. Another inscription of a somewhat later date, found in Bengal, is also of a similar effect as the Kailan plate. It is the inscription on an image of Sarvāṇī<sup>35</sup> (a form of Dūrgā) dedicated by Prabhāvatī, queen of a Buddhist king named Devakhadga. Two copper-plates with inscriptions found from Asraspur in Bengal<sup>36</sup> reveal that a number of rulers whose names ended with Khadga, and hence

32 Winternitz, II, p. 365.

33 Cf. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*—Bib. Bud. X, p. 264; also the Gilgit Mss. of the text, ed. N. Dutt, pt. I, p. 70, verse 5; pt. II, p. 253 v. 130; pt. III, p. 465. v. 1126; also p. 510. (avaivartiko bhavisyatyanuttarāyām samyaksambodhau).

34 IHQ., XXIII, p. 221 ff.

35 Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 357.

36 MASB., I, no 6, p. 65ff.

might be called the 'Khadga family', ruled in Bengal during the earlier part of the 8th c. A.D. The plates are significant for the fact that Buddhism received royal recognition after a long period, as the royal records depict all of them as devout Buddhists. And further, though none of this line of Buddhist kings were as illustrious as any of the previous Buddhist rulers like Aśoka, Kaṇiṣka, or the Sātavāhana rulers, these Khadga rulers may be regarded as the predecessor and ancestors of a long and glorious line of Buddhist kings, viz., the Pālas. Numerous Buddhist figures have been found in Bengal, but the majority of them belong to the Pāla period. The earliest find is the standing image of Buddha from Bihārīl in Rajshahi district.<sup>37</sup> The image is to be dated from its style, not later than the 5th century A.D. and is now deposited in the Varendra Research Society Museum, Rajshahi. It bears such close affinity to those of Sarnath, that one may quite well infer that it was supplied from that place. Unfortunately the image is very badly damaged, but still it is a fine piece of sculpture. Another interesting Buddhist figure of the same period is the gold-plated image of Mañjuśrī, collected from the Balaidhāp mound near Mahāsthān, Bogra. This is undoubtedly one of the finest specimens of bronze or octo-alloy images so far found in Northern and Eastern India. The figure has the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya, the spiritual father of Mañjuśrī, according to the code of *Sādbhanamālā*, placed on its crown. This image is also damaged, but the loveliness of the figure prove that it was also beautiful in its original state. The execution of the limbs and drapery leads us to assign it to the Gupta period. An important point to be noticed in connection with this image is that it has changed the earlier notion that gold-plated images were made for the first time by the Siamese artists in Siam only in the 8th c. A.D. In fact, this image shows that metal images were used to be gilt long before that period in India and perhaps the Siamese artists were indebted to India in this respect also.<sup>38</sup>

XIV. Orissa was one of the cradles of Buddhism when it tasted the religious fervour at the time of Aśoka. The religion again took its last shelter in this country before its final disappearance from Bengal and other parts of India after the Muhammadan invasion.<sup>39</sup>

37 *History of Bengal*, Dacca, I. p 523.

38 N. Dasgupta, *Bāṅglāy Bauddhadharma* (in Bengali) p. 46-47.

39 H. P. Sastri, *Bauddha Dharmā* (in Bengali), p. 106-7

We do not hear of any activities of the Buddhists in this part of the country during the intervening period. That Buddhism existed in Orissa in the 6th-7th centuries A. D. is proved by the statement of Hwen Tsang who is said to have seen many Buddhist monasteries and numerous devotees in Wu-Tu (Odra or Orissa' country,<sup>40</sup> and who was selected by Harṣavardhana to be deputed with four other scholars from Nālandā to silence the Hinayānist monks of Orissa who were becoming vehemently opposed to the Mahāyānists.<sup>41</sup> The group of Buddhist monasteries in the Jajpur hills, known as Udaygiri, Lalitagiti, and Ratnagiri, have produced a large number of sculptures and images datable to Gupta period. An image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi belonging to the later Gupta period has been found out from a place named Sāntamādhava in Jajpur, and a life-size image of four-armed Avalokiteśvara on the Ratnagiri have the same pose common to the sculptures of the Gupta age. Many votive *stūpas* and architectural and sculptural fragments comprising heads of some colossal Buddha images have been found from this Ratnagiri hill. Sculptures belonging to later periods found in this place prove the continuance of this place as a Buddhist centre. At Lalitagiri there are also a large number of sculptures fixed in modern temples, which have inscriptions on them in 8th century characters, mostly containing the Buddhist creed. The sculptures represent the Buddhist gods and goddesses like Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, and Maitreya. A number of images of Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, Prajñāpāramitā and other Buddhist gods have been found in Udayagiri hill also and these sculptures too contain inscriptions in scripts of 7th to 10 or 11th centuries. On the back of one such image of Avalokiteśvara, with the Dhyanī-Buddha Amitābha seated in its crest, is an inscription saying that it was the gift of a monk Subhagupta, written in 7th or 8th century characters.<sup>42</sup> The extensive ruins in these three hills prove that this locality was a flourishing centre of Buddhism from the 7th century onwards, and the cult of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā was more prevalent. The Neulpur grant of the king Śubhakaradeva<sup>43</sup> reveals that a line of Buddhist kings was ruling in Orissa in the 8th century, and Buddhism must have been flourishing under their patronage. In the

<sup>40</sup> Watters, II, p. 193.

<sup>41</sup> Beal, *Life*, p. 160-61.

<sup>42</sup> ASI., Memoir, 44.

<sup>43</sup> Ep. Ind., XX, p. 1. f.

inscription, instead of the conventional epithet used by all Buddhist kings and devotees, viz. 'Parama Saugata', the Kara kings of Orissa adopted a new designation for themselves, viz. 'Parama Tāthāgata' which, of course, carries the same meaning. The object of the grant is to register the gift of some villages to a number of Brāhmīns by the king. Here again we are confronted with another example of the liberal character of Indian religions, as also to the fact that Buddhism and Brāhmanism were coming in closer relations with each other.

XV. The religion of Buddha was introduced into Western India during the life time of its founder who is said to have deputed his disciple Mahākaccāyana, a native of Avantī, to preach his religion there. Again, during the time of Aśoka, Aparānta or the western country received the Yavana Dhammarakṣita as the missionary despatched by the emperor. This country was fortunate enough in having the Sātavāhana rulers as great patrons of Buddhism under whom the religion flourished greatly and numerous cave-temples were excavated in the hilly tracts of Western India. The origin of these cave-temple belongs to further antiquity, perhaps to the time of Aśoka, who incised one of his rock-edicts on the hill of Girnar, though the credit of constructing the majority of the cave-temples goes to the Sātavāhanas. The caves of Nāsik, Kārlē, Bhājā, Junnār, Kānherī etc. bear testimony to the palmy days of Buddhism. Though they lost their importance in subsequent periods, some of them at least were not altogether deserted and were occupied or frequented by the Buddhists who made gifts to them even upto the 10th-11th centuries. In the great caitya-cava at Kānherī, there is an inscription recording the gift by a Buddhist monk of the seated figure of Buddha under which it is carved. On the verandā of the same cave, there is under a standing image of Buddha an inscription which records that the image was dedicated by a mendicant Buddhaghosa, the disciple of a teacher named Dharmavatsa, who was well-versed in the three Piṭakas. In the veranda of cave no. 3 is the 'meritorious gift' of a Buddha figure by a monk Dharmagupta. Near the great pillar at the same place, on a small *caitya* in bas-relief, is incised the beginning of the well-known Buddhist creed and in a small chamber stands a figure of Buddha as the gift of a teacher Buddharakṣita. All these inscriptions belong to the 5th to 7th centuries A.D.<sup>44</sup> The

original architecture of Kānherī is simple but there are subsequent additions of sculpture with the development of Mahāyāna.

The Buddhist caves of Lonād—a few miles off Kalyan in the Bombay presidency—seems to be an intermediate station on the long pilgrim and trade route which led from Sopara via Kānherī and other Buddhist monasteries on Salsette islands to the Nanaghat Pass and on to the higher Deccan. Due to absence of inscriptions the date of the caves cannot be ascertained definitely, but the beautiful and lively sculptures that are chiselled out in the caves bear such close affinity with those in the later caves of Ajanta, that they may be well ascribed to that period. The sculptures in these caves depict *Jātaka* stories, some of which cannot be identified. There are also scenes of the Buddha's subjugation of the furious elephant Nālagiri, court scenes, etc.<sup>45</sup> That Junagadh was a fairly large centre of Buddhism at least upto the 7th century A. D., is testified by the statement of Hwen Tsang who found about fifty convents with nearly 3000 monks, belonging to the Sthavira sect of the Mahāyāna, as also by the discovery of numerous Buddhist caves near modern monastery named Bawa Pyata's Math.<sup>46</sup>

XVI. The Maitraka rulers of Vālabhī began their career as the vassal (Sāmanta) of the Imperial Guptas. They threw off the Gupta suzerainty with the decline of the Gupta power and gradually changed their epithet from 'Sāmanta' to the glorious title of Mahārājādhirāja.<sup>47</sup> These Maitraka kings, though themselves not professed Buddhists, were great patrons of the religion, and a large number of inscriptions of the rulers of this dynasty record the bounteous gifts made by those kings to the Buddhist organisations of the country. Two lady members of this royal family were devout Buddhist nuns who established monasteries of their own. One of them, Duḍḍā was the niece of king Dhruvasena. She is also mentioned as a queen in some other inscriptions. The other lady of the royal family who embraced the life of a nun is Mimma. From the inscriptions of the Maitraka rulers it becomes clear that during their rule, the region around modern Saurāṣṭra was a flourishing centre of Buddhism with no less than

45 *JISOA.*, XV, p. 84 ff.

46 *ASWI.*, II, p. 139.

47 For the gradual change in their epithet see Bhandarkar's List of Inscs. in *Ep. Ind.*, XX, appendix.

thirteen monasteries, names of which are : Bhaṭṭārka vihāra, Gôhaka vihāra, Ābhyanṭarika v., Kakka v., Buddhadāsa v., Vimalagupta v., Sthiramati v., Yakṣa-sūtra v., Pūrṇa-Bhaṭṭa v., Ajjita v., Bappapādiya v., Vaṇisatāka v., and Yodhāvaka vihāra<sup>48</sup>. Hwen Tsang associates the two eminent Buddhist scholars Guṇamati and Sthiramati with Valabhi, and this is corroborated by the name of the Vihāra. In the inscriptions the mention of donations for buying books for the monasteries<sup>49</sup> also supports the tradition that the Valabhi mōnasteries were great centres of education not inferior to those of Nālandā.

XV. The missionary activities of Aśoka is best illustrated in the monuments of Sāñcī, the earliest strata of the main *stūpa* of which is ascribed to Aśoka. The remains of an edict pillar of the same emperor found in the vicinity lends support to this assumption. Incidentally it may be mentioned that in the Ceylonse chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa*, it is stated that Mahendra, son of Aśoka, who headed the Buddhist mission to Ceylon, visited his mother 'Devī' before his journey, at a monastery at Cetiyagiri near Vidiśā, where she was living as a nun, and stayed in that monastery for a short period. This Cetiyagiri is probably identical with the hillock of Sāñcī, where the remains of the 'Devī's monastery' lie still extant. It is strange to note that none of the Chinese pilgrims seem to have visited Sāñcī during their tour in India. For none of them make any mention of this centre of Buddhism, which, as is evident from the extensive ruins found at the site, was in a flourishing condition at the time of their visit to India. The main *stūpa* must have been dedicated to Buddha and the rest to the more distinguished disciples of the Master, as is proved from the discovery of the relics of Sāriputra and Moggalāna from the top of the *stūpa* no. 3. The original *stūpa* erected by Aśoka, having been damaged in course of time, was encased in a newer one and thus it became larger to a great extent than its former size. This system of constructing new *stūpas* over the older ones was not uncommon in those days. In subsequent centuries, when erection of votive *stūpas* became the custom of the day, numerous *stūpas* of different dimensions, pillars, and gateways continued to be erected on the site. Some of the very

48 *Anc. Hist. of Saurāstra* by Vriji.

49 IA., VII, p. 66.

few pillars which exist in India, with the exception of those erected by Aśoka, are found at Sāñcī. One of them contain a fragmentary inscription in 5th c. characters recording the gift of the pillar by a Vihārasvāmin whose name ended in 'Rudra' and who was the son of 'Gosura-Siñhabala'. The pillar was surmounted by the figure of Vajrapāṇi, which now remains in the Museum at Sāñcī. An inscription of Āmrakardava, an officer of Candragupta II of the Imperial Gupta line, records the gifts of an allotment of land called Iśvaravāsaka, as also of some amount of money, to the Buddhist community of Kākanādabhoṭa (the name which was often mentioned in ancient inscriptions to designate Sāñcī) for the purpose of feeding the monks and maintaining lamps. Another inscription dated in the year 131 of the Gupta era, records the grant of a female lay-devotee Harisvāminī, wife of the lay devotee Sanasiddha, of certain amount of money to the same community and for the same purpose<sup>50</sup>. Some more inscriptions incised mostly on the pedestals of Buddhist figures and dating from the 4th-7th or 8th centuries, have been found at the site. Of course inscriptions belonging to earlier or later periods are not also lacking, but we are not concerned with them for the present. A fragmentary inscription in 7th c. characters has been found from the monastery no. 43 at Sāñcī which is devoted to the praise of Lokanātha, who is described as having lotus in his hand and bear Amitābha (on his head), and also of Vajrapāṇi..... It also mentions the lord of Mahāmālava (Malwa) and a certain ruler Vappaka Deva.....a monastery with cells (*layana*) is stated to have been built. ... There seems to be further reference that the (above-mentioned) monastery belonging to a person named Tuṅga and that the benefaction recorded took place at Boṭa-Śrīparvata (i. e. Sāñcī)<sup>51</sup>. There are numerous sculptural and architectural remains on the site which bear witness to the fact that the place was a flourishing centre of Buddhism during our period of review<sup>52</sup>.

XVIII. M a n d a s o r (ancient Daśapura) in the Gwalior district was known to have been a centre of Brāhmanism only. But a stone slab discovered at the place indicates that Buddhism had some place there

50 CII., III, p. 29ff. and p. 260.

51 Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñcī*, insc. no. 842.

52 For details, see Marshall, *op. cit.*

also. The inscription on the slab records the construction of a well along with a 'stūpa', a garden and a 'prapā' (water stall) by Dattabhaṭṭa, commander-in-chief of king Prabhākara. The record is dated in the Mālava saṃvat 524 (467-68 A. D.). The inscription mentions the early Gupta king Candragupta II and his younger son Govindagupta, the donor Dattabhaṭṭa being a son of Govindagupta's general Vāyuraksita<sup>53</sup>.

Though Mandasor did not produce many Buddhist remains, the prevalence of Buddhism in the Gwalior district is amply proved by a group of Buddhist caves at Bagh in the same district. These caves, though only four in number, form a very interesting group. They belong to the classical period of Indian history, and have some sculptured figures and the most charming paintings which can very well stand in comparison with those at Ajanta. One more interesting fact about these caves is that though the caves belonged to the Mahāyānists, and there are Buddha and Bodhisattva figures carved in the caves, the main object of worship in them is the plain and simple rock-cut stūpa and no figure of Buddha is carved on them, as is most natural for the Mahāyānists. The very soft nature of the hill on which the caves of Bagh are excavated cannot be durable and a few of them have already collapsed leaving the four surviving ones.<sup>54</sup>

XIX. The most illustrious examples of rock-cut caves of this period are those at Ajanta and Ellora in Deccan. The caves of Ajanta had their beginning more than a century earlier than the Christian era, most probably under the patronage of the Sātavāhana rulers, whose dominions included this region. But in the earlier stage, the monastery of Ajanta did not prosper much. And though it continued for a period of more than three centuries, only five out of the present twenty-nine caves are said to have been used at that period. After that, the monastery of Ajanta must have been deserted for a long period of four centuries, when, about the fifth century A. D., the Mahāyānists took charge of the hill resorts, and turned them to an important centre of Buddhism. Of the 24 caves belonging to the Mahāyāna sect, there are two Cāitya halls enshrining stūpas with images of Buddha carved on them as a contrast to the corresponding two Cāitya halls enshrining stūpas but without any kind

53 ASI., Ann. Rep., 1922-23 p. 189.

54 The Bagh Caves, Marshall also cf. Mahabodhi, June '55, pp. 246.

of carving on them, out of the five earlier Hinayāna ones. The rest twenty-two caves belonging to the Mahāyāna sect are dormitories for the residence of monks with stone beds in them and the innermost central chamber of these cave-dwellings were used as shrines sheltering colossal figures of Buddha. These caves are decorated with fine sculptures representing Buddhist figures and in one of them is carved a colossal figure of recumbent Buddha with various Mahāyānic symbols underneath. But the far-reaching fame of Ajanta caves is not so much for its architecture and sculpture as it is for its fresco-paintings on the wall of the caves. These paintings are the living embodiment of grace and loveliness which have attracted admiration from the most scrupulous critics of the world. "The artists" remarks Lady Herringham, one of the premier admirers of Ajanta art, "had a complete command of posture. Their seated and floating poses especially are of great interest. Their knowledge of the types and positions, gestures and beauties of hands are amazing .....the drawing of foliage and flowers is very beautiful.....some of the schemes of colour and composition are most remarkable and interesting, and there is a great variety." Nothing need be added to this note of appreciation about the art of Ajanta. These paintings illustrate in addition to decorative designs, scenes from the life of Buddha and the Jātakas or the past lives of the Buddha, as also scenes from secular and court lives. The paintings are so mutilated in some places that identification of them becomes very difficult and sometimes impossible. That the religion of Buddha had travelled a long way from its primitive phase, is also well attested by the fact that among the paintings of Ajanta there are profuse scenes of dancing and music, which, though included among popular or court scenes, were even beyond imagination to have been painted in the dormitories of Buddhist monks, as dancing and music and some other things like toileting and garlanding (which also form the subject-matter of some scenes) were strictly prohibited for the recluses. The art of Ajanta influenced later artists not only of India proper, but also of its neighbours like Ceylon, China, Japan, and Eastern Islands. The paintings of Sigiriya at Ceylon, executed about the same period, bear a close affinity with those at Ajanta, and the 'Thousand-Buddha cave' of China, of some later days have gained world-wide reputation.

The patrons under whom the monastery of Ajanta flourished in its later phase were certainly the Vākāṭaka rulers of Deccan, in whose dominions this region was included. An inscription from the cave no. 16 at Ajanta lends further support to the assumption. Though the inscription is not preserved in full, it is interesting in that it records that the cave was excavated by order of Vīradeva, a minister of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa. Vīradeva was a devout Buddhist. In cave no. 17, an inscription records that Acitya, a minister of Rabisāmba, a feudatory to the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa, caused to excavate the ‘monolithic, gem-like hall’ with a *Caitya*, a reservoir, with cool refreshing water, and a *Gandhakūṭi*. Another important inscription is that in cave no. 26. According to this inscription, it was the monk Buddhabhadra who was responsible for this cave to be excavated, and provided funds for the work. His own disciple Bhadrabandhu and another monk Dharmadatta were the supervisors of the work. The information about Buddhabhadra as are given in this inscription, suggests that he was not an ordinary roving recluse, but must have been an abbot of a great institution, —might be that of the Ajanta monastery itself, and possessed a considerable amount of wealth. Possession of a large amount of wealth by an abbot was no more an unnatural occurrence in this period, though in primitive Buddhism, a monk was debarred from having anything more than the four requisites prescribed by the Buddha, as his own. That the monk Buddhabhadra also held an esteemed position is indicated by the mention of his friendship with the minister of the king of Asmaka, in whose name the cave was dedicated. Another name of importance which is mentioned in this inscription, is that of Sthavira Acala, who is described as one of the former builders of the Vihāras. This Sthavira Acala seems to be no other than the ‘Arāhat ‘O-che-lo’ mentioned by Hwen Tsang, who is credited to have built a convent in honour of his mother. Besides these important ones, there are other inscriptions, both painted and incised, recording gifts of ministers, noblemen, lay-devotees as well as monks. There are also explanatory titles of the Jatakas painted on the walls of the caves.<sup>55</sup>

A less known Vihāra-cave, 11 miles away from Ajanta, known as the Ghaṭotkaca cave, contains the fragments of a long inscription.

It begins with invocation to the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha and mentions about Hastibhoja, the minister of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena, father of Hariṣeṇa mentioned in the cave no. 16 at Ajanta. The Hastibhoja mentioned in this inscription was the father of Vīradeva, during whose ministry the Ajanta vihāra was excavated. From the fragmentary character of the inscription, it cannot be stated definitely whether Hastibhoja or his son Vīradeva was responsible for the excavation of the Ghaṭotkaca cave.<sup>56</sup>

XX. Situated about sixty miles away from Ajanta, the twelve Buddhist caves of Ellora are contemporary with the later phase of those at Ajanta. These caves are richer in sculpture but lack the paintings and inscriptions of Ajanta, the only inscription at Ellora being the Buddhist formula in the Caitya-cave called the Viśvakarmā cave. There are about 35 caves scattered over a vast table land, belonging to the three main Indian sects, viz. the Buddhist, the Brāhmins and the Jains, the Buddhist group of caves occupying the southernmost part of the hill. Of the 12 Buddhist caves, all are Vihāras, except the Viśvakarmā, which is a *Caitya* hall enshrining a *stūpa* carved with a colossal seated figure of Buddha attended by two attendants on both sides. A number of colossal Buddha images are to be seen at Ellora also like those of Ajanta, but the difference between the two sets of caves lies in the fact that while at Ajanta the Buddhas are represented without or only with one or two attendants, at Ellora, he is most frequently attended by a large number of side-figures, mostly the Bodhisattvas, and the Saktis or the female counterparts of the Bodhisattvas. Cave nos. 11 and 12, are designated Do-Thal and Tin-Thal respectively, though both of them are three-storied, and contain a large number of sculptures which include the seven human Buddhas, the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas, and their respective Bodhisattvas, in addition to Gandharvas and other decorative motifs. Some of the Brahmanic goddesses like Sarasvatī and Kālī were being gradually incorporated into the Mahāyāna pantheon in this period, but the figure of the goddess carved on one of the walls of these caves, with books in her hand and a peacock by her side, which had so far been identified as the goddess Sarasvatī, has of late been correctly identified by

Dr. J. N. Banerjea, with the personified form of the *Dhāraṇī* or 'protecting spells' named *Mahā-Māyūrī*,<sup>57</sup> used to be recited by the Buddhists in order to cure diseases, particularly, snake-poisoning, as the peacock was regarded as the greatest enemy of the snakes. The sculptures of the caves of Ellora conform to the mythology of the Yogācāra school of Buddhism, and it is supposed that these caves were the resorts of the same sect also. The caves of Ellora were probably the last activity of the Buddhists in this region as we do not find any other works of importance in the subsequent period.<sup>58</sup>

XXI. A few miles distant from Ellora, are the rock-hewn Vihāras of Aurangabad, divided into three groups. The first and the second group are certainly Buddhist, while the incompleteness of the caves and as such the absence of sculptures in the third group renders it difficult to regard them definitely as Buddhist, though there is nothing as negative evidence against their being Buddhist. Among the whole set of caves there is one *cāitya* hall and the rest are Vihāras. From their features it seems that the caves were in good condition from the third to the seventh century A.D. The sculptures in these caves are lovely and are imitations of those in Ajanta, particularly the 'vase and foliage' pattern. The Viharas nos. 3 and 7 of this group are the finest and the best preserved. The carvings of the images of Buddha and other gods and goddesses are on a massive proportion. These and the group of musicians and the set of devotees carved on the walls of the caves are of a very special type.<sup>59</sup>

XXII. Recent as well as previous finds prove that the ancient site of South Kośala, comprising modern Bilaspur and Raipur districts, was a centre of Buddhism at least from the 5th century. Sirpur, in the Raipur district, was noticed and hinted as a site of archaeological interest by Cousens as early as 1903 in his report. The site has been recently excavated and has brought to light the remains of two large Buddhist monasteries and several other small structures including vihāras. A colossal image of seated Buddha and a life-size figure of Padmapāni has been found from one shrine, which,

57 Paper read in the Indian History Congress at Waltair, 1953.

58 ASWI., V, p. 2 ff.

59 ASWI., III, p. 59 ff. also cf. Ind. Art & Lett., IX, new Series.

according to an inscription found at the same place, is stated to have been built by a monk Ānandaprabhu during the reign of Bālārjuna in about the first quarter of the 8th c. A.D. A considerable amount of antiquities of various kinds have been found at the site. These include a fine bronze statue of Buddha plated with gold with eyes set in silver. A number of seals with Buddhist texts, an exquisitely carved crystal *stūpa* and a gilt Vajra have also been found at an adjacent site. Of the monasteries discovered at the site, one seems to be a nunnery, from the evidence of a large number of shell and glass bangles found at the site.<sup>60</sup> An inscription from Ratanpur in the Bilaspur dist. (now in the Nagpur museum), confirms the view that in the 7th-8th c. A. D. this place was a populous centre of Buddhism. The inscription in question is of Bhavadeva Rañakeśarin. It opens with an invocation to Buddha, and relates that a certain illustrious king Sūryaghoṣa built a splendid temple or Vihāra for Buddha, in order to mitigate the sorrow incurred by the accidental death of his son. .... The inscription further records the restoration of the said temple after some time had elapsed after the king Sūryaghoṣa, under the supervision of Bhavadeva, who was in charge of the temple. The restoration work was done by two persons under Bhavadeva, one of whom is described as the favourite of the (then ruling) king, a Brāhmaṇ well-versed in Buddhist scriptures, and the other, a novice in the Buddhist institution.<sup>61</sup> Another inscription, the Mallar plate of Mahāśivagupta of South Kośala, ascribed to the 7th c. A. D., records the grant of the said king, of a village to the Buddhist congregation of the monastery at Tāradaiṁsaka. The king himself is stated to be a devout Saiva.<sup>62</sup>

XXIII. Extensive ruins prove that Andhra and countries on further south were flourishing centres of Buddhism from the pre-Christian era. Though in our period, Buddhism had lost here its palmy days, it nevertheless lingered on in these countries. The Buddhist site of Salihundam is on the summit and slopes of a very fine hill in the Ganjam district. There are remains of a large and some smaller *stūpas*, fragments of Buddhist figures, a broken image of Buddha,

60 ASI., *Ann. Rep.*, 1903-04; *Indian Archaeology*, 1954-55, pp. 24-25.

61 JRAS., 1905, p. 618 ff.

62 EI., XXIII, p. 115.

a figure of Māricī, and such other antiquities, found on the hill-top and in the neighbouring village of the same name. The Boston Museum has in its collections a standing image of Buddha found in Buddhapād in Bezwada district. The place is not far from Amarāvatī, the most illustrious centre of Buddhism in Southern India from the 2nd-3rd centuries. The image in question belonged to the 6th c. A. D., and it is said that basketfuls of images and fragments were found at Buddhapād while excavating a canal<sup>63</sup>. That the region encircling the *stūpa* of Amarāvatī was a flourishing centre also is well proved by inscriptions as well as sculptures found there. The *stūpa* at Goli is ascribed to the 4th c. A. D. The great *stūpa* of Amarāvatī was frequented and kept in repairs even as late as the 12th century. The sculptures of Amarāvatī and its neighbourhood form a different school of art. The British Museum has a very good collection of the sculptures of Amarāvatī and of the places influenced by its art. One of them is a bas-relief carved with an image of Mañjuśrī which has a lotus in one of his hands, which hold a book, and a second lotus issuing out of the stem of the first. The figure is interesting because earlier images of Mañjuśrī found in N. India, have the Dhyanī Buddha Akṣobhya in their head-dresses. The date of the image is supposed to be some time between 650 and 750 A. D<sup>64</sup>. The Pallava king Siṁhavarman II, who belonged to the last quarter of the 6th c. A. D., presented an image of Buddha to the *stūpa* of Amarāvatī. The inscription recording the presentation, is incomplete and it records that on his return from an expedition to the North, Siṁhavarman came to a place sacred to the Buddha which was called Dhānya-ghaṭa or Dhānyaghaṭaka (evidently identified with Dhānyakaṭaka, the well-known name of Amarāvatī). The lost part of the inscription evidently records the gift<sup>65</sup>. The Kapoteśvara temple of Chezrala shows from the remains of its constructions that it was originally a Buddhist *Caitya*, converted at a later date to a Śaiva temple, with the growing popularity of the religion in South India. The remains of Chezrala may be considered as one of the only two extant brick-built *Caitya* halls which have preserved their original structural condition,

63 Coomaraswamy, *Cat. Boston Museum*, II, p. 60 ff.

64 *Art and Letters*, XXVIII, no. 2. Amaravati & its influences (later school),

65 Hultzsch, *SII.*, (I), p. 25.

the other being at Ter, the ancient Tagara, in Sholapur dist. in the Nizam's dominions. Both are ascribed to the 5th c. A. D.<sup>66</sup> A number of stone inscriptions of the Ānandagotra kings, a dynasty which ruled about the 6th c. A. D., expressing their Buddhist faith are seen in the Caitya of Chezrala.<sup>67</sup> In Jagayyapeta, an inscription on a marble-slab in 5th 6th c. characters, under the figure of a Buddha, mentions Candraprabha, the disciple's disciple of Nāgārjuna; the preceptor of Candraprabha was Ācārya Jayaprabha. A similar slab has also been found from Ramireddipalli.<sup>68</sup>

XXIV. Another example of rock-cut monasteries of the Gupta period lies in the Buddhist remains on the S a n k a r a m hills in the Vizagapatam district. These caves are scattered on the hill and the remains consist of a number of *stūpas*, a series of rock-cut chambers and the foundations of an extensive monastic building. Some of the *stūpas* are the largest of their kind. From a survey, it seems that the site was in a flourishing condition in the Gupta period, though its origin goes back a few centuries earlier.<sup>69</sup> Other places in this region which have yielded remnants of Buddhism are Nāgārjunikonda, Gunṭapalle, Ghanṭāsālā, Rāmātīrtham, etc. Copper images of Buddha found from Buddhāni show the typical characteristics of Gupta art in their costume and features. A figure from Amarāvatī and identified as Avalokiteśvara, has its counterpart in the collection of the British Museum, ascribed to the middle of the 8th c. A.D. Another figure of Vajrapāṇi in the British Museum, though mutilated, has fine executions like those at Ellora.<sup>70</sup> Casting images in metal seems to be a common practice of this period, not only in the southern part of India, but in northern part also. So bronze images of Buddha have been found not only from this area, but the bronze image of Buddha found from Sultangañje and now deposited in the Birmingham Museum, is one of the finest specimens of its kind. Incidentally we may refer also to the 80 feet high image of Buddha said to have seen by Hwen Tsang at Nālandā, though no further trace of the image have been possible to find.

66 P. Brown, *Ind. Architec.*, I, p. 50.

67 *MER.*, 1900, p. 5.

68 Burgess, *Amaravati & Jagayyapeta Stūpas*.

69 P. Brown, *Ind. Architec.*, I, p. 45; also ref. *ASI., Ann. Rep.* 1907-08.

70 *Cat. of the British Museum.*

The countries to further south have not yielded many Buddhist antiquities, though the Chinese travellers found the religion in fairly popular condition. In the Western coast, an inscription is found from Goa (ancient W. Koñkan). The copperplate was issued by certain Mahārāja Candravarman, and records the grant of a piece of land to a Buddhist monastery (Mahāvihāra) at Sivapura, located in Goa. This king was probably a scion of the Bhoja family ruling in that region during the 5th century, to which period the inscription is also ascribed on paleographic grounds.<sup>71</sup>

From the above survey, it may be concluded that though the form of the religion had undergone great changes, and was losing its hold, it was in a fairly flourishing condition during this period. The decline of Buddhism, however, is not disappearance in the proper sense of the term because it merged into Brahmanism. The religion of Buddha started as a protest against Brahmanic ritualism, but ended in being more ritualistic than ethical and philosophical. The line of demarcation between the Buddhists and the Brahminists was becoming narrower in the later part of our period of survey as is evident from some of the inscriptions stated above. The assimilation of Buddhism by Brāhmanism was done by including Buddha in the list of ten Avatāras or incarnations of Viṣṇu or sometimes identifying him with Siva. This process of assimilation manifested itself in an inscription in the Varāha Perumal temple, dating about the 7th c. A. D., where the Buddha is stated as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu.<sup>72</sup>

In our period, the religion had travelled a long way from its primitive state, both in time as well as in form. But the destination was still farther, which was reached during the rule of the Pālas in Bengal, when the religion was turned into a ritualistic Tantric one. The Tantras had not yet reached its full-fledged form, but the faint traces of its advent are hinted in some of the literature of this period. The practice of mystic rites, if practised at all, was done in secret. Huen Tsang mentions that at Kāmarūpa, there were 'secret devotees'. This statement may lead one to believe that it was a centre of Tantric Buddhists, but it cannot be stated definitely that the Buddhist Tantras found a resort here in that period. Kāmarūpa, or modern Assam

<sup>71</sup> ABOR., XXIII, p. 510 ff.

<sup>72</sup> ASI., Mem., 26, p. 5.

was for a long time, even a few decades ago, considered to be a place of secret practices.

The sect of Buddhism prevalent at different parts of India at the period under our consideration, cannot be ascertained from the inscriptions of the period, because very few of the numerous inscriptions of this period state the particular sect to which they belonged. But the growing popularity of Mahāyāna is manifested by some inscriptions, reports of the Chinese pilgrims, and above all, by the vast number of images found all over the country. These figures include not only those of Gautama Buddha and the past human Buddhas, but a large number of Bodhisattvas, together with their respective Dhyānī Buddhas or spiritual fathers and their Saktis or the female counterparts. In addition to these, there are the personified forms of the sacred literature of the Mahāyānists, like the Prajñāpāramitā, Mañjuśrī, and Mahāmāyuri etc. mentioned above.

Most of the institutions which had their beginning in previous centuries, continued to function in this period and many of those others which flourished in subsequent days, had their beginning in this period. This period may be called the mid-day of Mahāyāna Buddhism, when the Māhāyana was on the summit of its glory. Then it changed on and on, until losing its individual existence, it finally merged itself into the Hindu religion.

SUDHA SENGUPTA

## Buddhism in the Sunga Period

The Sungas or at least the founder of the Sunga dynasty was the performer of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. This is recorded both in literature and inscription. The *Mahābhāṣya*<sup>1</sup> of Patanjali and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa incidentally inform us that Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, whereas from the Ayodhyā stone inscription of King Dhanadeva, we learn that general Puṣyamitra celebrated two horse-sacrifices.<sup>2</sup>

The cult of Gautama Buddha flourished during the rule of the Sungas, although they were pro-Brahmanic. This is indisputably proved by a number of monuments and inscriptions scattered over the different parts of India. In this paper it is proposed to point out the evidences yielded by archaeological excavations and epigraphic researches:—

At B h a r h u t in Nagod State and S a n c i in Bhopal State there was in each of these places a *stūpa* at the centre surrounded by stone railings leaving an intervening space for *pradakṣīna* or circumambulation with approaches from four cardinal points through four gateways. The stone railing consisting of a number of pillars is joined together by a number of *Sūcīs* or lenticular cross-bars and overlaid by *uṣṇīṣa* (coping stone). The circumambulation for the second time used to be performed by the pilgrims on a higher level through a terrace to be together by a approached by a staircase. The railing and the gateways were richly decorated with bas-reliefs for the purpose of arousing religious feeling in the minds of the pilgrims. Some of the decorative designs were of religious character while others were simple auspicious symbols. There are to be found on the railings some non-Buddhist popular deities with subordinate position evidently for proclaiming that the deities belonged to the world (*arūpa*) and not *lokottara* like Buddha.

The illustrations and labels (written in *Brāhmaṇī* characters of 2nd-1st centuries B.C.) found on the Bharhut railing offer a comprehensive picture of the state of Buddhism during the rule of the Sungas.

1 "iba Puṣyamitram yājayāmah" under Pāṇini's Sūtra, III, 2. 123.

2 Ep. Ind., vol. XX, p. 57.

As regards Buddhist pantheon, Gautama Buddha (*Sākyamuni*) and the past Buddhas e.g. (1) Vipaśyin, (2) Viśvabhū, (3) Krakucchanda, (4) Kanakamuni and (5) Kāśyapa are mentioned by name and indicated by individual symbols. No figure of Sākyamuni or any one of the earlier Buddhas is found there. Their presence is indicated in the following way:—

- (1) *Gautama Buddha* is represented by a throne surrounded by two *triratna* symbols placed under the Bodhi tree and labelled as *Bhagavato<sup>1</sup> Saka munino bodho*. (Bharhut Ins. No. 270)
- (2) *Vipaśyin* by a throne under a *Pātali* tree and labelled as *Bhagavato Vipasino bodhi* (Bh. Ins. No. 87).
- (3) *Viśvabhū* by a throne under a *Śāla* tree and labelled as *Bhagavato Vesabbuno bodhi Śālo* [Bh. Ins. No. 117 (b) ]
- (4) *Krakucchanda* by a throne under a *Śirīṣa* tree and labelled as *Bhagavato Kakusadhabasa bodhi* (Bh. Ins. No. 293 (a)]
- (5) *Kanakamuni* by a throne under a *Udumbara* tree and labelled as *Bhagavato Konāgamanasa bodhi* [Bh. Ins. No. 294)
- (6) *Kāśyapa* by a throne under a *Nyagrodha* tree and labelled as *Bhagavato Kasapasa bodhi* (Bh. Ins. No. 295).

For winning over the common people, the stories of the Jātakas were depicted on stone in the form of beautiful illustrations on the railings of Bharhut and Sāñci. Representations are found on the Bharhut railings from the following Jātakas:—

<i>Jātaka</i>			<i>Illustration No.</i>
(1) Laṭukika	...	...	253
(2) Sujāta	...	...	327
(3) Kukkuṭa	...	...	329
(4) Nigrodhamiga	...	...	337
(5) Migapotaka	...	...	343
(6) Makhādeva	...	...	356
(7) Bhisa	...	...	362
(8) Cammasātaka	...	...	379,381
(9) Ārāmadūsaka	...	...	404

	<i>Jātaka</i>		<i>Illustration No.</i>
(10)	Maṇikāñṭha	...	383
(11)	Asadisa	...	376
(12)	Mahā-Janaka	...	391
(13)	Kapota	...	406
(14)	Dabbhapuppha	...	412
(15)	Dubhiya makkata	...	418
(16)	Vessantara	...	422
(17)	Kinnara	...	424
(18)	Mahākapi	...	35
(19)	Kakkaṭa	...	289
(20)	Mūgapakkha	...	290
(21)	Vidhura-paṇḍita	...	260
(22)	Chaddanta	...	291
(23)	Alambusā	...	225
(24)	Mahā-Ummagga	...	202
(25)	Mahā-kapi II	...	317
(26)	Mahā-bodhi	...	319
(27)	Ruru	...	129

Some illustrations connected with the life of the Buddha are also found on the Bharhut railings, but they do not contain any figural representation of the Lord. His presence is indicated by the symbols of wheel, triratna, Bodhi tree, throne, *stūpa* and footprints.

After the shaving of the head of Buddha, his lock of hair is represented to have been taken away by gods to Heaven and worshipped there (Illustration No. 182). Thereafter we find that Arhadgupta, the angel makes announcement of the inauguration of the Law of Buddha in the assembly of gods. (No. 183)

The Buddhist conception of sin and hell also is represented at Bharhut (Illustration Nos 313-316). The torments of a couple for killing people by administering poison are depicted there.

The followers of the faith of Gautama Buddha came from various strata of the society. They belonged to widely distant places of the country. The gift of lithic pillars and cross-bars etc. at a place of Buddhist pilgrimage was considered an extremely religious act. And in this work both the monastic and the lay Buddhists used to take keen interest. It is found that pillars

and other objects were dedicated by nuns some of whom were named as Phalgudevī (Ins. No. 13), Somā (Ins. No. 33), Somanā (Ins. No. 34), Nāgadevī (Ins. No. 85), Nāgilā (Ins. No. 17 b) Budharakhitā (Ins. No. 131), Bhutā (Ins. No. 133), Badhikā (Ins. No. 150), Nāgā (Ins. No. 237) and Diganāgā (=Diñnāgā) (Ins. No. 310).

Teachers of Buddhist literature, pupils and reciters also contributed their share in showing due regard to the religion of the great Master. Thus we find that Bhadarīta Valaka (who was a *bhāṇaka* or a reciter) (Bharhut Ins. No. 30), Ārya Kṣudra, well versed in the *Suttantas* (cf *Ayacula sutamika*, Ins. No. 73), Buddharakṣita proficient in the *Five Nikāyas* (Ins. No. 127), Ārya Rśipālita (who was both a reciter and superintendent of the construction work) (*navakamika*) (Ins. No. 183. b), Ārya Jāta, a master of the Piṭakas (*Petakino*) (Ins. No. 263) also made gifts. The sculptor (*Rūpakāraka*), (Ins. No. 180) was also not left behind. Gifts were also forthcoming from the royal household as well as from the ordinary run of people. As regards the latter, the inscriptions record a good number of names both male and female who took part in making gifts to the Buddhist *stūpa* at Bharhut. On the other hand it is evident from the inscription No. 16, at Bharhut that some gifts came from a royal consort *Nāgarakkhitā*, wife of a certain king whose name is now mutilated. Another inscription (No. 108) records that the first pillar was the gift of Cāpadevī wife of *Revatimitra*, of Vidiśā (modern Besnagar in Gwalior state). The royal figure mounted on an elephant with a relic casket in hand just near the inscription (No. 108) is probably King Revatimitra of Vidiśā mentioned in the above record. This person is followed by a horseman holding a Garuḍa standard. This makes out the case that Revatimitra, who probably hailed from the royal family of Vidiśā was the owner of the Garuḍa standard and was thus very likely devoted to *Vaiśṇavism*. Another figure in the Bharhut railing is also found to carry a Garuḍa emblem. Moreover we are aware that in the 2nd century B.C. the Greek ambassador Heliodoros came to Vidiśā from the Greek king of Taxila. He professed *Bhāgavatism*<sup>3</sup> and set up a pillar with a Garuḍa emblem in honour of god Viṣṇu. From these it transpires that Vidiśā was an

important seat of Vaiṣṇavism in the Suṅga period and that King Revatimitra was a devotee of Vaiṣṇavism.

That Buddhism was appreciated by the Hindu society is proved by the gift of Cāpadevī, queen of Revatimitra who appears to be a follower of Vaiṣṇavism. The person mounted on an elephant holding a relic casket in his hand has been taken by some to be King Revatimitra of Vidiśā. If this identification is correct, it may be said that Revatimitra was a tolerant king and came forward of his own accord to lead the procession for depositing the relics of the Buddha in the *stūpa* at Bharhut.

It has already been noticed to some extent that the gifts at Bharhut were coming not only from the Buddhist order but also from various ranks of people of other sects. But now we shall see that the Bharhut *stūpa* attracted devotees and pilgrims not only from the same locality or neighbouring places but also from very distant regions. Thus we find that gifts were made from Pāṭaliputra (mod. Patna) (Ins. Nos. 44, 67, 70), Vidiśā (mod. Besnagar in Gwalior state) (Ins. Nos. 108, 119, 291, 302) and Bhojakaṭa<sup>4</sup> (mod. Ellichpur district, Berar) (Ins. Nos. 248, 310) etc. There are some other place names which cannot be properly identified now, e.g. Moragiri (Ins. Nos. 173, 177, 303), Bodhicakra (Ins. No. 249), Purika (Ins. Nos. 69, 132, 252), the town of Karahakāṭa (Ins. Nos. 362, 6), Dabhina (Ins. No. 150), Cuḍathīla (Ins. Nos. 85, 91) etc. Another place name, e.g. Nandinagara (Ins. No. 14), which occurs at Bharhut as well as at Sanchi cannot now be properly identified. So it seems that this Nandinagara had a very important part in the activities connected with Buddhism. The other important centres of Buddhism during the Suṅga period were at Sanci, Bodhgaya, Sarnath, Lauriya Nandan-garh and some other places.

At Sanci also the lithic bas-relief contains copious illustrations from the Jātakas and interesting stories connected with the life of the Buddha. Representations from the Mahākapi Jātaka and Syāma Jātaka etc. are found there. Here also the great Master has been represented by symbols e.g. the throne and pipal tree just as in Bharhut.

<sup>4</sup> Bhojakaṭa-rajya is found in the Chammak inscription of Pravarasena II. Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 236 f.

The Sāñci inscriptions show that there was a good number of corporate bodies or families which made gifts to the Buddhist stūpa.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes the donation comes from the village as a whole (cf I. *vejajasa gāmasa dānam* 1.17 II. *Pādukulikāya gāmasa dānam*. II. 1.) From another inscription which reads *Bodha-gothiya dhamavadhananā dānam*. 1.25., it is evident that *gosthī* or committee of trustees for looking after religious institutions of the Buddhists was in existence in about 2nd century B.C. As regards other corporate bodies which took part in the activities of the Sāñci *stūpas*, mention may be made of *dāmtakāras* or guild of ivory workers (cf *Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 378, No. 200, c 189; *Vedisakehi dāmta-karehi rūpakānmaṁ kataṁ*, (i.e. workers in ivory of Vediśā have done the carving).

Gifts were coming both from the monastic order as well as from the laity. Some of the donors both male and female were well versed in the *Suttapiṭaka* and the five *Nikāyas* (cf I. 79. *Avisinaye Sūtātikiniya maḍala chikatikāye dānam*=the gift of Aviniśa who is well versed in *Suttapiṭaka*, an inhabitant of Maḍala Chikata) (cf also I.60. *Devagirino pacanekayikasa bbichuno sa atevasi*=(gift of monk Devagiri expert in five *Nikāyas* along with pupils).

Among the donors, the trading communities such as the Seths or Śreṣṭhis and their relatives take a prominent part, the weavers (*sotika*=*sautrika*. I. 196), carpenter (according to Bühler Vaḍaki or Vardhakin means carpenter No. 311) and royal scribe (*Rājälipikara* I. 49) etc. also find suitable mention in connection with making gifts to the *stūpas* at Sāñci.

The places whose people were attracted by the great Buddhist centre at Sāñci are the following among others:—(1) Ujjayini (I. 27, 69.95; C VI. 12.49. 55-68, 70 77), Vedisa (modern Besnagar I. 38, 1,117), Mahisati (Māhismati, mod. Mandhātā on the Narbada, I. 111), Pokhara (=Puṣkara near Ajmir, I. 106, I. 83, etc.), Pratithāna Pratiṣṭhāna (mod. Paithan on the Godavari, I. 12,70), Erakina (Eran in the Sagar district of C.P. I. c 98), Tumbavana (=Tumain, Esagarh district, Gwalior State), Arāpāna, Bhogavadhana, Madhuvana, Navagāma, Kurara, Kuraghara and Nandinagara etc. the last of these names i.e. Nandinagara occurs apparently also in the place names mentioned in the Bharhut inscriptions. The lion's share of the

expenses for the ornamentation of the Sāñci monuments was borne by the villagers.

Although the votaries of the Sāñci *stūpa* generally come from the Buddhist community, there were some persons whose names bore the stamp of other religions or who were actually non-Buddhists but made gifts to the *stūpas* out of liberal views. For instance, the names, (1) Agisimā (=Agni Sarmā, I. 69) (2), Bahadata (=Brahmadatta, I. 30), (3) Viśvadeva (I. 95), Mitā (I. 73), Yamarakhita (II. c. 20) etc. appear to have been mainly influenced by the vocabulary of the Vedic literature and might have been connected with the Vedic worship also. Similarly the terms Nāgā (I. 50. c. 45), Nāgadatā (I. 117), Nāgila (I. 84. 11. c. 1), Nāgadina (=Nāgadatta, I. 115) are the reminiscences of the existence of the snake worship; and Vinhukā (II. c. 24) (=Viṣṇukā) seems to be the evidence of *Vaiṣṇavism*; while Sivanadi (=Sivanandī, I. 46), Nadiguta (=Nandigupta, I. 58), Nañdigiri (I. 108) show the influence of Śaivism. Some scholars find an implied reference to the cult of Śakti in the word Himadatā (=Himādatta, Himā being a name of Durgā, I. c. 63).

It goes without saying that at Bodh-Gaya in Bihar, illustrations from the life and activities of the Buddha are also found on the stone railings measuring 145ft. by 108ft. round the holy Bodhi tree (pipal tree). This spot of enlightenment is illustrated on the Bharhut railings as a holy edifice in the 2nd century B.C.

The Bodhi tree at Bodh-Gaya was surrounded by a sumptuous railing consisting of a covered gallery with open niches resting on pillars<sup>6</sup>. Pilgrims from distant places used to visit this sacred place even in the 1st century B.C. This is evident from an inscription written in the script of 1st century B.C. wherein it is said that Buddharakṣita, an inhabitant of Tāmraparṇa (Ceylon) made a gift there. (cf. *Buddharakkhitas Tabapanakasa dānam*<sup>7</sup>).

In this period we find that the *dharma-cakra* has found a place in the temple along with the *triratna* placed on throne. The Bodhi tree also was illustrated as a symbol of worship by the pilgrims. Buddhist *cāityas* and *stūpas* also were figured in the railings for the purpose of

6 *Arch. Surv. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1908-09, pp. 141 f.

7 N. G. Majumdar, *Guide to the sculptures in Indian Museum*, (=GSIM,) Part I, p. 67.

showing reverence to these symbols. Bodh-Gaya drew also the attention of royal patrons. At one place in a half medallion a goddess who may be taken as goddess of Fortune or Fertility is found standing on lotus and being bathed by two elephants. Below her, there is an inscription in the Brāhmī characters of the 1st century. B.C. which says that Nāgadevī, wife of King Brahmamitra, made a gift there (cf. *Rāño Brahma mitrasa pājāvatiye Nāgadevaye dana.*<sup>8</sup>)

During his visit to Bodh-Gaya Cunningham found several pillars of granite bearing inscriptions of gift in the characters used by Aśoka. One such inscription reads—*Ayāye Kuragiye dānam*<sup>9</sup> i.e. gift of Āryā Kuragi. Although Cunningham took them to be the relics of the Maurya period, they were more probably the objects of the time of the Sungas on account of the characteristic briefness of the inscriptions and their donative purpose.

Then we come to Sarnath, where Buddha after his great enlightenment turned the Wheel of Law (dharma-cakra) for the first time. This place continued to be one of the important centres of Buddhism during the Sunga period also. Apart from the structural evidences, several inscriptions written in the Brāhmī characters of that age were discovered in course of excavations. Some of them contain the names of donors with their places of residence. Donors used to come from widely distant regions as Ujjayini,<sup>10</sup> and Pāṭaliputra<sup>11</sup> (Patna). Here also the donors just as at Bharhut, and Sāñci made gifts of pillars (and probably cross-bars and copings etc.). It appears that the gift of pillars, cross-bars, copings and gateways etc. was regarded to be one of the essential features of religious acts during the Sunga period. An inscription discovered at Sarnath in the Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century B.C. records the gift of a base-stone by a nun *Samvabikā* by name [cf. *bbikbunikāye Samvabikāye dāna(m) ala(m) banam*<sup>12</sup>].

So far as places of religious worship are concerned, Buddhism has left for the posterity a remarkable legacy. A place of religious importance of this period was brought to light a few years ago

8 N. G. Majumdar, *GSIM.*, Part I, p. 71.

9 Cunningham, *ASR.*, vol. I, p. 10.

10 *Arch. Surv. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1914-15, p. 121, II, PL. LXVIII, 9-10.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 122, V, PL. LXVIII, 14.

12 *Ibid.*, 1906-07, p. 95.

in course of archaeological excavations. N. G. Majumdar dug out a huge brick structure nearly 80ft. high taking a zig zag course and showing a number of re-entrant angles at *Lauriya Nandangarh* in the Champaran district of Bihar in 1936-37. This building was polygonal and star-shaped in plan, measuring 500ft. across the centre and facing each cardinal point with a side 104ft. long. There are four sides each at a distance of 266ft. from the other. The space between the two sides in each of the quadrangles is covered by 28 smaller sides showing 14 re-entrant angles and as many as 13 corners.<sup>13</sup>"

In plan the monument is somewhat similar to the Main temple at Paharpur (District, Rajshahi) though the latter was built about six or seven centuries after the former which is more elaborate and stupendous. The Lauriya Nandangarh monument has at least five terraces one above the other and there is passage for circumambulation on three of them. The lowermost and widest terrace has a width of 32 ft. and the one above it is 14 ft. across.

The decoration of the structure is very plain and simple. This monument has been attributed to the Śunga period by the experts. In this connection the observation made by N. G. Majumdar may be quoted here. He says "There is evidence to show that this structure must have been erected not later than the 2nd century B. C. As a simple brick built edifice of such stupendous dimensions it is perhaps unparalleled in the whole range of monuments of the period to which it belongs. Although nothing definite has yet been discovered to throw light on the character of the monument it may be described as a Buddhist *stūpa* in absence of any evidence to the contrary"<sup>14</sup>"

In Bengal also some places particularly *Bangarb* (ancient Kotivarsa) and *Tamluk* (ancient Tāmralipti or Tāmralipta) both in West Bengal felt the sweeping influence of Buddhism during the Śunga period. Because two terracotta sealings<sup>15</sup> bearing the names, *Bhutarakhita* and *Samana Vilala* in *Sunga Brāhmī* have been discovered in course of excavations at the former place. The name Bhutarakhita was

<sup>13</sup> *Arch. Surv. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1936-37, pp. 47 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 1936-37, pp. 47-50.

<sup>15</sup> K. G. Goswami, *Excavations at Bangarb*, pp. 12, 36. PL. XXIV. b.

generally popular among the members of the Buddhist sect and occurs in one (No. 119) of the inscriptions of the Bharhut railings of the Suṅga period.

At Tamluk, a terracotta tablet which was recently discovered, is supposed to contain a scene from the Chadanta Jātaka. From stylistic ground the tablet is ascribed to the Suṅga period and is now exhibited in the Ashtosh Museum of Calcutta University. From these evidences it cannot be denied that Buddhism had a favourable ground in Bengal during the Suṅga regime.

During the rule of the Indo-Greek Kings in the North-Western India in the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C. Buddhism played a prominent part in that region. Because some of the Indo-Greek rulers became patrons of Buddhism and one of them, Menander, became a convert to the faith of Gautama Buddha. Although according to tradition Aśoka is said to have taken the initiative for preserving the sacred relics of the Buddha constructing *stūpas* in different parts of India, documentary (i.e. inscriptional) evidences are available from the Suṅga period to the effect that the disciples and devotees were then giving particular attention to the preservation of the corporeal remains of the Great Master in the *stūpas* throughout the country for the worship and benefit of the people.

From the Shinkot steatite casket inscriptions found in the Bajaur tribal territory beyond the borders of N. W. Frontier Province it is known that in the reign of king Menander, Viyakamitra<sup>16</sup> (= Viryakamitra), apparently one of the feudatories (Apraca-raja) of the former placed the corporeal remains of the Lord *Sākyamuni* endowed with life (*prana-sameda-sarira*) in a casket. But in the latter part of the inscription it is stated by Vijayamitra apparently a successor of Viyakamitra that in course of time probably after the death of the depositor these remains were not treated with due honour, hence he (Vijayamitra who was a successor or subordinate ruler) re-established the sacred remains and made arrangements for their regular worship.

That the depositing of the corporeal remains of the Buddha was considered to be one of the main religious activities of this period is also proved by the Swat relic vase inscription of the Meridarkh

<sup>16</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIV, p. 7.

Theodoros<sup>17</sup> of the 1st century B. C. It is stated therein that a Greek Provincial Governor (Greek Meridarkhes) Theodoros placed a casket containing the sacred relics of the Lord Buddha's body for the benefit of a large number of people (*bahujana-bitaye*). It appears that the arrangement of the relic caskets was made in order to give something concrete to the ordinary followers of Buddhism as an object of worship.

It has already been pointed out that Buddhism made a favourable appeal to the foreigners and foreign rulers, some of whom became staunch devotees and generous patrons of this religion.

Buddhism made a rapid progress also in South India in 2nd-1st centuries B. C. This is proved by the Bhāṭṭiprolu Casket inscriptions<sup>18</sup> of the time of Kuberaka of the Kristna district of South India. It is stated therein that two caskets—one of stone and the other of crystal were dedicated by some individuals—Kura's father, Kura's mother and Kura himself and also another person named Siva for depositing the corporeal remains of Lord Buddha. The *māṇjuṣā* or stone casket was actually the gift of Kura and his father Banaba. There were other sets of stone caskets and crystal caskets being the gifts of a good number of individuals and corporate bodies and also of king Kuberaka himself. It is further mentioned that the figure of king Kuberaka, the donor was also sketched there apparently to add importance to the work. According to casket No. 2 (D) King Kuberaka has been stated to be the chief of the *Simha Gosthī* clan, which dedicated another set of two caskets one being made of stone and the other of crystal. Casket No. 3 (B) records that the *gosthī* or clan of Arahadina (Arhaddatta) also dedicated a set of one stone casket and a crystal casket and that the work was accomplished by one who drew the figure of king Kuberaka. It is to be noted that the king who was the patron as well as one of the essential figures in the act of dedication was represented by the artist both in name as well as in portrait on the caskets to commemorate the act of depositing the relic.

17 Sten Konow, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. II, i. p. 4.

18 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 323 f.

The practice of representing the figure of donors is also seen in the relief of the Andhra King Sātakarṇi at Nānāghāṭ.<sup>19</sup>

In the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C., there began to grow the art of excavating caves, caitya halls and vihāras (monasteries) for the Buddhists (especially for the Buddhist monks) in different parts of India. In this connection the names of Bhājā<sup>20</sup> (near Poona), Nāsik<sup>21</sup> (District Nasik), Mānmada<sup>22</sup> (Junnār) and Nānāghāṭ<sup>23</sup> (District Poona) appear uppermost in our mind. The cave architecture which received a strong support from the Buddhists and patrons of Buddhism made steady progress during this period. These places besides Bharhut, Sāñcī and Bodhgaya were certainly of great importance from the Buddhist point of view. Pilgrims and monks from all quarters used to flock to these places. Although the Sātavāhana kings were themselves strong supporters and staunch followers of the Brahmanical religion, yet they were liberal patrons of Buddhism, and the Buddhist cave architecture of Nasik and Nānāghāṭ etc. flourished under them. There is record to show that during the reign of king Kṛṣṇa of the Sātavāhana dynasty a cave was excavated by the officer-in-charge of the Śramanas at Nasik<sup>24</sup> (or by a Śramaṇa who was himself a *Mahāmātra* or officer at Nasik). The Nānāghāṭ caves contain labels bearing the names of Simuka Sātavāhana, Devī Nāganikā, King Sātakarṇi, Kumāra Śaktisrī and Kumāra Sātavāhana<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> Coomaraswamy, *HIA.*, p. 30.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 29,

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 31.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 30,

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30; *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.*, V, p. 64.

<sup>24</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, p. 93.

<sup>25</sup> *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.*, V, p. 64.

## Place of Buddhism in Indian Thought

It is rather striking that the early Pali texts even later Buddhist Sanskrit texts do not breathe a word about the *Upaniṣads* and the *Upaniṣadic* philosophers, although there are repeated references to the teachings of the six teachers, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Ajita Kesakambalin, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belatṭhiputta, Maṅkhali Gosāla and Niṅgṛtha Nāṭaputta. Incidentally in the Pali texts there is also mention of the Vedic śākhas, viz., Addhariya, Bahvrija, Chandoka, and Tittiriya and Vedic seers, Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, and others who are said to have taught mainly *Brahma-sahavyatā* or the attainment of Brahmaloka, supposed to be the highest form of existence. In the sixty two views envisaged in the *Brāhma-jālasutta*, there are criticisms of the belief in the existence of a self and of its transmigration from one existence to another. This criticism is elaborated in later Mahāyāna texts particularly in that of Nāgārjuna.<sup>1</sup> In the Pāli *Nikāyas* there are several discourses of a stereotyped nature discussing the problem whether the soul is identical with the body or not, and the conclusion drawn is that there cannot arise any question of the existence or non-existence of soul, as from the Buddhist point of view it has no more existence than that of the son of a barren woman or that of a flower in the sky.<sup>2</sup> Hence it is an indeterminable problem (*avyākata*) to be left aside (*abhāpanīya*). The fundamental query of almost all the *Upaniṣads* is the nature of soul and its transmigration from one existence to another. It seems that Buddha deliberately ignored the *Upaniṣads* as in them the existence of soul is taken for granted while his main thesis was the total denial of the existence of this soul (*anatta*) and through all his philosophical

1 See *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. I.

2 Cf. *Abhidharmakośa*, IX, 45:

अस्त्वाद्गवान् जीवं तत्वान्यत्वेन नावदत् ।  
नासील्पि च नावोचन् माभूत् प्राहस्तिकोप्यसन् ॥  
यत् हि स्कन्धसन्ताने शुभाशुभफलात्तिता ।  
जीवाश्या तत् सा न स्याजीव नस्तित्यनात् ॥  
प्राहस्तिमातं स्कन्धेषु जीव इत्पि नावदत् ।  
अभव्यः शून्यता बोङ् तदानीं ताहशो अनः ॥

discourses he tried to establish that there could not exist any permanent self unalloyed by worldly impurities. Hence, it is idle to say that Buddhism issued out of the *Upaniṣads* and was a phase in the evolution of Upaniṣadic thought.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it may be stated that Buddhism was a revolt against the Upaniṣadic thought and it was this denial of soul, which undermined the belief in the efficacy of the sacrificial rituals and ceremonies. The three primary conditions which make one a true Buddhist is the elimination of the belief in the existence of a self (*sakkāyaditṭhi*) and in the efficacy of rituals (*silabbataparāmāsa*), to which is to be added the implicit faith in the *Triratna* by discarding all doubts (*vicikicchā*) about their excellence. This revolutionary teaching of Buddha instead of frightening away some of the Brāhmanic teachers and students, opened up a new vista before their eyes and made them not only staunch supporters but the best exponents of the new teaching.

Buddha subscribed to the theories of *karman* and rebirth but in a way completely different from those of the *Upaniṣadas*. The Upaniṣadic view of *karman* is linked up with the permanent and unchangeable self while Buddha's view was that changing *karman* could never be associated with an unchanging substance like the self. He was a strong advocate of *karman* and its effects and he laid the utmost emphasis on it throughout his teachings (see *infra*). He criticised those teachers who denied or minimised the efficacy of *karman* and it is with this purpose that he discussed the doctrines of the six teachers mentioned above and condemned them in no uncertain terms. The upholders of *Akiriyyavāda* were destined to hell—this was his repeated assertion. He elaborated his cosmological ideas of heaven and hell mainly with a view to educate his large number of disciples who were not spiritually advanced and to infuse into them the spirit of doing good deeds and avoiding evils in order to assure a better and happier after-life. Of the six teachers he made an exception of only one, viz., Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, whom he regarded as a *kriyavādin* and passed over the views of the Agnostic teacher Sañjaya Belatṭhiputta.

<sup>3</sup> T. R. V. Murti writes in his *Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, p. 20 "The *Upaniṣads* and Buddhism belong to the same spiritual genus, they differ as species, and the differentia are the acceptance or rejection of the ātman (permanent substance). Cf. V. Bhattacharya, *Basic Conception of Buddhism*, pp. 70-75.

The doctrinal views of these six teachers are presented in the Pali texts thus:

(i) **Pūraṇa Kassapa** seems to be the oldest teacher and held views wavering between antinomianism and fatalism. His doctrine is that soul remains inactive as in Sāṅkhya and it is the body which acts, hence soul remains unaffected by the results of good and bad deeds of the body. A person earns neither merit by pious acts such as gifts, sacrifices, or by abstinence from evil acts nor demerit by killing, stealing, adultery or speaking falsehood. It is rather difficult to find out exactly what was Pūraṇa's views from such cryptic statements. It may mean that the body enjoys or suffers according to its deeds but not the soul, a doctrine which cannot reasonably be refuted by a Sāṅkhya or a Vedānta schoolman. In Buddhism however soul and body are not admitted as two separate entities, not also as identical. Pūraṇa's doctrine is grouped in the Pāli texts as an "*Akiriyyavāda*" i.e. non-existence of *karmaic* effects.

(ii) **Makkhali Gosala**, the founder of the Ājīvika sect, was at first a follower of Pārvanatha, the traditional founder of Jainism. One day he observed a sprout growing up again after it was trampled down. This changed his outlook and he came to the conclusion that beings were subject to re-animation and not death and destruction. He added to it the doctrine that all beings were subject to a fixed series of existence from the lowliest to the highest and this series was unchangeable (*niyati sangatibhāva*) and every existence had its own unalterable characteristic as heat is of fire or coldness of ice. He denied the effects of deeds (*karma*) and energy (*viryā*). He upheld fatalism of the extreme type. A being when nearing the end of the several spans of its lives becomes a human being. Its existence as such is divided into six categories, viz., (i) black (*kaṇṭha*) as bird catchers, hunters, fishermen etc., (ii) blue (*nīla*) as ascetics observing rigorous practices, including the Buddhists (Sākyaputtiya Samanas), (iii) red (*lobita*) as monks of the Jaina order, (iv) yellow (*halidda*) as lay-devotees of Acelakas and Ājīvikas, (v) white (*sukka*) as Ājīvika monks like Nanda, Vaccha and Saṅkicca, and lastly (vi) very white (*paramasukka*) as Ājīvika saints. Buddaghosa<sup>4</sup> has made an attempt to explain in detail the various states of existence envisaged in Mañkhali Gosala's

<sup>4</sup> *Sumangalavilāsini*, pp. 161-4.

doctrines. In the Jaina literature<sup>5</sup> as also in Tamil works like the *Maṇimekhalai* of the 4th century A. D. and *Civañāna Cittiyar* of the 14th century, the various states of existence distinguished by colour as black, dark, blue, green, red, golden and white have been dealt with in connection with the doctrines of the Ājīvikas<sup>6</sup>. The distinctions made by colour, though not now intelligible, must have been a prominent feature of Ājīvikism. It is not unlikely that the term 'niyati' was introduced into Indian thought by the Ājīvikas and it cast a definite influence on the Epics particularly the *Mababbārata*. Manu and compiler of *Hitopadeśa* tried to disabuse the minds of the people of this faith in fatalism though Bhartṛhari extolled it in his *Nītiśatka*. The Ājīvikas, it seems, attained great popularity in post-Āśokan age. There is a tradition that king Bindusāra consulted Piṅgalavatsa (Janāsana in Pali chronicles) an Ājīvika monk for ascertaining which of his two sons, Āśoka and Viśākha would succeed him to the throne. Āśoka's mother was very likely a follower of the Ājīvikas. After Āśoka's demise his grandson Daśaratha dedicated a few caves to the Ājīvika saints specially, showing thereby that the successors of Āśoka preferred the Ājīvikas to the Buddhists. Dr. Basham has collected reliable evidences to show that this sect became popular in South India and was in existence up to the mediaeval period.<sup>6</sup>

(iii) Nigantihā Nāṭaputta (fetterless son of the Nāya clan) or Mahāvīra happened to be an older contemporary of Buddha. Like Buddha he came of a noble family, perhaps the chief of the clan. He led for some time a married life and then renounced the world. He revived the teachings of Pārvanātha, and formed an order of monks who however led a much more austere life than that of a Buddhist monk. His philosophical views are as follows : There are nine substances (*navatattva*) viz., (i) soul (*jīva*) present in all that is conscious including a tree or a fruit; (ii) non-soul (*ajīva*) which serves as the basis for the functioning of soul (*jīva*) as body is of the soul; (iii) merits and demerits (*punya, pāpa*) which are also substances produced by actions (*karman*) of *jīva* through mind, speech and body; (v) impurities (*āsrava*) which flow into the body due to *karmic* effects; (vi) self-control (*samvara*) which arrests the flow of *karmic* effects,

5 *Bhagavatisūtra*, XV, 550; *Uttarādhyayana*, xxiv.

6 Basham, *History & Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, pp. 243ff.

and also neutralises them; (vii) bondage (*bandha*) of the soul caused by *karmic* effects transformed into *āsrava* and leading to repeated existence (*samsāra*), (viii) elimination (*nirjarā*) of *karmic* effects or *āsravas* through *samvara* as prescribed for the Jaina monks; and lastly (ix) liberation (*mokṣa*) attained by a monk who has perfected himself in the disciplinary practices and realised the truth as inculcated in Jaina philosophy.

In Jaina philosophy no definite statement (*syādvāda*) can be made about any object, not even about the highest truth. Every object is subject to three momentary states, viz., origin (*utpāda*), continuity (*sthitī*) and decay (*vināśa*). The object in its state of continuity may be regarded as the substance (*dravya*) while in the other two states it is subject to change (*paryāya*). According to *Anekāntavāda* an object is permanent from the standpoint of continuity (*nitya*), but it is impermanent (*anitya*) from the other two standpoints. Every object has to be determined from different standpoints, as it has several aspects and so there can be no absolute statement regarding the nature of an object. This is known as the Jaina doctrine of *Anekāntavāda*. In order to have a true knowledge of an object, its examination is necessary from various aspects and it is by this means alone that the perfect knowledge can be attained. For the sake of practical application, the *Anekāntavāda* has been condensed into seven members (*saptabhaṅgi*) thus:—From seven different standpoints a being is (i) permanent; (ii) impermanent; (iii) both permanent and impermanent; (iv) indescribable; (v) permanent and indescribable; (vi) impermanent and indescribable; (vii) both permanent and impermanent as also indescribable.

This religion with its great emphasis on asceticism and rigorism imposed on monks and nuns has maintained its existence in India up to the present day. Its lay followers however are limited and still observe many hard and fast rules of self-discipline.

(iv) *Sañjaya Belatthiputta* did not give out any definite views about the ultimates. He is generally described as a sceptic unwilling to give any definite answer to the ultimate problems, which were, according to him, were indeterminable, a view not incompatible with Buddha's declaration that the problems: whether the soul is identical with body or not, whether an emancipated being exists after death or not, and so forth are also indeterminable (*avyakata*) and should be left aside. *Sañjaya*

happened to be the teacher of Sāriputta and Moggallāna who joined the Buddhist order along with the other disciples of the teacher and who were much impressed by Buddha's theory of causation, which explained that the beings of the world were in a ceaseless state of flux governed by certain causes and conditions.

(v) Ajita Kesa kambalin was a materialist. He denies an after-life and so according to him there is no need of earning merits by good deeds, sacrifices or service to parents. There is no spiritual advancement or perfection in knowledge likewise. There is no demerit if one commits evil deeds. A being is composed of five elements: earth, water, air, fire and space (*ākāsa*). After death each of these returns to the corresponding mass of great elements while the senses (*indriyas*) pass into space. A person's earthly existence ends in the funeral pyre. Nothing survives after death (*bhaṣmibhūtasya dehasya punarāgamanam kutah*).

This doctrine of Ajita is clearly a restatement of the Lokāyata or Bārhaspatya school of thought. Dhīṣaṇa, to whom is attributed this type of doctrine in the *Padma Purāṇa*, asserts that there is no God. The variegated world exists by itself. He admits only four elements and not the fifth *ākāsa*. The combination of the four elements produces consciousness (*caitanya*) as liquor is produced by the fermentation of rice and molasses. When everything ends in death, there is no sense in performing sacrifices or in seeking heaven. It was an anti-Vedic movement and established that a being should seek his own happiness by whatever means he can devise, and not perform acts which are supposed to bring fruits in the next life. It identifies soul with body, a doctrine which has been bitterly criticised by Buddha and classed as annihilationism (*uccchedavāda*), i.e., the doctrine that a being disappears for ever with the dissolution of the body.

(vi) Pakudha Kaccāyana was a pluralist and a semi-materialist. Like Ajita he holds that a being is composed of seven elements: earth, water, air, fire, pleasure (*sukha*), pain (*dukkha*) and soul (*jīva*). These seven elements are neither created nor moulded. They are barren and fixed as a rock or a stone-pillar and do not produce anything. They neither move nor change nor hinder one another so as to cause pain or pleasure or indifference. Hence, there is no killer nor instigator of killing, no hearer nor preacher, no learner nor teacher. If a sword passes through the body of a being, it does not destroy it but only

slips through the interspaces of the elements forming the body. It is a form of atomism without any parallel. It has been criticised by Buddha as a kind of eternalism (*sassatavāda*) and grouped with Ajita's teaching of annihilationism (*ucchedavāda*), i.e., everything ends with death.

Besides these six renowned teachers there was another class of religious men known as the Paribbājakas or Wanderers. These moved about all over the country either singly or in groups. There were provisions for their residence called *Paribbājakārāma* in important villages and towns. This shows that the Paribbājaka form of life was in vogue in ancient India in the 5th century B.C. or even earlier. The Paribbājakas could be either Brāhmanic or non-Brāhmanic. From their nature of discussions with Buddha it seems that they had no confirmed doctrinal views but not without predilections for either a Brāhmanic or a particular non-Brāhmanic system. The problems broached by them with Buddha related to soul, *karman*, efficacy of ascetic practices, elimination of mental impurities, attainment of perfect knowledge, soundness of views of Niganṭha Nāṭaputta and so forth. A number of Paribbājakas were impressed by Buddha's teachings and became lay-devotees and a few became full-fledged monks. The Paribbājakas were generally in quest of the Truth and tried to find out what was the best teaching which of course they did not necessarily accept. They may be regarded as students of religion and philosophy with a receptive mind, and some of them ultimately joined a particular religious order or reverted to a householder's life. From the discourses specially delivered to them, as embodied in the *Nikāyas*, it appears that they formed an important part of the religious and philosophical movement of ancient India. It is also evident that in those days change of doctrinal views was the rule of the day and there was no slur on a person even if he changed his religious affiliation. Had it not been so, Buddha could not have formed his band of disciples, whom he recruited largely from the Brāhmanic and Śresthī families and *paribbājakas*.

The Paribbājakas or the Sāṅghas or Ganas of the six heretical teachers formed a very small section of the religieux of ancient India. In spite of Buddha's silence about the *Upaniṣads* it cannot but be taken for granted that the Upaniṣadic thinkers held the torch of religion, philosophy and culture in pre-Buddha days. There are at least ten

Upaniṣads, viz., *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya*, *Aitareya* and *Taittiriya*, *Īśa*, *Kena* and *Kaṭha*, *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka* and *Māṇḍukya*, which are attributed to a date much earlier than Buddha's time. These are mostly compilations of dialogues and monologues of Brāhmaṇic seers and not systematic expositions of a particular school of thought. In some of them there are traces of *Sāṃkhya*, *Yoga* and *Mīmāṃsa* schools of thought but the central theme of most of them is the exposition of the monistic philosophy, well known as *Vedānta*, developed with great subtlety in the two principal Upaniṣads, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya*. The oneness of Brahman or the Reality, and the world as a diversified superimposition on the Reality are the keynotes of this philosophy.

The Sāṅkhyā school of philosophy, the origin of which is traced in the *Kaṭha* and *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*<sup>7</sup> took a modified Vedāntic view. It explains that the appearance of worldly objects is due to ignorance (*avidyā*) of the separateness of the two reals, *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*. It however held that the appearance of phenomenal world is not wholly baseless or a delusion as the primeval cause (*prakṛti*) does undergo a change (*parināmī*) and the changed object is substantially the *prakṛti*, the change being confined to characteristics (*nimitta*) only of the basic cause (*upādāna*). For this reason it is called 'satkāryavāda' or the view that cause exists in its effect. The untenability of the Sāṅkhyā view, as argued by the Buddhists, lies in the fact that it admits two reals with different characteristics, which are not logical, viz., one, *Puruṣa*, as unchangeable and the other *Prakṛti* as changeable (*parināmī*). The latter being real and eternally existing (*nitya*) it is further led to the fallacy that an eternal entity undergoes change. According to the Sāṅkhyā view, the evolution of the *Prakṛti* takes place thus: Out of *Prakṛti* issues *Mahān* or its cosmic aspect or *Buddhi* or psychical aspect. It is the unindividuated cosmic intellect which gives rise to *Abamkāra* (egoism) or individuated intellect, which is also a substance, an active agent. In its *sāttvika* (pure) aspect it leads to the origin of *Manas* (mind), the function of which is determinate perception; it is the central organ of the sense-organs and their perceptions. *Abamkāra* also gives rise to five subtle essences *Tanmātra*, which in their turn evolve into five gross elements: earth, water, fire,

7 *Kaṭha*, I, 3. 10-11; *Śvetāśvatara*, V, 7.8.12; IV, 5.1.3.

air and ether. Out of these originate the five sense-organs : eyes, ears, nose, tongue and body as also the five physical organs: voice, feet, hands, anus and generating organ. The process of evolution as shown in the *Buddhacarita*<sup>8</sup> is a little different. It is as follows: The primal or ultimate cause (*Prakṛti*) and its evolutes (*vikāra*) constitute a being (*sattva*) with the concomitants: birth, old age, disease and death. The primal cause manifests itself in five great elements (*pañcabhūta*) in their minutest states (*tanmātra*), egoism (*ahamkāra*) and unindividuated (*avyakta*) cosmic intellect (*buddhi* or *mahān*). Their evolutes are the sense-organs and their objects, the hands and feet, the voice, the organs of generation and excretion and also the mind. There is the soul (*ātman*) which is conscious of the body. This consciousness or awareness is intellection, which was possessed by saints like Kapila. It is the absence of intellection that produces the world of beings. Those who develop individuation (*vyakta*) and are unable to go beyond the notion of I-ness get entangled in worldly joys and sufferings while those who discard the notion of I-ness and maintain an unindividuated mind go beyond the world of pain and pleasures. This type of Sāṅkhya teachings, according to the testimony of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, was imparted to Prince Siddhārtha by his spiritual teachers, Ārāḍa Kālāma and Rudraka Rāmaputra and might have some influence on his mind in his formulation of the law of causation (*paṭiccasamuppāda*).

The Y o g a philosophy is similar to that of Sāṅkhya. It has only added the existence of the God. It developed the meditational practices which perhaps were well known to the Upaniṣadic seers. There is much in common between the Yoga and the Buddhist systems of meditation including the meditational terms.

The Mīmāṃsakas also admit the reality of the world. According to them the souls are eternal, permanent as also the material elements composing the universe. Their universe consists (a) of living bodies, in which the soul reaps the *karmic* effects (*bhogāyatana*), (b) of sense-organs (*indriya-bhoga-sādhana*) and (c) of sense-objects (*bhoga-viṣaya*).

The N yāyā - V a i ś e ṣ i k a s go a step further and in place of two reals of the Sāṅkhya admit six categories of reality, viz., subs-

tance (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*), motion (*karman*), universality (*sāmānya*), particularity (*viśeṣa*) and inherence (*samavāya*). Their *dravya* consists of the four eternal constituents: space (*ākāṣā*), time (*kāla*), mind (*manas*) and soul (*ātman*). Their viewpoints can also be traced in the Upaniṣads. They are opposed to mere subjectivity of the Vedāntists.

Prince Siddhārtha, educated as he was and engaged in search of the truth, must have been acquainted with most of the non-Buddhistic doctrines stated above. He no doubt denied the existence of a permanent soul but he accepted the theory of *karman* and rebirth, which, of course, he had to interpret in a way suited to his non-soul doctrine.

The doctrine of impermanence (*anityatā*) of the phenomenal world must have appealed to him most and led him to give up his princely life and luxuries. He recognised at the same time that the only means to get out of the clutches of *anityatā* was spiritual exercises as a recluse. The principle of retirement from worldly joys and pleasures is denoted as pessimism though strictly speaking the underlying force for retirement is not so much disgust with the world as the attainment of *nityatā* (eternity)—an ineffable state surpassing the highest conceivable form of worldly existence, which is unalterably associated with birth, old age, disease and death, the four factors, which according to the Buddhist traditions filled the mind of Prince Siddhārtha with consternation not so much for himself as for the humanity in general. The impetus to the Prince's retirement came from human misery and so the Prince directed his mind to evolve a path that might put an end to that misery and not so much for the unfolding of the eternal Truth, on which was concentrated the attention of the Upaniṣadic seers. But there can be no enunciation of the path unless the Truth is known and so the Prince went through a long course of spiritual exercises and succeeded ultimately in visualizing the Truth—the truth of oneness which of course was different from the oneness of *Jivātman* and *Paramātman*. It is not known if the Upaniṣadic teachers had formulated any code of duties or chalked out a course for the guidance of their followers; perhaps it was kept secret and handed down esoterically from teacher to disciple. Buddha made no secret of the path of achieving the goal and so he laid bare his scheme of life before one and all who approached him with the sincere desire of exerting to overcome the worldly sufferings.

His ethical teachings and his monastic discipline marked a complete departure from the old ways of attaining perfection in knowledge.

*Dukkha* (*Duhkha*): Misery of phenomenal existence had already got hold of the minds of the Upaniṣadic thinkers. In the *Chāndogya* (vii.1.3) it is stated that a wise man, the knower of self, goes beyond the sea of misery (*tarati śokam ātmavit*) while in a late text like the *Vedāntasāra* (31) appears the statement that a person oppressed by death and rebirth, and worldly fire should approach for the true knowledge a learned teacher conversant with Brahman, the Truth. The Sāṅkhya schoolmen spoke of the misery of human existence and analysed it under three heads, viz., internal (*ādhyātmika*) due to physical disorder and mental agitation, external (*ādhikārtika*) due to injuries caused by men and beasts or by any outside agency, and supernormal (*ādhidaivika*) due to supernatural factors, or the great elements (*mahābhūtas*). Thus it is evident that the pessimistic view of life was already in the air and Buddha only picked it up and made it a starting point of his teachings. Buddha told his monks to realise that the tears shed by a being in his innumerable existences if accumulated would exceed the water of a sea (*Samyutta Nikāya*, II, pp.178f). In Pali texts,<sup>9</sup> human misery has been sub-divided in a different manner thus: mental and/or physical pain (*dukkha-dukkhatā*), pleasure turning into pain (*vipariṇāma-dukkhatā*) and pain which arises and disappears due to change (*sankhāra-dukkhatā*). Of the four truths (*cattāri ariyasaccāni*) the first truth to be realised by the wise is “*dukkha*” pain or suffering concomitant to phenomenal existence. Its popular exposition is the non-fulfilment of one’s desire causing resentment or disappointment, separation from the dear ones or association with the undesired causing mental pain. This *dukkha* is suffered by the commoners and not by the elect (*ariya*), and so, strictly speaking, such *dukkha* is not *ariyasacca*. *Dukkha* in the eyes of an advanced monk (*ariya*) is the possession of one’s body of five constituents (*upādāna-khandhas*), of wealth and property, because of the fact that one’s earthly possessions are evanescent and subject to decay (*vayadhammā*), to impermanence (*aniccatā*). Unless and until this nature of *dukkha* is fully comprehended by a monk, the next three truths, viz., desire as the source of *dukkha*, end of desire as the termination of *dukkha* and eightfold

9 *Visuddhimagga*, p. 499; *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, p. 475 n.

path as leading to the end of *dukkha* remain incomprehensible to him. Realisation of *dukkha* therefore forms the first step in the Buddhist code of spiritual practices and its interpretation is more comprehensive than that of the earlier systems. In almost every school of Indian thought the woes and worries of a living being due to unfulfilled desires are spoken of and there are also suggestions about the means of avoiding the same<sup>10</sup>. The Buddhists however have worked out the problem of *dukkha* in as thorough a manner as possible.

*Aniccatā* (*Anityatā*) : There can be no two opinions about the fact that the pessimistic view of life (*dukkha*) is based on impermanence or rather evanescence (*aniccatā*) of phenomenal objects. Buddha repeatedly reminded his disciples of this fact by saying ‘*aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppādavayadhammino*’ (impermanent are the composites which are subject to origin and decay). Except *Nibbāna* and *Ākāsa* there is nothing unconstituted in this world. Even the infinitesimal atoms of earth, water, air and fire (i.e. *rūpa*) contain all the four elements and the four qualities: colour (*vaṇṇa*), smell (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*) and nutritive essence (*ojā*) which cannot be separated, and as such each of the material elements as distinct objects exists in thought only so are the other *khandhas*, viz., feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), impressions (*saṅkhārā*) and knowledge derived through the senses (*viññāna*). A being therefore is a conceptual entity and has no real existence. The Buddhist point of view differs substantially from that of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas, according to whom, there are six irreducible categories of reality. The Jaina school of thought goes a step further and asserts that matter (*pudgala*) is constituted of atoms (*paramāṇu*) which are real and eternal while its action (*karma*) is also material (*paudgalika*). The Sarvāstivādins (or the Vaibhāsikas or the Ābhidhammikas) advocated, according to some scholars, ‘radical pluralism erected on the denial of substance (soul) and the acceptance of discreet momentary entities’ and ‘change as the replacement of one entity by another, it is the cessation of one and emergence of another. The combination (of constituents) is not real over and above the constituents. The components are real (*vastusat*), the combination is appearance (*prajñapti-sat*).’ The true import of the words ‘*sarvam*

10 Cf. Gauḍapāda: *Āgamaśāstra*, III. 43: दुःखं सर्वमनुस्मृत्य कामभोगान् निवर्तयेत् ।

*asti*' of the Sarvāstivādins is something different from what has been said above. It is a fact that the Sarvāstivādins offer a list of seventy two *dharmas* under the heads: (i) Matter (*Rūpa*)—11; (ii) Mind (*Citta*)—1; Mental states (*Caitasikas*)—46; and Non-mentals (*Citta-viprayuktas*)—14. By "all exists" (*sarvam asti*) the Sarvāstivādins mean existence of concepts of past, present and future (*trikālasat*) and not the eternal existence of phenomenal objects or of their minutest elements, which also are impermanent but not as false as a mirage or objects seen in a dream. It is through the realisation of their impermanence and making one's mind completely free from the notion of existence of phenomenal objects that an adept can attain emancipation. Hence, the Sarvāstivādins do not really mean that all objects are real and exist eternally.

*Khaṇikatta* (*Kṣaṇikatva*): The Buddhists qualify impermanence (*anityatā*) with momentariness (*kṣaṇika*), i. e., the phenomenal objects are subject to change every moment, and within one moment take place origin (*utpatti*), duration (*sthitī*) and decay (*vināśa*). As against this contention of the Buddhists, it is argued that momentariness cannot be directly perceived and further it leads to the admission of the absence of any cause (*abetukatva*) for the origin of the second moment, because the first momentary existence disappears then and there and cannot be effective in producing the second momentary state.<sup>11</sup> The counter-argument of the Buddhists is that momentariness cannot, it is true, be established by direct perception but it should be noted that momentariness is the characteristic nature (*svabbāva*) of effectiveness (*arthakriyākāritva*). By momentary cessation of an object is meant the absence of immediately preceding state (*svādhikarana-samaya-prāg-abhāva*). If momentariness as explained above be not admitted, then an object would remain the same for more than one moment, and the object that produces an effect in the present would also produce the same effect in the past and future and would be subject to the fallacy that there could not be an accomplished effect (*kṛta-kāritā*) of an object, in other words, the purpose of an object would not be served.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Brahmasūtra*, II. 2.20: उत्तरोत्पादे च पूर्वे' निरोधात् ।

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Bertrand Russell, *Mysticism and Logic*, p. 185: Cause cannot have a duration.....the cause after existing placidly for some time should suddenly explode into effect.....is illogical. Again, cause cannot be static, no such cause is to be found in nature.

Hence the Buddhists rightly contend that an object is momentary and produces its effect then and there and not in the past or future. It may be argued that an object retains its potentiality which will be effective in future but this argument is also fallacious because of the fact that two opposite characteristics, viz., presentness and pastness, or presentness and futurity cannot exist together. Therefore it should be admitted that the momentariness of an object can only establish the fulfilment of a purpose and this is not possible if an object remains unchanged for more than one moment. The subtlety of the Buddhist interpretation of *kṣanika* is rather unique and may be regarded as a contribution to Indian thought. In short, it explains fully the dynamism of worldly objects or ceaseless change that takes place in worldly objects, in nature.

*Paticcasamuppāda* (*Pratītyasamutpāda*): The question that arises next is whether this ceaseless change is accidental or predestined or is effected by certain causes (*hetu*) and conditions (*pratyaya*). The Buddhists reject the first two views and accept the last and offer their formula of the law of causation, *Paticcasamuppāda*, popularly known as *Dharmacakra* or the ceaseless cycles of existences of a being. The word “*samutpāda*” created a confusion in the minds of some who took the word in its literal sense and attempted to interpret the formula as Buddha's conception of the origin of the world of beings. Buddhaghosa the great Pali commentator of the 4th century A.D., pointed out in his *Visuddhimagga* that the word *samutpāda* (origin) was used to counteract the false notion of nihilism (*asat-dṛṣṭi*) while the other word *pratītya* (dependent) as an antidote to the notion of real existence of worldly object (*satdṛṣṭi*). Buddha repeatedly asserted that his interpretation of the Truth kept clear of the two extreme views of existence (*sat/asti*) and non-existence (*asat/nāsti*) of worldly objects, of eternalism (*sāśvata*) and annihilationism (*ucceda*), of their limitedness (*antavān*) and unlimitedness (*anantavān*). This is described as the middle path (*majjhimā patipadā*)<sup>13</sup> developed later by Nāgārjuna as

13 There is the other popular exposition that Buddha prescribed a middle path of spiritual culture, which discarded a life of ease as also a life of extreme asceticism. The life of a monk, as chalked out by his Teacher, was one approved by him as a general rule, exception however being made in the case of those who were bent upon asceticism and took up the *Dhūtaṅga* practices.

*Mādhyamika* or *Śūnyatā* philosophy, and by Asaṅga as *Yogācara* or *Vijñaptimātratā*.

In the Abhidhamma texts like the *Paṭṭhāna* appears an exhaustive, study of the causes (*hetu*) and conditions (*paccaya*). The formula of causation has been explained both externally in connection with material objects and internally in relation to living beings. The origin of an earthen pot depends on several causes viz., clay, water, fire, potter, wheel and so forth, while that of a sprout on seed, water, gardener, etc. The origin of a being is due to non-realisation of the Truth (*avidyā*), thirst (*trṣṇā*), deeds (*karma*) which give a shape to its constituents, organs of sense, and mind. The *Paṭṭhāna* states that there are in all twentyfour kinds of causes, more than one of which are applicable to the origin of an object or a being. Some of these causes, again, mean invariable sequences. In fact, the complete cessation of the previous momentary state cannot produce the succeeding one, and again, there is nothing to pass from the former to the latter. In that case, the law of causation really means only the law of invariable sequence which is observed in nature. The *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* (p. 103) denies causal origin and speaks of sequence of objects, but it also discusses six kinds<sup>14</sup> of causes which are quite different from those of the *Paṭṭhāna*. Nāgārjuna in his *Mādhyamakakārikā* refers to four<sup>15</sup> out of the twentyfour causes mentioned in the *Paṭṭhāna*.

The Mādhyamikas and the Yogācāras like the Vedāntists do not admit the existence of the phenomenal world and so they relegate the law of causation to conventional truths (*samvṛtisatya*) and utilise it to establish the relative appearance of objects, e.g., long and short, red and black are mere conventional terms used relatively and have no existence whatsoever. Nāgārjuna remarks that as objects that have origination do not exist and so its existence cannot be established as uncaused, or as caused by itself, or by non-self, or by both self and non-self.<sup>16</sup> The *Lankāvatāra* states that

14 *Lankāvatāra*, p. 83: भविष्यतहेतु ; सम्बन्धहेतु ; लक्षणहेतु ; कारणहेतु ; व्यञ्जनहेतु ; उपेक्षाहेतु ।

15 *Madhyamakakārikā*, I, 2.

16 *Madhyamakakārikā*, I, 7; XXI, 13; XXIII, 20:

न स्तो नापि परतो न द्वाभ्यां नाप्यहेतुः ।

उत्पन्ना जातु विद्यन्ते भावाः क्वचन केचन ॥

cf. *Gandapāda*, IV, 22: स्तो वा परतो वापि न किञ्चिद्वस्तु जायते ।

सदसत् सदसद् वापि न किञ्चिद्वस्तु जायते ॥

the ignorant only conceive of objects as originating out of causes and conditions, and for not knowing the true law takes repeated births in the three worlds.<sup>17</sup> In the *Brahmasūtra* there is the statement that there can be no origination of an ever existing substance<sup>18</sup>. Thus, there is complete unanimity between the Mahāyānists and the Vedāntists about the ever existent Real as causeless and conditionless.

The question then arises, why the Mahāyānists take the law of causation into their consideration. They state that this law has two-fold purpose, first to point out the relative appearance of phenomena's objects and secondly to establish by inference that the Real has nothing to do with cause and condition (*apratityasamutpanna*). This law is needed to initiate the unliberated into the Truth of non-existence of the phenomenal world and thereby into the uncaused Truth. Both the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna texts state that one, who comprehend the law of causation, realises the Truth and visualises the Buddha<sup>19</sup>. The law of causation leads to the realisation of the fact that the Reality remains undisturbed by origin and decay and is beyond any description<sup>20</sup> and so the law is called fondly by Candrakīrti as the mother of Buddhas of ten powers<sup>21</sup>.

Slightly different is the line of reasoning adopted by the Hinayānists for showing that the law of causation leads to the realisation of the Truth. They have developed a chain of illustrative terms such as ignorance (*avidyā*) of past life causing certain impressions (*samskāra*), which in turn produce consciousness that takes rebirth (*pratisandhi-vijñāna*). It is followed by the present life consisting of the five constituents (*nāma-rūpa*), six sense-organs and their objects (*saḍāyatana*), contact (*sparsa*), feeling (*vedanā*), thirst (*trṣṇā*), strong attachment (*upādāna*) and lastly, clinging for rebirth (*bhava*). After this, takes place another existence (*jāti*) which ends ultimately in old age and death<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> *Lankāvatāra*, p. 105-6.

<sup>18</sup> *Brahmasūtra*, II, 3.9: असम्भवस्तु सतोऽनुपपत्तेः।

<sup>19</sup> यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादं पश्यति स धर्मं पश्यति । यो धर्मं पश्यति स बुद्धं पश्यति ।

See *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 51.

<sup>20</sup> *Madhyamakakārikā*, VII, 16: प्रतीत्य यथद्वयति तत्तत् शान्तं स्वभावतः ।

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* सकलदशब्दजननी प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादमातरम् ।

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Lankāvatāra*, p. 103.

Lest this formula of twelve terms creates the impression that it represents the Buddhist view of the tree of life similar to that of Sāṅkhya, Buddhaghosa pointed out in his *Visuddhimagga* (p. 525) that according to the Sāṅkhya school, the first term *Prakṛti* is uncaused and is the primeval source of the tree of life whereas *Avidyā* is not necessarily the first term in the Buddhist law of causation and also it is not uncaused and hence it cannot be the primeval source. The chain of terms may commence at any link, say, thirst or even birth. *Avidyā* has for its cause thirst or wrong views, etc. The terms illustrate only some invariable sequences.

*Avidyā* (Ajñāna): Like the Buddhists, Śaṅkara also states that ignorance (*avidyā*) cannot be the primeval cause but he argues against the Buddhist contention that *avidyā* cannot be the cause of mental impressions (*samskāra*) because, logically, negation or absence of something cannot be a productive cause. In reply the Buddhists state that *avidyā* is not a mere negation but is something positive—it is the misguided knowledge due to wrong views (*mithyā-darśana*).<sup>23</sup> It is impure and acts as a hindrance to knowledge. It is produced by attachment, hatred and delusion (*rāga*, *dveṣa*, *moha*) and belief in a self (*satkāyadr̥ṣṭi*) leading to erroneous apprehensions (*viparyāsa*) e.g., evil as good, unhappiness as happiness, impurity as purity, non-soul as soul and so forth. It is due to incorrect mental application (*ayoniso manasikāro*). It means a clouded and deluded mind<sup>24</sup>. Śaṅkara in his comment on *Brahmasūtra* (I. 1) points out that *avidyā* means the apprehension of certain qualities superimposed on the attributeless Reality, the Pure Soul. The opponents argue that superimposition can take place only upon an object directly perceived and not on an imperceptible pure self. Śaṅkara in reply points out that sky (*ākāśa*) has no objective existence still the unenlightened men speak of the sky as blue or compare it with cauldron upturned and so forth. He argues further that though the pure self is attributeless still it serves as the basis of the notion of I-ness, hence it is not as non-existent as the sky. The knowledge derived through superimposition on an object and its consequent misapprehension, e.g., nacre as silver, rope as snake, is known as Nescience (*Avidyā*) in Vedānta. In his

23 *Abhidharmakośa*, III, 29.

24 See *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, p. 452 quoting *Pratityasamutpādasūtra*.

comments on *Brahmasūtra* (II. i. 14) Śaṅkara offers another exposition of *Avidyā*. He writes that name and form (*nāma-rūpa*) are manifestations of ignorance (*avidyā*) and as such they are indescribable as existing or non-existing and are included in Iśvara or the God, the creator and are known as Cosmic Nescience (*Māyā*), Energy (*Sakti*). Iśvara is different from *nāma-rūpa* but is its upholder or is circumscribed by *nāmarūpa*, i.e., *avidyā* is similar to space in an earthen jar. He is therefore the moulder of a conscious being. From the standpoint of *Avidyā*, Iśvara is supreme, omnipotent and omniscient, and from the highest standpoint He is identical with Brahman, the ultimate Truth. In His subtlest form He is Iśvara, the omniscient and in His grossest form the manifested world in its infinite diversity.

The later Vedāntists have given more positive conception of nescience (*Ajñāna*=*Avidyā*), saying that it is composed of three qualities : purity (*sattva*), activity (*rajas*) and impurity (*tamas*), which in turn produce the five subtle elements and so forth as found in the Sāṅkhya system. The *Ajñāna* of the Vedāntists is said to be neither existing nor non-existing because though it does not exist in reality, it has an apparent existence which is indescribable but causes delusion. The *Laṅkāvatāra* (p. 106) uses the term *Bhrānti* in place of Vedāntic '*Ajñāna*' and expatiates on it saying that the glow of a circling fire (*alātacakra*) is seen by the wise<sup>25</sup>. It is devoid of both existence and non-existence but at the same time it is in a sense eternal (*bhrāntibhāśvata*). It continues to exist so long as one's knowledge functions but it ceases when one puts at rest all his thought-constructions<sup>26</sup>. In other words, the *Laṅkāvatāra* supports the Vedāntic conception of *Ajñāna*.

**Kamma (Karman):** The Buddhists fully recognise the influence of *Karman* and its effects on a being's repeated existences. Of the twelve terms or links in the chain of causation, the second and the tenth i.e. mental impressions (*samskāra*) and desire for re-existence (*bhava*) are

25 आन्तिरार्याणामपि द्वयायतेऽविपर्यासतः । Cf. *Laṅkāvatāra*, p. 298.

26 *Laṅkāvatāra*, p. 295:

सर्वप्रपञ्चोपशमात् आन्तो नाभिप्रवर्तते ।  
प्रज्ञा यावद् विकल्पन्ते आन्तिस्तावत् प्रवर्तते ॥

regarded as resultants of acts of one's past life and present life respectively.<sup>27</sup> The fact that a being is born with name and form, i.e., mental and material constituents, implies that in its previous existence it had mental obsessions due to lack of true knowledge (*avidyā*) and collected the so-called merits and demerits and developed certain mental dispositions (*samskāras*) which produced the consciousness for rebirth (*pratisandhi-vijñāna*), which in its turn brought about its re-existence and gave it a name and form. After re-existence the being in due course becomes subject to the roots of evils, viz., attachment, hatred and delusion<sup>28</sup> and reaches the end of its life with a desire (*bhava*) for another existence. And so it is said in the *Mahāvastu*<sup>29</sup> that the first and the eighth links, nescience and thirst, are the roots of *Karma* leading to rebirth. In Buddhist texts it is repeatedly stated that a being is subject to his deeds, inherits the good or bad effects, and has its origin out of his own past deeds.<sup>30</sup> It is on account of an individual's deeds that one becomes a cultivator, an artist or a king<sup>31</sup>. Deeds are divided into three categories thus: those which produce fruit (i) in this life (*dīṭṭhadhammavedanīya*); (ii) in the next life (*upappajjavedanīya*); (iii) in a future life (*aparāpariyavedanīya*). Some of the *Avadānas* and *Jātakas*, particularly the *Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu* and *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*<sup>32</sup> illustrate through stories the effects of good and evil deeds.

It is by the elimination of deeds (*kamma*) that a person attains full emancipation.<sup>33</sup> Self-exertion is the only means of *Nirvāṇa*, said Buddha and by self-exertion he meant the performance of certain

27 *Kośa*, III, 24.

28 *Nettippakarana*, 13; *Ānguttara*, V, p. 262: कम्मतिदानानि—लोभदोसमोह।

29 III, p. 65.

30 *Suttanipāta*, 654: कम्मणा वत्तति लोको कम्मणा वत्तति पजा । *Majjhima*, III, p. 203; *Ānguttara*, III, pp. 72, 186; V, pp. 81, 288: कम्मस्मका सत्ता कम्मदायादा कम्मयोनी कम्मबन्धु ... यं कम्मं करोन्ति कल्याणं वा पापकं वा तस्स दायादा भवन्ति ।

31 *Suttanipāta*, 653: कस्सको कम्मणा हेति सिष्पिको होति कम्मणा—राजापि होति कम्मणा ।

32 Edited by S. Lévi, Paris, 1942.

33 *Samyutta*, I, p. 134: सब्बकम्मक्षयं पत्तो विमुक्तो उपधिसंख्ये । Cf. *Ānguttara*, V, p. 262.

deeds, spiritual or otherwise. Hence the greatest emphasis was laid on one's acts and exertion and non-dependence on a superior power or on any ritual and ceremony. *Kamma* is inexorable and can only be counteracted by proper exertions as Āngulimāla got rid of his sins of indiscriminate killing by his spiritual exercises (*sādhanā*). Again, Buddha himself could not escape the effects of his past deeds as is illustrated by the event of his being wounded by a stone chip of a missile thrown by Devadatta. Śaṅkara also admits that man is the architect of his destiny and that his *karma*, past and present, must produce fruits which are to be exhausted by enjoyment or suffering. According to the Vedāntists<sup>34</sup> however, *karma* connotes not only meritorious and demeritorious deeds but also fulfilment of duties prescribed for a particular caste (*varna*) and stage of life (*āśrama*), as well as performance of sacrifices and expiatory ceremonies (*prāyaścitta*). Liberation is to be attained, according to Rāmānuja, not only by true knowledge (*jñāna*) but also by *karma*, by which, he meant, rituals prescribed in the *śāstras*. It is also enjoined in the Vedāntic texts that *karma* should be free from any desire for reward (*niskāma*) and such *karma* can destroy the accumulated effects of one's past life. *Karma* is divided into three categories : (i) deed already commenced (*prārabdha*), (ii) deed already accumulated (*sañcita*), and (iii) deed that is being accumulated (*sañcayamāna*). Of these three, the first must take its own course while the second can be destroyed, and the third prevented by acquisition of true knowledge.

There is a general agreement between the Vedāntic and the Buddhist view of *karman* and its elimination, except that the former relies partially on rituals and ceremonies for neutralizing *karmaic* effects—a view wholly unacceptable to the Buddhists.

*Soul and Rebirth* : As the Buddhists do not admit the existence of a permanent self, they replace the word “transmigration” by “rebirth”.

The conception of *ātman* in the *Upaniṣads* has given rise to two views: (i) that the self is similar to a spark issuing out of a mass of fire; and (ii) that the self is similar to space within an earthen jar. Śaṅkara gives preference to the second view and describes it as eternal, unchanging, undecaying, immaculate.<sup>35</sup> It is not gross, not eyes, not

34 *Brahmasūtra*, III. 1. 8.

35 नित्यशुद्धबद्धमुक्तसत्यखभावं प्रत्यक्षैतन्यमेवात्मतत्त्वमिति ।

life-force, not mind, not doer, it is just pure intelligence.<sup>36</sup> It pervades the whole body though it is infinitesmally small. At death it passes out of the eyes, or skull or some other portion of the body.

The living self limited by the adjuncts of the body of an individual, his sense-organs, mind, intelligence and notion of I-ness becomes an empirical self, perceiving pleasant and unpleasant feelings. It is unaware of its true nature and is in the grip of nescience; its power and knowledge become limited and it becomes an agent, an enjoyer of acts, by which it accumulates merits and demerits.

The Buddhists contend that in the ultimate analysis of the constituents of a being there is no trace of a permanent soul, which according to the Vedāntists, is unconstituted (*asamskṛta*). They argue that the unconstituted, immaculate and permanent substance has nothing to do with the constituted (*samskṛta*), and logically also, two objects, having opposite characteristics, can never exist together as light and darkness. Hence they uphold the doctrine of the non-existence of a real self. They point out that the five constituents forming a being (i.e. *upādāna-skandhas*) as distinguished from the mass of elements (*skandharāśi*) give rise to the wrong notion of I-ness or *satkāyadrṣṭi*. They do not also accept the position taken by the Sammitīya Buddhists that the five constituents on combination produce a sixth constituent called *Pudgala* which lasts as long as the *upādāna-skandhas* continue. They deny the existence of empirical self of the Vedāntists or of *Pudgala* of the Sammitiyas. Such denial leads to the question as to how the Buddhists explain the transference of *karmaic* effects of an individual from one existence to another.

The Vedāntists hold the view that the empirical self serves as the transmitter of *karmaic* effects. It continues after the death of a living being and transmigrates like a caterpillar from one existence to another. It does not give up the old body till it obtains a foothold in another body.<sup>37</sup> In his comments on *Brahmasūtra* (III. 1.1) Śaṅkara states that the living being at the time of his death dreams of his future existence and grows an attachment for it, and so the empirical self

36 प्रखग्धूलो अचक्षुरप्राणः अमना अकर्ता चैतन्यं चिन्मात्रं सत् । ... नित्यचैतन्योऽयमात्मा ।

37 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, IV, 4, 3.

extends its creative effort; it is a continuation or extension (*dīrgbhikaraṇa*) and not exactly similar to the movement of a caterpillar. The empirical self carries with it the subtle body (*sūkṣma-śarīra* = *linga-deha*) composed of three vestures or sheaths (*kōṣa*)<sup>38</sup>. This subtle body carries with it all the merits and demerits accumulated in past existences as also nescience (*avidyā*) along with the impressions left by past experiences (*pūrvaprajñā janmāntariya samskārāḥ*), leaving behind all material elements, gross or subtle. This subtle body remains along with the empirical self till the attainment of liberation.

Regarding the transference of *karmic* effects, the Buddhist view is wholly different from that of the Vedānta. The Buddhists take their stand on their doctrine of momentariness, and explain that the mental and material constituents (*nāmarūpa*) of a being undergo change, in other words, birth and death, cessation and re-appearance, decay and origination, occur at every moment, which has not even an infinitesimal duration. These are as dynamic as nature and are never static even for a moment. Hence the *karmic* effects are transmitted every moment. At the time of death the *nāmarūpa* obtains the subtlest form modified by the impressions of past life and develops a will for re existence (*pratisandhibijñāna*) which in turn gives rise in the next existence to the nascent mental state (*bhavaṅga-citta*) similar to the Yogācāra conception of *ālayavijñāna* or consciousness-receptacle. This *bhavaṅga-citta* comes out of the womb or the egg-shell and develops the nascent sense-organs. Hence, according to the Buddhists, there is rebirth and not transmigration and the reborn *nāmarūpa* carries with them all the *karmic* effects of past life.

They explain the continuity of a constituted being and its *karmic* effects as a ceaseless flux like fire passing over dry grass in a field. In the day to day life of an individual, this ceaseless change is perceptible. An individual never remains identically the same from day to day i.e. from moment to moment. In this unending flux death and rebirth are mere sequences. The flux ceases only when the individual realises the Truth and arrests the flow of *karmic* effects or mental dispositions (*samskāra*).

38 (i) *Vijñānamaya* = consciousness as an active agent.

(ii) *Manomaya* = will as instrumental.

(iii) *Prāṇamaya* = vital breath or physical organism as energy.

The Mahāyānists do not admit the existence of the phenomenal world of beings and objects, which according to the Yogācāra school, is the mental creation of a being out of desires conserved in a latent form from time immemorial (*anādikālavāsanā*). It is a conceptual world (*prapañca*) of its own—a world which has no more existence than objects seen in a dream<sup>39</sup>. Hence the Yogācārins do not speculate about *nāmarūpa* or their momentariness. The Mādhyamikas go a step further and do not even admit that the phenomenal world is an extension of mind. They simply state that the origin, continuity and decay of the phenomenal world has no more existence than delusion, dream or city of Gandharvas<sup>40</sup>, or the two Moons seen by jaundiced eyes.

The Buddhists regard that the Vedāntic conception of *livātman* stands in the way of the removal of the notion of I-ness (*ahaṅkāra*) which is the only means for attaining liberation.

*The Reality or the Highest Truth:* The conception of *Brahman* or the Absolute varies slightly in the different Upaniṣads. Śaṅkara has tried to reconcile them to propound his own *Advayavāda* or Monism. On the basis of statements mainly of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, he says that Brahman is ever existent and is identical with the universe. It is both infinitely large and infinitesimally small. It is one, real, eternal, non-dual and attributeless. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad* (II.3.1.)<sup>41</sup> there are references to the two aspects of Brahman, as *Parabrahma* and *Aparabrahma*. The former represents the Brahman which is pure, subtle, immortal, undefined, attributeless (*nirupadhi*), transcendent, beyond description with the limited vocabularies of the world. The latter represents Brahman as

39 *Lankāvatāra*, p. 274 :

मायास्वप्रनिभाभावगन्धर्वनगरोपमा : ।  
मरीच्युदकचन्द्राभाः सविकल्पां विभावयेत् ॥

cf. *Gaudapāda*, 31 :

स्वप्रभाये यथा हष्टे गन्धर्वनगरं यथा ।  
तथा विश्वं इदं सुष्टु वेदान्तेषु विचक्षणैः ॥

40 *Madhyamakakārikā*, VII, 34 :

यथा माया तथा स्वप्नो गन्धर्वनगरं यथा ।  
तथोत्पादस्तथा स्थानं तथा भङ्ग उदाहतम् ॥

41 द्वे वाव ब्रह्मणो—रूपे मूर्त्तं चैवामूर्त्तं च, मर्त्यं चामृतं च, स्थितं च यत्त्वा, सत्त्व तत्त्व ।

superimposed by Nescience (*Ajñāna*) when it appears as gross, limited, mortal, determinate, and possessed of certain attributes (*sopadhi*). These two aspects are expressed in the words “*tat tvam asi*” (Thou art that)<sup>42</sup> and compared to a snake and its coils, the snake being the Real self and the coil the individuated self. A simpler simile is unlimited space limited within a jar, the former being *Parabrahma* and the latter *Aparabrahma*. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Chāndogya* and *Taittiriya Upaniṣads*, Brahman is described as the supreme bliss (*paramānanda*) and pure intelligence (*vijñana*). In the *Māṇḍukyā-kārikā* Brahman is said to be indeterminate, inexpressible, eternally resplendent and trans-empirical, while in the *Brahmasūtra* (III, 2.22) it is stated that Brahman can only be referred to by negations of known concepts (*neti neti*). The conceptions about Brahman in the various texts may be summed up thus:

(i) *Brahman* is non-dual, inexpressible, trans-empirical and can be spoken of by negative concepts only; (ii) *Brahman* is immanent in the universe, and (iii) *Brahman* exists, it is pure intelligence and supreme bliss (*sat-cit-ānanda*) and (iv) *Brahman* may become limited, gross and endowed with attributes from the conventional but not from the highest standpoint.

The Monistic philosophy of Vedānta finds a better exposition in the Buddhist, specially Mahāyānic texts, in which the Truth is repeatedly referred to as non-dual and non-divisible (*advayam advaidhikāram*). In the Pāli texts Nirvāṇa is described by negatives only as not born, not diseased, not dying, not happiness, not unhappiness and so forth. It is only in popular phraseology we come across its positive account as tranquil, i. e., undisturbed by origin and decay (*śāntam*), happy (*sukham*) and deathless (*amṛtapadam*). The Mahāyānists are emphatic in their statements that the Reality is attributeless (*sūnyatā*), oneness and sameness (*tathatā*), the end of phenomenal existences (*bbūtakoti*), the sum-total of all existences (*dharmadbātu*). It is ever existent, unoriginated and undecaying, and as such it is unchangeable and infinite and can in no circumstances become limited. Thus, it is apparent that the Buddhists were more accurate than the Vedāntists in their exposition of the Monistic philosophy.

The first fundamental difference between Vedānta and Buddhism regarding the highest Truth is the former's attempt to offer a positive description of the Reality as existent (*sat*), pure consciousness (*cit*) and supreme bliss (*ānanda*). Excepting the attribute '*sat*' and that also used very discreetly, the other attributes are not acceptable to the Buddhists, who contend that any positive description of the transcendental implies its opposites viz., non-existence, non-consciousness and non-bliss and that any characterization of the Reality is false representation (*prapañca*). The only approach to the highest Reality, they state, is possible by negation alone. The Mādhyamikas confine themselves therefore to the description of *nirvāṇa* in pure negative terms thus: Nirvāṇa is that which is neither to be eschewed nor to be obtained; which is neither eternal nor subject to extinction; which is beyond origin and decay.<sup>43</sup> But they do not say that Nirvāṇa or Buddha or Tathāgata is non-existent. They agree with the Vedāntists in holding that the Absolute is not non-existent. They hold that those who attempt to characterize the inexpressible undecaying one get bewildered by characterization and do not visualise the Tathagata.<sup>44</sup>

The second fundamental difference between Vedānta and Buddhism lies in the Vedantic conception of the Absolute becoming limited temporarily although superficially. The Buddhists are unrelenting in their arguments that the Real must remain the Real for ever and suffer no change even superficially and temporarily because it can no longer be called Absolute. They have used the terms unreal or conventional (*samvṛti*) and real or absolute (*paramārtha*) but they regard the former as non-existent as objects seen in a dream. They hold that there is no *via media* between the two, hence, they do not accept the concep-

43 *Madhyamakakārikā*, XXV. 3 :

अप्रहीणमसंप्राप्तमनुच्छृन्नमशाश्वतम् ।  
अनिरुद्धमनुत्पन्नमेतन्निर्वाणमुच्यते ॥

cf. *Gandapada*. 32 :

न निरोधो न चात्पत्तिर्ण बद्धो न च बाधकः ।  
न मुमुक्षुर्णवैमुक्त इत्येषा परमार्थता ॥

44 *Madhyamakakārikā*, XXII. 15 :

प्रपञ्चयन्ति ये बुद्धं प्रपञ्चातीतमव्ययम् ।  
ते प्रपञ्चाहताः सर्वे न पश्यन्ति तथागतम् ॥

tion of *Aparabrahma*. Even the temporary and superficial association of two with opposite characteristics, viz., purity and impurity, unlimitedness and limitedness, they state, is as illogical as the co-existence of blackness and whiteness, of hotness and coldness.

It is noteworthy that the Vedāntic conception of the identity of Brahman with the universe<sup>45</sup> is fully endorsed by the Mādhyamikas who state that there is not the slightest difference between *Nirvāṇa* and the phenomenal world (*Samsāra*)<sup>46</sup>.

The Yogācārins hold a view midway between the Mādhyamikas and the Vedāntists in that they qualify the Absolute as not only existent (*sat*) but also as pure mind or consciousness (*vijñānamātra*). They have also introduced the conception of *Tathāgatagarbha* which bears comparison with the Vedāntic conception of *Jīvātman*. In the *Laṅkāvatāra* (p. 77) it is stated that the Teacher spoke of the *Tathāgatagarbha*, which is pure and resplendent by inherent nature, dwells in every living being, encased in sense-organs and other constituents forming a being. It is like an invaluable jewel wrapped in a dirty cloth. It is ever existent, unchanging, tranquil and eternal. In the text, care however has been taken to point out that their conception of *Tathāgatagarbha* is not identical with the heretical doctrine of the soul-theorists, as they do not admit the existence of the Highest Soul (*Paramātman*).

N. DUTT

45 *Chāndogya*, III. 14. 1 : सर्वं खलिदं ब्रह्म ।

46 *Madhyamakakārikā*, XXV. 19.

न संसारस्य निर्वाणात्किं चिदत्ति विशेषणम् ।  
न निर्वाणस्य संसारात्किं चिदत्ति विशेषणम् ॥

## Duhkha-Satya

The first Noble Truth of Buddhism, *Dukkham ariyasaccam*, is generally translated by almost all scholars as “The Noble Truth of Suffering”, and it is interpreted to mean that life according to Buddhism is nothing but suffering and pain. This translation and interpretation are highly unsatisfactory and misleading. It is because of this narrow translation and interpretation that many people are misguided to regard Buddhism as pessimistic. First of all, Buddhism is neither pessimistic nor optimistic. It takes a realistic view of life and of the world. It looks at things objectively. It does not falsely lull you to live in a fool’s paradise, nor does it frighten and agonize you with all kinds of ideas of imaginary fears and sins. It tells you exactly and objectively (*yathābhūtam*) what you are and what the world is, and shows you the right way to perfect freedom, peace, tranquility and happiness.

It is true that the Pali word *dukkha* or Sanskrit *duhkha* in ordinary usage means “suffering”, “pain” or “misery” as opposed to the word *sukha* meaning “happiness”, “comfort” or “ease”. But the term *dukkha* as the first Noble Truth has a philosophical meaning and connotes an enormously wider sense. It is admitted that the term *dukkha* in the first Noble Truth contains the ordinary meaning of “suffering” or “pain”, but in addition to that it includes also deeper ideas such as “imperfection”, “impermanence”, “emptiness”, “unsubstantiality”, “conflict”. It is difficult therefore to find one word to embrace the whole conception of the term *dukkha* as the first Noble Truth, and so it is better to leave it untranslated than to give an incomplete and wrong idea by conveniently rendering it as “suffering” or “pain”.

Buddhism does not deny happiness in life. On the contrary it admits different forms of happiness, both material and spiritual, for laymen as well as for monks. But all that is included in the *dukkha*. Even the very pure states of *dhyāna* attained by the practice of higher meditation, which are free even from a shadow of suffering or pain in the accepted sense of those words and which may be described as unmixed happiness, and also the state of *dhyāna* which is free from

sensations both pleasant (*sukha*) and unpleasant (*dukkha*) and which is only pure equanimity and awareness—even these extremely high, pure spiritual states are included in the *dukkha*. Not because they are suffering or pain, but because they too are *saṅkhārā*, conditioned, subject to change, impermanent and unsubstantial.

The conception of the *dukkha* as the first Noble Truth may be viewed from three aspects: (1) *dukkha* as ordinary suffering (*dukkha-dukkha*), (2) *dukkha* as change (*vipariṇāma-dukkha*) and (3) *dukkha* as conditioned state (*saṅkhāra-dukkha*).<sup>1</sup>

All kinds of suffering in life like birth, old age, sickness, death, union with unpleasant conditions, separation from beloved ones and agreeable conditions, not getting what one desires, grief, lamentation, distress—all such forms of physical and mental suffering, which are universally accepted as suffering and pain, are included in the *dukkha* as ordinary suffering (*dukkha-dukkha*).

A happy feeling, a happy condition in our life is not permanent, not everlasting. It changes sooner or later. When it changes it produces an unhappy feeling, an unhappy condition. This vicissitude is included in the *dukkha* as change (*vipariṇāma-dukkha*).

These two forms of *dukkha*, namely *dukkha-dukkha* and *vipariṇāma-dukkha*, may be included in the first Noble Truth according to the conventional (*saṃvṛti*) sense.

But the third form of *dukkha*, i.e. *dukkha* as a conditioned state (*saṅkhāra-dukkha*), is *dukkha* in the ultimate sense (*paramārtha*), and calls for a little analytical explanation of what we consider as “being”, as “individual” or as “I”. According to Buddhist philosophy what we call a “being”, “individual” or “I” is only a combination of everchanging physical and mental energies which may be divided into five aggregates (*pañcakkhandhā*). The Buddha says: “In short, these five aggregates of attachment are *dukkha*” (*saṅkhittena pañcupādānak-khandhā dukkhā*). Here it should be clearly understood that the *dukkha* and the five aggregates are not two different things; the five aggregates themselves are the *dukkha*. We will understand this point better when we get an idea about the five aggregates.

1. *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), p. 499; *Abhidharma-samuccaya*, pp. 36. 38 (ed. Pradhan, Santiniketan, 1950).

Now what are these five aggregates which constitute the so-called being?

The first is the aggregate of matter (*rūpakkhandha*). In this term “the aggregate of matter” are included the four great elements (*cattāri mahābhūtāni*), namely, the elements of solidity, fluidity, energy and motion, and their derivatives (*upādāya-rūpa*). In the “derivatives of four great elements” are included our five material sense organs, i.e. the faculties of eye, ear, nose, tongue and body and their corresponding objects in the external world, i.e. visible form, sound, odour, taste and tangible things and also some ideas or thoughts which are objects of mind. Thus the whole sphere of matter, both internal and external, is included in the aggregate of matter.

The second is the aggregate of sensations (*vedanākkhandha*). In this group are included all our sensations, pleasant or unpleasant or neither pleasant nor unpleasant, experienced through the contact of our sense organs with the external world. That is to say, the sensations experienced through the contact of the eye with visible forms, ear with sounds, nose with odour, tongue with taste, body with tangible objects and mind (which is the sixth faculty in Buddhist philosophy) with mind-objects or thoughts or ideas. All our physical and mental sensations are included in this group.

The third is the aggregate of perceptions (*saññākkhandha*). Like the sensations, perceptions also are produced through the contact of our sense faculties with the external world.

The fourth is the aggregate of mental formations (*saṅkhārakkhandha*). In this group are included all volitional mental activities, both good and bad, which produce karmic effects, such as attention (*manasikāra*), will (*chanda*), determination (*adhimokkha*), confidence (*saddhā*), concentration (*samādbhi*), intelligence or wisdom (*paññā*), energy (*viriya*), desire (*rāga*), repugnance or hate (*paṭigha*), conceit (*māna*), idea of self (*sakkāya-ditṭhi*) etc. There are 52 such mental activities which constitute the aggregate of mental formations.

The fifth is the aggregate of consciousness (*viññāṇakkhandha*). Consciousness is a reaction or a response which has one of the six sense faculties (eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind) as its basis and an external phenomenon as its object. E.g. the visual consciousness has the eye as its basis and a visible form as its object. So is the consciousness connected with other faculties.

Very briefly these are the five aggregates. What we call "being" or "individual" or "I" is only a name or a label given to the combination of these five groups. They are all impermanent. They are in a state of flux of momentary arising and disappearing. One thing disappears conditioning the appearance of the next in a series of cause and effect. There is no substantiality in them. There is nothing behind them that can be called a permanent, unchanging self (*ātman*), individuality or any thing that can be called "I", apart from these five aggregates. Everyone will agree that neither matter, nor sensation, nor preception, nor any one of those mental activities, nor consciousness can really be called "I". But when these five physical and mental aggregates, which are interdependent, are working together in combination as a physio-psychological machine we get the idea of "I". But this is only an imaginary idea which is nothing but one of those 52 mental formations of the fourth aggregate, which we have just mentioned. These five aggregates together, which we popularly call a being, are the *dukkha* itself (*saṅkhāra-dukkha*). There is no other "being" or "I" standing behind these five aggregates who experiences the *dukkha*. There is no unmoving mover behind the movement. It is only movement. In other words, there is no thinker behind the thought. Thought itself is the thinker. If you remove the thought there is no thinker. Here one cannot fail to notice how this Buddhist view is diametrically opposed to the conception of Cartesian cogito.

This is the Noble Truth of Dukkha. This does not at all make the life of a Buddhist melancholy or sorrowful, as some people wrongly imagined. On the contrary, a true Buddhist is the happiest in the world. He has no fears or anxieties. He is always calm and serene, and cannot be upset or dismayed by changes or calamities, because he sees and takes things as they are. The Buddha was never melancholy or gloomy. He was described by his contemporaries as "ever-smiling" (*mibita-pubbaṅgama*). In Buddhist paintings and sculptures the Buddha is always represented with a face happy, contented and serene. Never a trace of suffering or agony is to be seen. There are two ancient Buddhist texts called the *Thera-gāthā* and the *Therī-*gāthā** which are full of happy and joyful utterances by the Buddha's disciples, both male and female, who found peace and happiness in his teaching. The king of Kosala once told the Buddha that

unlike many a disciple of other religious systems who looked haggard, coarse, pale, emaciated and unprepossessing, the disciples of the Buddha were "joyful and elated (*batthapabatthā*), jubilant and exultant (*udaggudagga*), enjoying the religious life (*abbiratarūpa*), with senses pleased (*pīnitindriya*), free from anxiety (*apossukka*), serene (*pannalomā*), peaceful (*paradavutta*) and living with a gazelle's mind (*migabbūtena cetasā*)" i.e. light hearted. The king added that he believed that this healthy disposition was due to the fact that "these venerable ones had certainly realized the great and full significance of the Blessed one's teaching."<sup>2</sup> Buddhism is quite opposed to melancholic, sorrowful and gloomy attitude of mind which is considered a hindrance to the realization of Truth. On the other hand, it is interesting to remember that joy (*pīti*) is one of the seven essential qualities to be cultivated for the realization of Nibbāna (*Bojjhaṅga*).

W. RAHULA

2. *Majjhima-nikāya* II (PTS), p. 121

## Nirodha-Satya

In the Abhidharma all objects (dharma) are classified under two heads, saṃskṛta (constituted) and asaṃskṛta (unconstituted). Objects as are caused or constituted are called 'saṃskṛta' and those which are not caused or constituted, that is to say, which are eternal, are called 'asaṃskṛta'. Asaṃskṛta objects are of three types,—'ākāśa'; 'pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha' and 'apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha'. In the present paper we confine ourselves to the study of 'nirodha'. In this connection it should be borne in mind that according to the Sautrāntika view, asaṃskṛta objects are denied physical and intellectual existence. The Sautrāntika thinks that as all objects are fluxional in character, their physical or intellectual existence is a contradiction in term. It is for this reason that the Sautrāntika has not recognised 'nirodha' as physically or intellectually existing (dravyasat) though its existence (as prajñaptisat) is acknowledged in the Śāstras. The Vātsīputrīyas state that 'nirvāṇa' alone is asaṃskṛta, and therefore they do not also admit its dravyasattā. The Yogācāra school does not recognise the dravyasattā of 'nirodha' apart from consciousness. The Mādhyamikas also cannot posit 'nirodha' as physically existing. It seems therefore that it is only in the opinion of the Vaibhāṣika that 'nirodha' possesses dravyasattā, and it will be our endeavour in this article to discuss 'nirodha' as described by the Vaibhāṣika.<sup>1</sup>

Nirodha is classified under three heads, viz., 'Pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha', 'Apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha' and 'Anityatā-nirodha'. It is worthy of notice that in the original Abhidharmakośa we come across two types of nirodha,—Pratisaṃkhyānirodha and Apratisaṃkhyānirodha. But the Anityatānirodha also has been specifically mentioned in the Sphūṭārthā.

It is to be seen that the two terms, 'nirodha' and 'nirodha-satya' have not been used as synonyms. Because the term 'nirodha' has been used to refer to three types of 'nirodha', while the term 'nirodha-

<sup>1</sup> The present article has been written on the basis of the Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu and its Commentary, Sphūṭārthā of Yaśomitra. For a more comprehensive account of 'Nirodha-Satya' the reader may consult the book entitled 'Vaibhāṣika Darśana' (in Bengali) written by the writer.

'satya' denotes only *pratisamkhyānirodha* and *apratisamkhyānirodha*. It is for this reason that when the *Abhidharmakośa* describes 'nirodha-satya' as one of the four 'Ārya-satyas', it means *pratisamkhyānirodha* and *apratisamkhyānirodha* only and does not take notice of *anityatā-nirodha*.

The term 'nirodha' is generally used to denote negation. The expression 'nirodha of a jar' means the negation or the destruction of a jar. Similarly the sentence 'the current of the stream has been nijruddha (stopped)' conveys that the stream which had been flowing on from before has ceased, that is to say, the current is no more and has been destroyed. But in the present article, where we propose to review the *nirodha-satya* from the *Vaibhāṣika* point of view, it cannot be maintained that the term conveys the sense of negation, inasmuch as according to the *Vaibhāṣika*, negation is a figment of imagination like the rabbit's horn. *Nirodha* has been described in *Buddha-vacana* as an Ārya-satya. Further the *Vaibhāṣika* includes *pratisamkhyānirodha* and *apratisamkhyānirodha* in the list of *asamkr̥ta* objects. And, as such they are recognised as eternal entities. Hence, *pratisamkhyānirodha* and *apratisamkhyānirodha* are not, in the opinion of the *Vaibhāṣika*, of the nature of negation.

Let us now analyse the derivative meaning of the term 'nirodha'. The suffix to imply 'bhāva' has not been attached, but it conveys the meaning of the agent (*kartṛ*). As such the derivative meaning of the word 'nirodha' is, that which retards or shuts out. It is for this reason Yaśomitra has described 'vi-samyoga' or *pratisamkhyānirodha* as 'a closed door, which shuts out the different kleśas'. So the *Vaibhāṣika* conceives of the *pratisamkhyānirodha* and *apratisamkhyānirodha* as different kinds of 'invincible walls' which are eternal entities. The person striving for *Nirvāṇa* does not create *pratisamkhyānirodha* and *apratisamkhyānirodha*, but he collects those ever-existing entities for his own purpose i.e., for the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*.

### *Pratisamkhyānirodha*

The *Vaibhāṣika* texts have mentioned only two varieties of *nirodha-satya*, viz., *pratisamkhyānirodha* and *apratisamkhyānirodha*. The term *pratisamkhyānirodha* may be explained as *nirodha*, which an individual secures by means of *pratisamkhyā*. It is with the help of the *Ānantarya-mārga* (the 16th kṣaṇa of the *Nirvedhabhāgiya*) the

individual drives out the kleśas, and with the help of the 'Vimukti-mārga' (the first fifteen kṣaṇas of the Nirvedhabhāgiya) the door of the visarīyoga or pratisaṅkhyānirodha is shut against these different kleśas. It is therefore to be understood that the 'nirodha' which the individual attains through the pursuit of vimuktimārga is called pratisaṅkhyānirodha.

But it should be pointed out that the aforesaid meaning of pratisaṅkhyānirodha cannot be endorsed in view of the fact that the Vaibhāṣika texts have laid it down that certain apratisaṅkhyānirodhas too may be secured with the help of pratisaṅkhyā or vimuktimārga. It is therefore quite in the fitness of things that Vasubandhu has sought to describe or define it in a different way. In his opinion pratisaṅkhyānirodha is an object which retards contact. The prefix 'vi' in the term visamīyoga suggests 'opposition', and as such the term (visamīyoga) means 'that which opposes or retards contact'.

It should be mentioned here that though pratisaṅkhyānirodha means 'what retards contact', still it does not set forth the full connotation of the term. From a critical study of Yaśomitra's Sphūṭārthā it appears that pratisaṅkhyānirodha means those objects which invariably oppose the attainment of contact with 'sāstrava' objects. The individual who is fortunate enough to realise pratisaṅkhyānirodha will no more come in contact with sāstrava objects. As the nirodha is obtained through pratisaṅkhyā it is called pratisaṅkhyānirodha. The 'āsravas', such as kleśas and others cannot reside in the asaṁskṛta objects as ether and the like, and as such asaṁskṛta objects are not sāstravas. Even some saṁskṛta objects, such as mārga-satya and others cannot be the locus of the āsravas. So mārgasatya and such others are not sāstrava. It is to be seen that the nirodha of those saṁskṛta objects, whether sāstrava or anāstrava, which may have been born but never come to life (anutpatti-dharmā), is not called pratisaṅkhyānirodha in the Abhidharma text. So the object that invariably retards the attainment of contact with the sāstrava objects that are past, born and are in the embryo form, is called the pratisaṅkhyānirodha.

It is to be carefully noticed that 'saṁyoga' and 'prāpti' are not synonymous, according to the Vaibhāṣika text. Both 'sattvākhyā' and 'asattvākhyā' objects may have saṁyoga, but according to the Vaibhāṣikas, prāpti has been admitted in the case of sattvākhyā objects only. Those that relate to objects endowed with life, are called

sattvākhyā. The Vaibhāṣika admits ‘prāpti’ in the case of pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha, though the latter is not a sattvākhyā object. To be precise, what waxes with the waxing of the body and wanes with the waning of the body is called sattvākhyā. But pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha is an eternal entity and cannot be looked upon as a sattvākhyā object, still its prāpti has been admitted by the Vaibhāṣikas.

It has been stated above that pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha is an object which invariably retards the attainment of contact with sāstrava objects. Now, a question may be raised here, if it were said that pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha is the object invariably retarding the contact with sāstrava objects, and not the attainment of contact with them as stated in the description, the description of the pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha could have been quite accurate and precise. In answer to this, it may be pointed out that the pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha cannot retard the contact with the sāstrava objects in general, but it can only oppose the attainment of contact with the sāstrava objects. The raison d'etre is this that when the individual with the help of the ‘ānantarya-mārga’ drives out the kleśas, and the pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha shuts the door against them, the contact of kleśas with the individual ceases; but that does not mean that the kleśas cannot have any contact whatsoever with any other things outside the individual. It comes to this therefore, that if pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha was described only as the object retarding the contact with sāstrava objects, and not as the object retarding the attainment of contact with the sāstrava objects, the description would not have been correct and adequate.

Pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha has no ‘sabhāgahetu’, because ‘sabhāgahetu’ is possible only for the saṃskṛta objects. According to the Vaibhāṣikas, the pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha has been included in the list of asaṃskṛta objects. So it is an eternal entity. Pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha can neither be described as past nor as ‘anutpattidharma’, but it lives in the present. It is for this reason that the pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha cannot be retarded by anything else. It should be stated here that pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha does not also become the sabhāgahetu of any other object. Aprati-saṅkhyā-nirodha and anityatānirodha are called nirodhas, but there is no similarity between them and the pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha. So pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha is described as ‘a-sabhāga’, i.e., having no similarity with others, and it is an eternal entity. Pratisaṅkhyā-

nirodha is not negation and as such it has no negatum (pratiyogi object).

Vasubandhu opines that pratisaṅkhyānirodhas are innumerable; and, those are not uniform either. As otherwise, on the attainment of pratisaṅkhyānirodha as a result of the knowledge of one of the Āryasatyas, such as, 'dharma-jñāna with duḥkha as its content', the pursuit of other kinds of Āryasatyas, such as, 'dharma-jñāna relating to samudaya' etc., would become useless. And, in view of the fact that pratisaṅkhyānirodha obstructs the way, the Ānantaryamārga can no longer drive out the kleśas. But if we admit the plurality of pratisaṅkhyānirodha such anomalies would be obviated. For, the particular pratisaṅkhyānirodha, which is obtained by 'dharmajñāna relating to duḥkha', does not obstruct the way through which kleśas are driven by 'dharmajñāna-kṣanti' relating to samudaya-satya and so on.

### *Apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha*

Prima facie apratisaṅkhyānirodha is that which is 'not pratisaṅkhyānirodha'. But this interpretation is not accurate, as anityatānirodha is also 'not pratisaṅkhyānirodha'. Vasubandhu defines apratisaṅkhyānirodha as that form of nirodha which permanently obstructs the creation of objects (vastu), thereby distinguishing it from anityatānirodha. The latter does not obstruct the creation of objects, but it obstructs the existence of the created objects (utpanna-vastu). It is for this reason the Buddhist philosophers believe in the transitoriness or fluxional character of all created objects.

Apratisaṅkhyānirodha cannot also be explained as the nirodha which is 'not attainable by means of pratisaṅkhyā or vimukti-mārga', as in that case also it becomes applicable to anityatānirodha. Moreover such an explanation often proves to be inadequate. As for example, according to the Vaibhāṣikas, a 'srotāpanna' person, (one who is in the stream leading to Nirvāṇa) has no more to suffer from 'apāya-gati' (i. e., he is not to be reborn in the preta or tiryak-yoni). The apratisaṅkhyānirodha form of barrier against his future 'apāyagati' has thus been obtained by means of pratisaṅkhyā. This nirodha cannot be pratisaṅkhyānirodha as it obstructs apāya-gati, which is anutpattidharmā, whereas the function of pratisaṅkhyānirodha

is to retard the sāsrava objects, past, born or yet to be born (utpattidharmā).

It has also been suggested that apratisaṅkhyānirodha is obtainable by a form of 'pratyayavaikalya' (absence of the totality of creative elements), which is 'a-pratisaṅkhyā' (not pratisaṅkhyā). In this definition pratyayavaikalya has been equated with apratisaṅkhyā, and thus it indicates the process of attainment of apratisaṅkhyānirodha. But, according to the Vaibhāśikas, absence or abhāva being illusory (alīka), absence of the totality of creative elements (pratyayavaikalya) can hardly be accepted as the means of attainment of apratisaṅkhyānirodha.

Vasubandhu's definition of apratisaṅkhyānirodha (nirodha which permanently obstructs the origin of dharma or objects) helps us to distinguish it from anityatānirodha and also from pratisaṅkhyānirodha. The former obstructs the existence of constituted objects and not their origin, while the latter prevents the attainment of contact with sāsrava objects and not their existence or origin.

According to the Vaibhāśika a person who is 'sattvāvāsastha' is described as 'Asaṁjñikasattva'. An asaṁjñikasattva person during his 'sattvāvāsa' naturally acquires certain condition or state of spiritual upliftment when he is not baffled by future sāsrava objects. During this state of asaṁjñikatā, therefore, the very creation of sāsrava objects is obstructed for a specific period. This makes it almost similar to apratisaṅkhyānirodha, and may be mistaken for the latter. On analysis, however, it will be found that there is a subtle difference between the two. Apratisaṅkhyānirodha permanently obstructs the creation or origin of all objects, whereas the asaṁjñikatva prevents the origin of sāsrava objects only during the state of asaṁjñikatā, while out of the state of asaṁjñikatā a person may once again be baffled by the sāsrava objects.

The Vaibhāśikas mention another form of nirodha, viz., Asaṁjñikanirodha-samāpatti or Nirodha-samāpatti. This may be acquired by a person, susceptible to all desires, by means of meditation. On its attainment sāsrava objects do not originate in a person, expert in meditation, during the period of his meditation. So during the state of Nirodha-samāpatti also the origin of sāsrava objects is obstructed temporarily for him. But the expression, 'permanent obstruction' of the origin of objects in respect of apratisaṅkhyānirodha, will enable

us to distinguish it from the above-mentioned nirodha-samāpatti, which effects a temporary obstruction only.

Apratisaṅkhyānirodha effectively and permanently retards the origin of Anāsrava objects as well. A 'srotāpanna' person, free from the two kleśas born of low sight and low thoughts, becomes 'Anāgāmī' (i.e., one who will be born once more only to attain Nirvāṇa). Such persons are generally averse to the acquisition of more and more higher states of existence, and those anāgāmīs who attain nirvāṇa during their 'antarābhava' (the period intervening between the death in one existence and rebirth in another) do not require these higher planes. By means of their knowledge or pratisaṅkhyā they obtain a form of apratisaṅkhyānirodha which obstructs the origin of future anāsrava higher planes for them. Though it is attained by means of prati-  
saṅkhyā still it retards the origin of anāsrava constituted objects.

In summing up it may be observed, therefore, that the existence of all constituted objects, sāsrava and anāsrava, is obstructed by anityatānirodha; the attainment of contact with sāsrava objects, past, born or yet to be born is obstructed by pratisaṅkhyānirodha; and, the very creation or origin of anutpattidharmā objects, sāsrava or anāsrava, is permanently obstructed by apratisaṅkhyānirodha. The first strikes at the existence, the second at the attainment, and, the third at the very origin.

The constituted objects are related to anityatānirodha by their own creative elements, as they are created in collaboration with that nirodha. The pratisaṅkhyānirodha is attainable only by pratisaṅkhyā or vimuktimārga and by no other process. Apratisaṅkhyānirodha may, however, be obtained by nature as well as by pratisaṅkhyā. Some even believe that it may be attained by pratyayavaikalya, which is not accepted by the Vaibhāsikas.

ANANTA KUMAR NYAYA-TARKATIRTHA

## Pratītyasamutpāda

Pratītyasamutpāda is one of the modes of causal relation in Buddhism—the other being Paṭṭhānanaya. It is ‘a mode marked by the simple condition of the happening of a phenomenon on the occurrence of its sole invariable antecedent phenomenon.’<sup>1</sup> It states that things of the world are neither due to one cause (ekahetuka) nor are they causeless (ahetuka). It proves that things are due to manifold causes (nānāhetuka).

Buddhaghoṣa states that pratītyasamutpāda is one of the four difficult subjects<sup>2</sup> (catvāri duṣkarasthānāni) to be expounded. It is to be understood under four different aspects of profundity (catvāri gambhīrasthānāni), viz., meaning (artha), doctrine (dharma), teaching (deśanā) and penetration (prativeda). It should further be known according to the four different methods as to the meaning (catvāra arthanāya) and these are the method of unity (ekatvanāya), of diversity (nānātvanāya), of non-occupation (abyāpāranāya) and of the nature of being such (evamdharmatānāya). This formula is characterised as the order of becoming (dharmasthitatā), happening of things (dharmaniyamatā), suchness (tathatā), uncontrariness (avitathatā) and this-conditioned nature (idapratyayatā).

Pratītya (prati+√i+ya) means after reaching (prāpya), or depending on (apekṣya), and samutpāda means origination. Combining the two we get dependent origination. It establishes that things have only a dependent origination.

We are told that the Buddha, while sitting under the Bodhi tree, determined to acquire enlightenment, realised at the third watch of the night the root cause of all sufferings and sorrows, which is comprised in the second noble truth (samudayasatya), the concatenation of causes and effects, viz., pratītyasamutpāda (dependent origination) with its 12 nidānas or links. They are: (1) avidyā (ignorance), (3) saṃskāra (impression), (3) viññāna (consciousness), (4) nāmarūpa

1 Tabbhāvabhāvibhāvākāramattopalakkhito paṭiccasamuppādanayo.

2 The other three are noble truths (satya), being (sattva) and pratisandhi (rebirth).

(mind and matter), (5) ṣaḍāyatana (six organs of sense), (6) sparśa (contact), (7) vedanā (feeling), (8) trṣṇā (desire), (9) upādāna (attachment), (10) bhava (existence), (11) jāti (birth) and (12) jarāmaraṇa (old age and death). This is the wheel of life revolving day after day from birth to death and death to birth.

Here is given a brief exposition of the terms constituting the formula. Avidyā (ignorance) is the non-comprehension of the four Noble Truths (āryasatya), the past (pūrvānta), the future (aparānta), both the past and the future (purvāntāparānta) and pratīyasamutpāda (dependent origination).<sup>3</sup> It is identified with delusion (moha). Saṃskāra (impression) denotes actions which are (i) meritorious (puṇyābhisaṃskāra), (ii) sinful (apuṇyābhisaṃskāra) and (iii) static (āneñjābhisaṃskāra). Puṇyābhisaṃskāra appertains to eight kāmāvacarakuśala and five rūpāvacarakuśala cetanās (volitions), apuṇyābhisaṃskāra to twelve akuśala cetanās (volitions) and āneñjābhisaṃskāra to four arūpakuśala cetanās (volitions) only. They are thus wholesome and unwholesome worldly volitions (cetanās). These three together with the three kinds of deeds belonging to the body (kāyika), speech (vācasika) and mind (mānasika) are the six saṃskāras (impressions) which are conditioned by ignorance (avidyā). Vijñāna (consciousness) means here pratisandhivijñāna (rebirth consciousness) and pravṛttivijñāna (a continuous flow of mental states). Pratisandhivijñāna is of nineteen kinds while pravṛttivijñāna is of thirty-two laukika vipākas (resultants). Nāmarūpa (mind and matter) denote pratisandhināma and pravṛttināma, and pratisandhirūpa and pravṛttirūpa. Pratisandhināma means thirty-five cetanās (volitions) associated with nineteen pratisandhis while pravṛttināma denotes thirty-five cetanās (volitions) associated with thirty-two laukika cittas. By pratisandhirūpa is meant the nineteen kinds of pratisandhi and karmajarūpa (form arising out of deeds), and by pravṛttirūpa is taken the pravṛtticittajarūpa (form arising out of mind in this life). Ṣaḍāyatana denotes cakṣayatana (eye-base), śrotrāyatana (ear-base), ghrāṇāyatana (nose-base), jihvāyatana (tongue-base), kāyāyatana (body-base) and manāyatana (mind-base). Cakṣayatana is cakṣuprasāda (sensitivity of eye) and so on while manāyatana is thirty-two laukika vipākas (resultants). Sparśa (contact) is of six

<sup>3</sup> This is the meaning in the Abhidhammapiṭaka while in the Suttapiṭaka it means non-comprehension of the four Noble Truths.

kinds corresponding to the six kinds of āyatanas (bases). Cakṣusparśa (eye-contact) is contact associated with eye-consciousness (cakṣuvijñāna), śrotrasparśa (ear-contact) is contact associated with ear-consciousness (śrotravijñāna), and so forth, but manosparśa (mind-contact) is but contact associated with twenty-two laukika vipākas (resultants). Vedanā (feeling) is also of six kinds corresponding to six sense-organs. Cakṣovedanā (feeling born of eye) is feeling associated with eye-consciousness (cakṣuvijñāna) and so on while manovedanā is but feeling associated with thirty-two laukika vipākas (resultants). Tṛṣṇā (craving) is of six kinds, viz., rūpatṛṣṇā (craving for form), śabdatṛṣṇā (craving for sound), gandhatṛṣṇā (craving for smell), rasatṛṣṇā (craving for taste), spr̥ṣṭavyatṛṣṇā (craving for touch) and dharimatṛṣṇā (craving for objects). Rūpatṛṣṇā is craving for the visible objects. Similarly śabdatṛṣṇā is craving for the sounds and so forth. Upādāna (attachment) is of four kinds: kāma, dr̥ṣṭi, śilavrata and ātmavāda. Kāmupadāna is mental concomitants rooted in greed (lobha cetasika). Dr̥ṣṭupadāna is the wrong view that there is no resultant of the gift. Śilavratupadāna is the belief that ceremonial observances lead to purification. Ātmavādупadāna is the belief in the existence of one's individuality. Bhava (existence) is of two kinds: karmabhava and utpattibhava. Karmabhava is twenty-nine kuśala and akuśala cetanās (wholesome and unwholesome volitions) and twenty ways of good conduct and of evil conduct associated with these cetanās (volitions). It represents the active side of life. Utpattibhava is the resultant of thirty-two laukika vipākas and thirty-five cetasikas and the material phenomena produced by karma. Jāti (birth) is the appearance of the five skandhas (aggregates) of a being who is reborn. Jarā (decay) is the decay of those skandhas. Maraṇa (death) is the passing away of those skandhas.

Pratityasamutpāda refers to three periods—the past, present and the future. Avidyā (ignorance) and saṃskāra (impression) belong to the past, vijñāna, nāmarūpa, ṣaḍāyatana, sparśa, vedanā, tṛṣṇā, upādāna and bhava to the present, jāti and jarāmaraṇa to the future. It has twelve factors (aṅga) as mentioned above. It has also twenty modes (ākāra). Thus in the past there are five causes and in the present there are five resultants. Similarly there are five causes in the present and five resultants also in the future. There are four groups (saṅkṣepa) in this formula:

one casual group in the past, one resultant group in the present, one casual group in the present and one resultant group in the future. It has three connections (*sandhi*): one between saṃskāra and vijnāna, one between vedanā and trṣṇā and one between bhava and jāti. There are three rounds (*vṛtta*) in it. They are kleśavṛtta, karmavṛtta and vipākavṛtta. It has further two roots—avidyā and trṣṇā. Lastly, it is taught in four different ways: (i) from the beginning to the end, (ii) from the middle to the end, (iii) from the end to the beginning and (iv) from the middle to the beginning.

Pratītyasamutpāda (dependent origination) is one of the most fundamental doctrines of Buddhism, as Buddha himself has declared: 'He who realises pratītyasamutpāda sees dharma (truth) and he who sees dharma (truth) sees pratītyasamutpāda'. It is a very important philosophical doctrine in Mahāyāna philosophy. Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika system, has established his whole philosophy on pratītyasamutpāda. According to this doctrine it is the nature of all things (bhāva) to depend on a number of causes and conditions for their origination, and what are so produced cannot be said to have independent origination and are without any reality and nothing can, therefore, be declared of such unreal things. In the invocatory verses at the beginning of his *Mādhyamikakārikā* Nāgārjuna has described pratītyasamutpāda by eight negatives. He says that there is neither origination nor cessation, neither permanence nor impermanence, neither unity nor diversity, neither coming in nor going out in the principle of pratītyasamutpāda. Here the negatives describe the unrelatedness of everything produced through this principle and pratītyasamutpāda is rightly declared as the cessation of phenomena (prapañcopaśama) and all quiescence (śiva). Elsewhere (ch. 24) he has further stated that looked at from the relative standpoint (samvṛtisatya) pratītyasamutpāda means origination of the world-order depending on a concurrence of causes, but from the absolute standpoint (paramārtha-satya), it means non-origination at all times and is equated with Nirvāṇa. This is the basic principle of Nāgārjuna's philosophy.

## Buddhist Psychology

In Buddhism there is a very well-defined psychological study, vying at times with many a modern concept. The complex and intricate internal life of human beings has been sought to be analysed and explained in the Pali *Tipitaka*. In *Abhidhamma* texts it is stated that the human mind is based on certain notions, preconceived as well as originating, so that no one state of mind can be a full explanation of any human type. There are, so to say, different designations of human types on the psychological analysis and the consequential metaphysical status of the human individual. In the *Puggalapaññatti*, a Pali canonical text under the *Abhidhamma*, it has been clearly stated at the outset that there are six such designations on the psycho-metaphysical side of analysis<sup>1</sup>. Now, apparently all these six types of designations of the *knowing* individual may not be found to be of a strict scientific division inasmuch as there are over-lappings, e.g., between the *āyatana-paññatti* and the *dhātu-paññatti*; yet there are good grounds in each for special kind of stress, as on the *objective* side in the former and on the *mental* side in the latter.

In this psycho-metaphysical analysis of the human individual, the very first *sine qua non* is the doctrine of 'the designation of groups' (*Khandha-paññatti*). In general Buddhist theory of *pañca-skandha* or five-fold aggregate consisting of the inner and the outer worlds in all acts of cognition, this enunciation of the *Khandha-paññatti* as the first 'designation' assumes a significant rôle in Buddhist psychology of the Idealistic type. The *rūpa* (material form), *vedanā* (sensation), *saññā* (perception)<sup>2</sup>, *saṅkhāra* (confection)<sup>2</sup>, and *viññāna* (consciousness) have been put under this group, giving a broad classification of the

<sup>1</sup> *Cba paññattiyo* :—*khandha-paññatti*, *āyatana-paññatti*, *dhātu-paññatti*, *sacca-paññatti*, *indriya-paññatti*, *puggala-paññatti* (*loc. cit.*, Pt. I., P.T.S., ed. R. Morris).

<sup>2</sup> These two terms 'perception' and 'confection' as equivalents to *saññā* and *saṅkhāra* have been used by B. C. Law in *Designation of Human Types*, P.T.S. It should be noted that *saññā* here does not mean 'name' as applied in the general *pañca-skandha* theory of outer designation, as opposed to the inner process which is described in this context.

different requisites in an act of cognition. It is well known and admitted almost as a universal rule that the mind is the seat of all cognitional processes. In Buddhist theories of the mind and its processes of *knowing*, it has been generally accepted, in both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna schools with certain doctrinal modifications, that the mind is the seat of consciousness. This basic recognition of the mind in the psycho-physical and consequential philosophico-metaphysical doctrines of origin and control of mental states and systematisation of knowledge in realising the Ultimate Truth, has been the backbone of Buddhist tradition. Starting from the material form which is out and there, Buddhist writers have given a predominant rôle to our inner world of the mental processes, culminating through various notions, in the actual psychological re-actions. It is here that the Buddhist theory is not purely psychological, but psycho-physical and ultimately psycho-ethical. It has been a vexed question whether psychology should be studied from an ethical attitude, but it has been nonetheless generally accepted that ethical studies have a great anticipation of psychological analyses. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her *Buddhist Psychology* (a translation of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* under the *Abhidhamma*) has discussed, in the learned Introduction, this question and this attitude in the Buddhist tradition at great length. Psychology is, according to the tradition which is the subject of our discussion, pre-eminently suited to an analysis of the human mind in the hope of its exposure to an ethical adjudgment.

If we examine, on a general study, the five-fold *Khanda-paññatti* enumerated and described above, we shall find that the sensory organs have their respective fields and rôles in the enumeration of different kinds of 'sensation' (*Vedanā*). It is, therefore, evident that this first 'designation' (*Paññatti*) is mainly a description of the internal states and conditions re-acting, under specific circumstances, on particular external stimuli coming from the objective world. In this regard, Buddhist writers have given us a scientific basis as the starting-point in psychology. The next 'designations' as enumerated in the text, *Puggala-paññatti*, are the gradual exposition of this fundamental hypothesis. The numbers and groupings may appear to be not strictly scientific to modern minds, but that there are different groupings depending on, and elucidating, peculiar points of view in a psychological situation, is undeniably true. The *āyatana-paññatti* is a

twelve-fold group and the *dhātu-paññatti* an eighteen-fold group, elucidating the second and the third 'designations' respectively.<sup>3</sup>

These *āyatana-* and *dhātu-paññatti* aggregates are enumerated to show that in the Buddhist theory, the psychological processes are sensory, motor and even reflex, depending on the seats or organs and reactions. The *āyatanas* are these seats as well as the specific qualities adhering to the external world that the former are capable to grasp. It is interesting here that even the *manas* or *citta* that is the specific internal conscious state is also included here along with *dhamma* which quality it is capable to grasp. This *dhamma* is the three-fold group without form (*arūpa kbandhattayo*) of *vedanā*, *saññā* and *sañkhāra*.<sup>4</sup> In the *dhātu-paññatti* aggregate are listed the same twelve-fold group plus six types of *viññāna* belonging to six organs including the mind (*citta*). The *dhātu-paññatti* aggregate is, therefore, enumerated after the *āyatana-paññatti*, for the fact that when specific seats or organs are capable to grasp specific objects in their specific qualities, then the actual grasping through a deeper region, so to say, takes place. This is the *dhātu-paññatti* aggregate which is not merely an aggregate of seats but also of actual *re-acting agents*. Perhaps on that account has the *viññāna* (consciousness), that has been specifically included in the first 'designation' of *Khandha*, been once more added to this aggregate to show that sensory processes depend on consciousness for actual psychological results to be achieved. It is, however, an hypothesis worked out from the Idealistic position of Buddhism.

Let us turn a little from the main path to study, in brief, certain other implications which are corollaries. The *citta*,—which we have translated as 'mind' in Western terminology for want of a better equivalent, though imperfectly—is, in the Buddhist tradition, generally of four types. These types of mind, as enumerated and explained, are judged not merely from the psychological point of view, but also,

3 *rāgañca dosañca pabāya mobam  
sammappajāno suvimuttacitto  
anupādiyāno idha vā huram vā  
sa bhāgavā sāmaññassa hoti* (*Dhammapada*, 1/20).

In this verse there is the ethical approach to the analysis of the mind acting on the objective world through *upādāna*.

4 *manopubbaṅgamā dhammā manoseṭṭhā manomaya*: *Dhammapada*(1/1-2)

and more so, from the ethico-metaphysical point of view. These are: (1) *Kāmāvacara*—it is the ‘mind of desire’ having good (*kuśala*), bad (*akuśala*), indifferent (*kriyā*) and ripe (*vipāka*) kinds, depending on the nature of our mental propensities; (2) *Rūpāvacara*—it is the ‘mind of sublation’ having good (*kuśala*), indifferent (*kriyā*) and ripe (*vipāka*) kinds, possessed by super-human beings residing in higher regions; (3) *Arūpāvacara*—it is the ‘mind of trance,’ also of three kinds as *Rūpāvacara*, but possessed by still higher Beings residing in *nirākāra* (formless) regions, yet having some *karmic* propensities to manifest; (4) *Lokottara*—it is the ‘mind of realisation,’ having as its object the bliss of *Nirvāṇa*, and having two kinds depending on the Path and the Result. It is the highest Perfection and the ultimate Goal. Buddha-hood is included in this category, and in nothing else. It is, therefore, evident that all these classes are not purely psychological. Ethical, metaphysical and spiritual evaluations are implicated in the four different kinds of *citta* as briefly enumerated and explained above. But, however lower or higher the *citta* may be, it is admitted generally in the Buddhist tradition that the three-fold formless group (*arūpa kbandhavatayo*) of *vedanā*, *saññā* and *sankhāra* is the resultant of such ‘graded minds’. This three-fold group has its origin in mind which again is of lower or higher propensities.

Consciousness, again, in Buddhist tradition is ever-changing. But every consciousness has two elements—one Constant and the other Variable. Now, this constant element is the Form of Consciousness which is reached in an Order of Thought by mind in well-defined Paths (*Vithi*). The subjective element can rise above the changing processes in its state of ‘stream of being’ which is free from process of thought (*Vithi-mutta*), but the objective process-consciousness (*Vithi-citta*) which is the Matter and the Variable element is ever the functional aspect of the knowing individual. All these varieties of consciousness, however, have three moments of genesis, existence and destruction. The mind, therefore, has an infinite series of thought-processes in the construction of a system of thought though the Form it reaches. The variability of consciousness is the mind’s inner process but the constancy of consciousness is its system of Form in the synthetic judgments it forms. The subject, however, in its real nature is ‘a stream of being’ where thought-processes are capable of being transcended, and the *Vithi-mutta* subject may stay as the metaphysical

entity.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to compare this analysis of the Buddhist theories of mind and its processes,—the objective data and the thought-construction on them—with the Kantian epistemology and metaphysics. In germinal forms the *Abhidhamma* tradition in Buddhism seems to reflect the much later and much more developed Kantian system. The metaphysical subject, again, is tinged with the transcendental hypothesis here, though not in the Kantian sense, with the pronounced stress on the ideality of the conscious subject.

It remains for us to study the implications of *indriya-paññatti* or 'designation of sense-organs' in the psychological theory of Buddhism. We have discussed above the nature of the *āyatana-* and the *dhātu-paññatti* aggregates and shown their separate implications. In this designation of *indriya*, there has been a stress on the functional aspect. In fact, this aggregate is properly to be designated as 'a designation of functions or faculties'. "Indriya", says B.C. Law in his *Designation of Human Types* (p.1 f.n.) "literally means a controlling principle or force." *Indriya-paññatti* is an aggregate of twenty-two such 'principles' comprising the regions from sense-desire to the supramundane. It is, therefore, not merely the actual seats or senses that are included in this aggregate but the 'controlling principles or forces' that are working on for the control of the human body lest it should cease to function.

Buddhist psychology has a vital bearing on the Buddhist theories of morality and spirituality. It is said in the few *gāthās* in the *cittavaggo* of the *Dhammapada* that the *citta* or mind is the most perturbed and therefore the most dangerous possession of the human individual. It is always enticed away to vices, to things of ephemeral consequences, to distant paths of darkness, to *akuśalas* of the lowest form of *kāmāvacara*-state far removed from the higher and higher kinds of mental development; but it is through meditation of graded varieties (of five kinds), through good and virtuous practice and through inner control over the mind's dissipations that one can achieve peace and tranquility, and attain to the state of an *Arhat*.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Compendium of Philosophy*—Shwe Zan Aung & Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp. 25 ff.

## Brahman of Śaṅkara and Śūnyatā of Mādhyamikas

The central point of Śaṅkara's Vedānta is that consciousness absolute is the fundamental reality and Brahman is that consciousness.<sup>1</sup> It is devoid of all attributes (निर्गुण) and devoid of any distinct mark (निर्विशेष). It is one indivisible unit without a second (अद्वैत) having in itself no difference (स्वगतभेद) either arising out of an individuality as a member of a certain class (स्वजातीयभेद) or a difference arising out of an individuality belonging to another class (विजातीयभेद)<sup>2</sup>. Each individual is essentially the same as Brahman but it appears as other than Brahman because of adjuncts (उपाधि) that arise out of nescience (अविद्या)<sup>3</sup>.

The world consisting of individuals is there and it has the self-same Brahman as the cause (कारण) both material (उपादान) and efficacious (निमित्त)<sup>4</sup>. The world emanates from it and subsists in it. Now the question is how can this non-relational (निरवयविन्) Brahman be linked up with this relational (अवयविन्) world? Śaṅkara, however, says this is possible; The world, as it is, does not exist at all nor did it ever exist nor will it exist in future. The truly existing being is alone Brahman and all else is naught<sup>5</sup>. All else is

<sup>1</sup> ...सर्वस्याकाशादेर्जगतस्तत्त्वमधिग्रानतया... च पारमार्थिकं सच्चिदानन्दलक्षणं यद्युपमत्तिं तत् ब्रह्मशब्देर्नयते Ramakrishna's commentary, *Pañcadasi*, 5, 8, also 3.28.

वृक्षस्य स्वगतो भेदः पत्रपुष्पफलादिभिः ।  
वृक्षान्तरात् सजातीयो विजातीयः शिलादितः ॥  
तथा सद्वस्तुनो भेदलक्ष्यं प्राप्तं निर्वायते ।  
ऐक्यावधारणद्वैतप्रतिषेध छिगिः कमात् ॥

*Pañcadasi*, 2, 15-16. also see, Commentary of Ramakrishna thereunder.

<sup>3</sup> सदन्तरं सजातीयं न वैलक्षण्यवर्जनात् । नामरूपोपाधिभेदं विना नैव सतो भिदा ॥ *Op. cit.*, 2.19.

<sup>4</sup> जगतो यदुपादानं मायामादाय तामसीम् । निमित्तं शुद्धसत्त्वं तामुच्यते ब्रह्म तद् गिरा ॥ *Op. cit.*, 1.44. 'शक्तिद्वयवदज्ञानोपहितं चैतन्यं स्वप्रधानतया निमित्तं स्वोपाधिप्रधानतया उपादानश्च भवति यथा लुता तन्तुकार्यं प्रति स्वप्रधानतया निमित्तं स्वशरीरप्रधानतयो पादानश्च भवति (*Vedāntasāra*, *Vedāntavāgīśa*'s edition has been used in this paper), pp. 38-39.

<sup>5</sup> मायाविद्ये विहायैवमुपाधी परजीवयोः । अखण्डं सच्चिदानन्दं परब्रह्मैव लक्ष्यते ॥ *Op. cit.*, 1.48.

*māyā* or *adhyāsa*, the principle of individuation or the principle of unifying opposites<sup>6</sup>—unification of the self and not-self, of the ego and not-ego, of the subject and object, of the cause and effect and of Brahman and the world.<sup>7</sup> Opposites can never be reconciled<sup>8</sup>. But unless they are reconciled no experience is possible. In our every day experience we are accustomed to reconcile such opposites.<sup>9</sup> We make an object identified with that which it is not. We take a rope to be a snake. There cannot be an identification between the rope and a snake in any way. Yet they are identified. This is the case also with truth and falsehood. Very often we identify truth with falsehood. In fact, there cannot be any reason<sup>10</sup> for such an identification but such is the case in all human affairs. Such a nature regulates all activities,—a law that makes the world as it is.<sup>11</sup> A man believes as that he is identical with his body and he never explicitly denies that he is his body and never feels detached from his body.<sup>12</sup> The notion of this false identification (*अध्यास*) of the self with the body would never occur to a person who has an experience of himself as the supreme consciousness. It is only one who had

6 अध्यासो भेदाग्रहेण व्याप्तः तद्विरुद्धश्चेहास्ति भेदग्रहः *Bhāmatī*, Adyar, p. 7.

7 तथा जीवेन कूटस्थं सोऽन्योन्याध्यास उच्यते ।  
अयं जीवो न कूटस्थं विविनक्ति कदाचन ।  
अनादिरविवेकोऽयं मूलाविद्येति गम्यताम् ॥

*Pañcadasi* 6. 24-25. also तद्वर्षाणां तु जाग्यचैतन्यनित्यत्वानित्यत्वादीना इतरेतराध्यासो भविष्यति *Bhāmatī*, Adyar, p. 6.

8 न हि जातु कश्चित् समुदाचरद्वृत्तिनो प्रकाशतमसी परस्परात्मतया प्रतिपत्तुमर्हति *Bhāmatī*, Adyar, p. 6.

9 दृश्यते हिं धर्मिणो विवेकग्रहणेऽपि तद्वर्षाणामध्यासः यथा कुसुमाद्वेदेन गृह्णानेऽपि स्फटिकमणावतिखच्छ्रुतया जपाकुसुमप्रतिविम्बोद्ग्राहिणि इत्यारुण्याविभ्रमः *op. cit.*, p. 6.

10 न च संवृतिपरमार्थसतोः पारमार्थिकं मिथुनमस्ति *op. cit.*, p. 14.

11 साभाविकः अनादिरयं व्यवहारः *op. cit.*, p. 15.

12 अन्योन्यभर्मांशाध्यस्य अन्योन्यस्मिन् धर्मिणि देहादिधर्मान् जन्ममरण-जरावृष्ट्यादीनात्मनि धर्मिणि अप्यतदेहादिभावे समारोप्य तथा चैतन्यादीनात्मधर्मान् देहादावध्यत्तात्मभावे समारोप्य 'ममेद' जरामरण पुवपशुखास्यादि' इति व्यवहार *op. cit.*, p. 13.

realised such a distinction between self and not-self and that he would wonder at this identity.

The identity of self with not-self has the form of the self existing as embodied and not as a conscious body. An individual self means a self feeling itself as embodied.<sup>13</sup> The illusoriness of the embodiment is the illusoriness of the body itself as also the self's identity with it. The idea of an object as distinct from the subject is derived from the notion of this embodiment. This notion again is born in the consciousness of the self and is regarded as false in consideration of its individuality. To be conscious of one's self as an individual as in the case 'I know me' is to be conscious of *me* as illusory and of the subject, that is, I, as truth. The *me* is the prototype of the whole realm of objectivity, a sort of *you* (यूप्त). To feel it to be illusory is to be aware of the possibility of all objects to be illusory. We can never conceive the illusoriness of the world unless we start with the illusoriness of *me*. The illusoriness of *me* leads to the feeling that the self can never be identified with not-self. This feeling forms the very background on which Sāṅkara establishes his theory of objective illusion (अद्यास). This objective illusion again calls for its counterpart the subjective illusion, the *avidyā* or *māyā*, the principle of individuation. It is an illusion primary, through which the self believes in willing and feeling that it is an individual<sup>14</sup>. This principle exists in Brahman prior to the beginning of actual consciousness of one's self as an individual or prior to the starting of this world as an object of experience (भोग). Through it an individual self becomes conditioned and begins to conceive individually about himself and also of his subjective experience. Due to such experience every individual thinks that there are as many individuals as there are beings.<sup>15</sup> This principle of individuation is entirely dependent because nothing can be conceived without being related

<sup>13</sup> इदमस्मत्प्रलययगोचरयोरिति वक्तव्ये युध्मद्ग्रहणमत्यन्तभेदोपलक्षणार्थम् । यथाहंकार प्रतियोगी त्वंकारो नैवमिदं कारः 'एते वयम्, इते वयम्, आस्महे इति बहुलं प्रयोगदर्शनात् op. cit., pp. 5-6.

<sup>14</sup> अन्योन्यस्मिन् धर्मिएयात्मशरीरादौ अन्योन्यात्मकतामध्यस्य—श्रहमिदं शरीरादिति op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> अर्यं च जीवसाक्षी प्रत्यात्मं नाना । एकत्रे चैतात्रगते मैतस्याप्यनुसन्धानप्रसङ्गः *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, (Nyāyapañcāñana's edition, is used in this paper) pp. 65-66.

to pure consciousness which is Brahman.<sup>16</sup> Absolute Brahman is independent. It has nothing to do with condition (निरूपाधिक) and has no concern with the world.<sup>17</sup>

This world has no ultimate reality (पारमाधिकसत्ता) and will be perceived as such as long as the ultimate reality is not realised. Even the mental states are not real. But so long this world continues to be perceived and Brahman is not realised both the internal and the external objects are to be regarded as facts. All these objects have got some value.<sup>18</sup> The world also has got a value so long its knowledge as a world persists but when the knowledge of Brahman arises (ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कार) the world with its value ceases automatically.<sup>19</sup>

Brahman is eternal, and has neither positive nor negative attributes. It is above all determinations. Words fail to express it. In it there is a total extinction of empirical life along with the relative distinctions of subject and object. The concept of bliss in the *Turiyā* state may appear as positive<sup>20</sup>, and although there is absence of all determinate knowledge the self persists as subject to witness this absence itself. In the ecstatic consciousness it breaks through the last vestige of subject-object consciousness and attains an absolute state; it can then truly be said that all melt into one ātman,—who knows what? The outstanding mark of this state is the sublation of all determinate knowledge where the soul regains its original purity and self-sufficiency in which there was a temporary lapse owing to its

<sup>16</sup> तदुपहितं चैतन्यमीश्वरवाक्षी । तच्चानादि । तदुपाधिमायाया अनादित्वात् । मायावच्छिन्नं चैतन्यं परमेश्वरः । मायाया विशेषणात्वे ईश्वरत्वम् । उपाधित्वे साक्षित्व-मीश्वरत्वसाक्षित्वयोर्भेदः । न तु धर्मिणोरीश्वरसाक्षिणोर्भेदः *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>17</sup> प्रमात्रभेदो नाम न तावदैवत्यम् । कितु प्रमातृसत्तातिरिक्तसत्ताकल्पाभावः । तथाहि घटादेः स्वावच्छिन्नचैतन्याध्यस्तत्य विषयचैतन्यसत्तैव घटादिसत्ता अधिष्ठान-सत्तातिरिक्ताया आरोपितसत्ताया अनङ्गीकारात् *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>18</sup> नतु संसारदशायां बाधः । यत्र हि द्वैतमिव भवति तदितर इतरम्पश्यतीति श्रुतेः । तथा चाबाधितपदेन संसारदशायायामवाधितत्वं विवक्षितम् *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारानन्तरं हि घटादीनां बाधः । यत्र तस्य सर्वमात्मैवाभूत्तत् केन कम्पश्येदिति श्रुतेः *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> आनन्दमयाधिकरण of *Brahmasūtra*, 1.1. 12ff. and *Śaṅkarabbhāṣya* thereunder आनन्दात्मकब्रह्मप्राप्तिश्च मोक्षः । शोकनितृत्तिथ वेदान्तपरिब्लाशा, p. 328.

association with the limiting adjuncts of the waking and dreaming life. It is not a goal to be reached or something to be effected but is the self itself. The absolute is not an object to be attained. Freed from all limitations the self attains its *oneness* with Brahman which is undifferentiated consciousness and bliss.<sup>21</sup>

The cardinal point in the metaphysical speculation of the Mādhyamikas is *Śūnyatā*, that is, non-existence of everything worldly. The world has no independent existence of its own.<sup>22</sup> It is a mere apparition of *Śūnyatā*<sup>23</sup>. The objects of the world have no existence at all. They are perceived as existing but in essence they are not so. To exist in reality is not the same as to be perceived as existing. *Esse* may be *percipi* but *percipi* is not *esse*<sup>24</sup>. Appearance though exists *per se* subsequently dies out and is discovered later on as never existing. Yet it has got its empirical value—an empirical reality.<sup>25</sup> This empirical reality is derived from the absolute where there is not even a shadow of distinction between within and without. No doubt, absolute thus reached is ineffable and indescribable and may appear as if it were identical with nothing. But this negative has its counterpart in the positive.<sup>26</sup> It is another way of positing a true reality. In truth it is "the very opposite of a mere nothing. For it is fulfilment, attainment, peace, the goal of life, the object of desire, the end of knowledge.....It is our finite realm that is the falsity, the mere nothing, the absolute is all truth."<sup>27</sup> Naturally for the Mādhyamikas

<sup>21</sup> उपाधिभूते मायाविद्ये पूर्वोक्ते विहायाखण्डं भेदरहितं सच्चिदानन्दं परब्रह्मैव महावाक्येन लक्ष्यते Ramakrishna's commentary, *Pañcaśāśi*, 1.48. See also विशुद्धे ब्रह्मणि वेदान्तानां तात्पर्यमवसितम् *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, p. 60.

<sup>22</sup> *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, Bibliotheca Indica, 9.55, p. 447.

<sup>23</sup> तथागतो हि प्रतिबिम्बभूतेः कुशलस्य धर्मस्यानास्त्रवस्य *Mādhyamakavṛtti*, Bibliotheca Buddhica, pp. 449-50.

<sup>24</sup> न तु प्रतीयमानस्य परमार्थसत्ता *Bhāmatī*, Adyar, p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> परीक्षका अपि हि व्यवहारसमये न लोकसामान्यमतिवर्तन्ते *op. cit.* p. 11. लौकिकं तद्वदेवेदं प्रमाणं त्वात्मानिश्चयात् *Saṅkarabhāṣya* (*Samanvaya*), (*Nirnaya Sāgara* edition used in this paper) p. 155 also see *Bhāmatī*, thereunder, Adyar, p. 244.

<sup>26</sup> That non-existent is not thinkable and hence because negative of everything is thinkable you must never have negative which is non-existent—Bradley, *Principles of Logic*, 1883, p. 148.

<sup>27</sup> Royce, *The World and the Individual*, vol. I, pp. 170-71.

such a reality escapes all conceptual determinations, Intellect is at a miss to conceive how appearance is linked up with reality. To conceive of any relation is to allow a status to both and to a third element. The removal of differences takes away from reality its concreteness and opens it to the character of pseudo reality. Mādhyamikas, therefore, were forced to postulate an indeterminate reality which presupposes instead a determinate universe. But to be determinate and at the same time to transcend constitute a contradiction. To avoid this difficulty the Mādhyamikas had to chalk out the principle of *avidyā*. It is not clear how and why the absolute becomes determined itself. The only plausible answer to this question is offered in the principle of *avidyā* which does justice to the determinate and indeterminate aspects of existence and at the same time avoids the error of either making the indeterminate determinate or installing determinate as reality.

This *avidyā* has its *locus* not in *Śūnyatā*. This is not possible,<sup>28</sup> though possible from the point of view of Śaṅkara.<sup>29</sup> *Śūnyatā* which literally means voidness or emptiness has suffered a great deal of misunderstanding by those who are not well acquainted with the Buddhist phraseology. Mādhyamikas imagined *Śūnyatā* as the highest truth (परमार्थसत्य) denying the existence of everything conditional as well as unconditional, relative as well as independent. It is a perfect state of consciousness than which nothing can be more excellent (अनुत्तरसम्मक्षस्मोधि).<sup>30</sup> What the *Śūnyatā* doctrine positively insists on is the annihilation of the imagination that weaves the dualistic conception of the world.<sup>31</sup> If this could be called nihilism Śaṅkara's

<sup>28</sup> यदि खलु तदध्यारोपाद् भवद्विरस्त्युच्यते कीदृशं तत् । या सा धर्मणा धर्मता नाम सैव तत्स्वल्पम् *Mañbyamakavṛtti*, pp. 264-65 also see pp. 492-93 also परमार्थतः सर्वधर्मानुत्पादसमतया परमार्थतः: *op. cit.*, pp. 374-75.

<sup>29</sup> मायी सूजति विश्वं सञ्चिह्नद्यसूक्तमायया *Pañcadaśi*, 6.197. also 6.212. शक्तिद्वयवदज्ञानोपहितं चेतन्यं स्वप्रधानतया निमित्तं स्वोपाधिग्रधानतया उपादानश्च भवति *Vedāntasāra*, p. 38.

<sup>30</sup> कुशलमनुत्तरायै सम्यक् संबोधाय परिणामयति” *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, p. 265 “तेऽपि सर्वे...प्रज्ञापारमितायां शक्तित्वा अनुत्तरां सम्यक् संबोधिमभिसंबुद्धाः: *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>31</sup> तत्वं यत् सततं द्वयेन रहितं भ्रान्तेश्च संनिश्चयः । शक्यं नैव च

intellectual attempt to reach a monistic view of the universe could also be called nihilistic, for it declares as well the untenability of a separate existence of thought and matter-I and not-I.<sup>32</sup> It is called *Śūnya* because it transcends all forms of separation and individuation.<sup>33</sup> Even to attribute the notion of *Śūnyatā* to it is wrong. Language is deficient to express that state exactly. But it is to be expressed. So such terms are used. It is to be designated in a term with which we are familiar. We are accustomed to call such a state as *Śūnya*. By abnegating all phenomenal existences<sup>34</sup> we can reach to that state which is the highest. Mādhyamikas cannot define that state arrived at by such abnegation. They, therefore, had to designate it as *Śūnya*. Ignorant minds are deeply saturated with wrong affirmations and false judgments. They are accustomed to understand everything in terms of existence and non-existence but it is neither that which is existent nor that which is non-existent nor that which is or is not at once existent or non-existent. It is again, neither unity nor that which is plurality nor that which is or is not at once a unity and plurality. In it there is no origination (उत्पाद), no destruction (उच्छ्रेद), no annihilation (निषेध), no persistence (शाश्वत), no unity (एकार्थ). In short, it transcends all modes of relativity.<sup>35</sup>

सर्वथाभिलिप्तिः यच्चाप्रपञ्चात्मकम् । ज्ञेयं हेयं अथ विशुद्धगम्मलं यच्च प्रकृत्यामत्तम् ।  
गस्याकाशमुवर्ण-वारिसद्धी क्लेशाद्विशुद्धिवर्त्ता *Mahayanasutralankara*, 11.13. p. 58.

32 स्वकाये इष्टि आत्मात्मीयद्विः *Vṛtti Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, 23.5  
also आत्मानुपरम्भात्र सत्कागद्विप्रहाणः तत्प्रहाणाच सर्वक्लेशव्यावृत्तिः समनुपश्यन्  
*Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 340.

33 महायानेऽप्रमेयानामसंख्येयानामपरिमाणानां सत्त्वानामवकाशः *Pāñcavimśatisābhisrikāprajñāparamitā*, p. 236 cf. also धर्मधातु as अचिन्त्यधातु  
*op. cit.*, 'यश्च धर्मधातुर्या च तथता या च भूतकोटिः यश्चाचिन्त्यधातुर्यच्च  
निर्वाणं सर्वं एते धर्मा न संयुक्ता न विसंयुक्ता अहपिणोऽनिदर्शना अप्रतिष्ठा एकलक्षणा  
यदुतालक्षणाः p. 244 also see pp. 239-40.

34 अभावस्वभावः सर्वधर्मा इति *op. cit.*, p. 252 also निःस्वभावतयासिद्धा  
उत्तरोत्तरनिश्चयात् । अनुत्पन्नानिहृदादिशान्तप्रकृतिनिर्वृत्ताः *Mūlamadhyanasutralankara*,  
Reconstructed from Chinese version See French Translation, Tome II. p. 122.  
also see the commentary thereunder.

35 अनेकार्थमनानार्थमनुच्छेदमशाश्वतम् ।  
एतसङ्गोक्तानाथानां बुद्धानां शासनामृतम्  
*Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 18.11. also कात्यायनाववादे च अस्ति नास्तीति

Teachings of Buddha are based on two kinds of truth. One is conventional or empirical (संवृत्ति) and the other is transcendental and real (परमार्थ).<sup>36</sup> It is called *Samyṛti* because it envelops the real knowledge and also that it helps to uncover which as a matter of fact is enveloped.<sup>37</sup> It is the same as ignorance (अविद्या)<sup>38</sup> on account of its completely enveloping the reality. It is characteristic with *avidyā* that it superimposes a form on a non-existent and thus creates an obstacle in having a correct view of the reality. It again implies a thing which depends on another for its existence, that is, what is subject to cause (हेतु) and condition (प्रलय).<sup>39</sup> A really self-existent thing requires no cause and condition and does not undergo any kind of transformation such as origin and decay. So whatever is caused and conditioned is *Samyṛta*. *Avidyā* also refers to signs and words current in the world. The signs and words form the basis of perception which is accepted by people in general as true. The form (रूप) etc. should not be supposed to be really existing. Their existences are substantiated by proofs which are valid from worldly standpoint.<sup>40</sup> If all that is perceived by the senses be true, then a fool's knowledge which is acquired by his senses will also be true. The body of a

चोभयम् । प्रतिषिद्धं भगवता भावाभावाभिभाविना *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*  
15.7. also *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 269. “अस्तीति शाश्वतग्राहो नास्तीति  
उच्छेददर्शनम् op. cit., Kārika, 15.10. also Catustava (Acintya stava) 21.

36 द्वे सत्ये समुपाधिल्य दुद्धानां धर्मदेशना ।  
लोकसंवृत्तिसत्यश्च सत्यश्च परमार्थतः ॥

*Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, 24.8. also दुवे सत्त्वानि अकृत्वासि संबुद्धोदतां  
वरो । सम्मुतिं परमत्थं च ततीयं नुपलव्यभति quoted in *Kathāvatthu*,  
(Aṭṭha Kathā) PTS. p. 30; also *Sumangalavilāsini*, PTS. p. 251.

37 संत्रियते आत्रियते यथाभूतपरिज्ञानं स्वभावावरणादावृतप्रकाशनाच्च नयेति  
संवृत्तिः *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 352, also see p. 361. cf. also  
तुच्छानिर्वचनीया च वास्तवी चेत्यसौ तिथा । ह्येया माया तिभिर्बोधैः श्रौतयांकि-  
क्त्वांकिकैः *Pāñcadaśi*, 6.130. et seq.

38 अविद्या मोहो विपर्यास इति पर्यायाः *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 352.

39 प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नं वस्तुरूपं संवृतिरुच्यते loc cit.

40 प्रत्यक्षमपि रूपादि प्रसिद्धथा न परमार्थतः op. cit., pp. 374-75, also  
'Vérite conferme à l'assentiment universel mais erroné' *Journal Asiatique*,  
1903, Tome II, p. 302.

woman though naturally impure is regarded as pure by a man whose mind is swayed by attachment.

The *samvṛti* or *avidyā* is of two kinds; one *tathyasamvṛti* which refers to a thing which originates from some cause (किञ्चित् प्रतीक्षाजात) and is perceived in the same way by all individuals with unimpaired organs of sensing such as colour as red or blue. The other one is *mithyāsamvṛti* which refers to a thing or statement which is accepted as true by a few individuals and not by all. It is about a thing perceived by persons with sense organs defective.<sup>41</sup>

Now the question is, if *samvṛta* is not a real truth what is the necessity of preaching it in the form of topics like *skandha*, *dhātu*, *āyatana*, *śilavrataparāmarśa*. These topics are said to be conventionally true but not true in a strict sense (अतत्त्व). This is no doubt true but the fact is that the highest truth cannot be imparted without having recourse to conventional truth.<sup>42</sup> The final aim of life is *nirvāṇa*. It cannot be attained also without the realisation of what the truth is. It cannot be brought home directly to a mind which normally does not rise above the conventional distinction of subject and object, knower and the known. It must have to be imparted through conventional truths and unless it is so imparted one cannot be expected to remain aloof from worldly limitations. It is for this reason that Mādhyamikas cannot dispense with the topics of *samvṛta* objects and had to formulate for popular understanding the topic of *dhātu*, *āyatana* etc. Again, *Paramārtha-satya* cannot be explained to another by signs or predication. Yet it is to be explained. The only alternative, therefore, is to explain it by negation such as *neti neti*. In Śaṅkara Vedānta also we find similar arguments by negation of all *samvṛta* matters that are worldly.<sup>43</sup> A

41 *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, p. 353.

42 व्यवहारसनाश्चित्य परमार्थो न देश्यते *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24.10. also उपायभूतं व्यवहारसत्यमुपेयभूतं परमार्थसत्यम् *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 372 also सत्य इमे दुवि लोकविदूनां दिश्च स्वयं अश्रुणित्वं परेषां। संवृत्तिया च तथा परमार्थ सत्यु न सिद्धति किं च तृतीयु quoted, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-62.

43 न शून्यवादी लोकधर्मैः संहियते निराभितत्वात् *Aryadbarmasamgitistūra*, quoted in *Sīkṣāsamuccaya*, p. 264. नित्यानित्य वस्तुविवक्षत्वात् ब्रह्मैव नित्यं वस्तु ततोऽन्यदखिलमनित्यमिति विवेचनम् *Vedāntasāra*, Section 7.

*paramārtha-satya* is beyond the cognisance of *buddhi* (अगोचर), beyond the purview of knowledge (अविषय), beyond the possibility of detailed description (सर्वप्रपञ्चविनिर्मुक्त), beyond all possible form of imagination (कल्पनासमतिकान्त).<sup>44</sup> The only way to explain this ultimate truth to the worldly people is through commonplace terms and illustrations. A person with diseased eyes sees a net of hair. He is corrected by another whose eyes are healthy. He sees the real nature of things by negating that there is a net of hair.<sup>45</sup> Similarly a person whose right vision is obstructed by ignorance conceives the existence of *dharma*, *dhātu* etc as existent which are, in fact, non-existent in their phenomenal forms. Buddha who is like a person having healthy eyes knows this truly<sup>46</sup> and cannot help but saying that there are in reality no *skandhas*, no *dhātus* etc.

One of the essential characteristics of Śūnyatā is that no instruction can be imparted about it (अपरप्रत्यय).<sup>47</sup> One is to realise this within himself (प्रत्यात्मवेद्य).<sup>48</sup> He cannot understand it by listening to the instruction of the perfect (आर्य).<sup>49</sup> Besides Śūnyatā everything is unreal. But the

44 *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, pp. 366-67.

45 also न सृतो दशमस्तीति श्रुत्वासवचनं तदा । परोक्षत्वेन दशमं वेति खर्गादित्तोक्तव् *Pañcadaśi*, 7.26 et seq.

46 सयं अभिज्ञा सच्छिकता *Digbanikāya*, PTS, III. p. 76.

47 सर्वोलम्भोपशमः प्रपञ्चोपशमः शिवः । न क्वचित् कस्यचित् कथित् धर्मो बुद्धेन देशितः ॥ *Mūlamadhyamakārikā*, 20, 29. also नोदाहृतं त्वया किञ्चित् एकमप्यज्ञरं विमो । कृतमन्त्र वैनेयजनो धर्मवर्णेण तर्पितः ॥ *Nirupamastotra*, Tucci edition, *JRAS.*, 1932 pp. 309 ff. also स हि परमार्थोऽपरप्रत्ययः शान्तः *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 493.

48 प्रत्यात्मवेद्य आर्याणां सर्वप्रपञ्चातीतः । स नोपदिश्यते न चापि ज्ञायते *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 493. प्रत्यात्माधिगमार्थज्ञानगोचरलक्षणं बहिर्भी ते महामते असंकथ्याः *Lankāvatāra*, Nanjo edition, p. 61. आर्याणां खसंविदितख्यभावतया प्रत्यात्मवेद्यम्' *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 493.

49 नो हीदं भगवन् नात्ति स कथिद् धर्मो यस्तथागतेनभाषितः *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā*, p. 29 also अनक्षरस्य धर्मस्य श्रुतिः का देशना च का quoted in *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 264 also in *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 365. तत्त्वं खक्षरवर्जितम् *Lankāvatāra*, p. 194. निरक्षत्वाद्धर्मस्य op. cit., p. 48. also यतो वाचो निवर्त्तन्ते अप्य भगवन् सह *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, 2.3

worldly people whose vision is already obscured cannot understand how the objects which they perceive directly by sense organs can be unreal. They fail to realise those abstruse arguments without the help of illustrations with which they are familiar. Accordingly they are taught with the help of illustration of a snake and rope.<sup>50</sup> Due to defects in vision one mistakes a rope for a snake. Due to this mistake there arises some reactions in his mind such as fear in consequence of which he runs away. This false attribution is *samāropa*.<sup>51</sup> That there is a snake in the form of the rope is nothing but a fabrication, is a construction (*कल्पना*) of the mind. The rope which is the locus (*अधिष्ठान*) to which the mentally created (*जन्य*) or imagined (*परिकल्पित*) snake is attributed (*अध्यस्त*) through imagination (*अध्यास कल्पना*) is true whereas the imagined (*परिकल्पित*) snake which is attributed is false. That this imagined attribution is false has been termed as *apavāda*.<sup>52</sup> The world we see about is supposed to be existent (*भाव*). In reality it is not so. It is false. The only reality is other than this (*अभाव*) which is supposed to be existent. We attribute (*समारोप*) existence to this world but this attribution is false (*अपवाद*). That is only true which is other than this existent and that is *Sūnyatā* but not an annihilation<sup>53</sup> (*उच्छ्रेद*).

*Brahmasūtra* 3.2.17 with *Sankarabhaṣya* a so मम तु महामते परमार्थनित्याचिन्त्यं परमार्थलक्षणेत्युक्तम् *Lankāvatāra*, p. 60. तसानित्याचिन्त्यतायाः सहेतुलक्षणं न जानीते *op. cit.*, p. 61.

50 श्रूयते देश्यते चापि समारोपादनक्षरः *Madhyamakavṛtti* p. 264 also *Bodhicaryāvātarapañjikā*, p. 365. ज्ञेयमेव समारोपितरूपत्वादावृत्तिः *Bodhicaryāvātarā*, p. 447.

51 व्यवहारिकवस्तुत्वेनाभिमते रज्जौ अवस्तुभूतसर्परोपो नाम रज्जवचिन्त्यन्तचैतन्यस्थाविद्या सर्पज्ञानाभासाकारेण परिणमानाः... *Vedāntaśarasubodbini*, p. 17. “असङ्गक्षणसमारोपोऽसद्विषमारोपोसद्वेतुसमारोपोऽसद्वावसमारोपः” *Lankāvatāra*, p. 71 *et seq.*

52 असङ्गोदासीने परमात्मवस्तुनि तद्विवर्तभूताज्ञानादिमिथ्याप्रपञ्चस्य चिद्रक्षुमात्रावशेषतयावस्थान भेवापवादः *op. cit.*, p. 73. “कुद्विषमारोपस्यानुपलब्धिप्रविचयाभावादपवादोभवति” *Lankāvatāra*, p. 71.

53 यस्मात् प्रवर्तते भावस्तेनोच्छेदो न जायते। यस्मान् निवर्त्तते भावस्तेन नित्यो न जायते *Catuhśataka*, *Viśvabhārati*, 10.25 also cf. शून्यता च नोच्छेदः संसारथ न शाश्वतम्। कर्मणो विप्रनाशश्च धर्मो दुःखेन देशितः *Mūlamadhyamakākārikā*, 17.20.

In this way through the polemics of *samāropa* and *apavāda* Mādhyamikas try to impart their teachings for the realisation of the ultimate truth.<sup>54</sup> The Yogācāras adopt the same method.<sup>55</sup> Sankarites also have done so.<sup>56</sup>

So the Mādhyamikas were led to think that there is nothing real in this world. Everything is devoid of its innate or independent nature. It is wrong to suppose that there is anything in its own or innate from (स्वरूप). Things we see around are no doubt there but they appear before us only in their imposed forms (समारोपित).<sup>57</sup> Their own form is Śūnyatā which is devoid of any *svabhāva* (निःस्वभाव).<sup>58</sup> This is called also *tathatā* or the state of such nature (तथाभाव).<sup>59</sup> This is not liable to any change (अविकृत) and is of permanent existence (सदैव स्थायिन्).<sup>60</sup> It does not come into existence through any agency. It does not depend on anything for its creation (अनुत्पाद). In Śūnyatā there appears nothing nor does anything disappear.

Taking the objects of this world in this light the philosophers of the Mādhyamika school declare that anything external or internal that appears to us existing, is in fact unreal and looks like an imaginary

54 न च वयं सर्वथैव निष्प्रपञ्चानां तथागतानां नास्तित्वं ब्रुमो यदस्माकं तदपवादकृतः दोषः स्यात् *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 443 श्रूयते देश्यते चापि समारोपादनक्षरः *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, Bi, p. 365.

55 समारोपापवादलक्षणं मे भगवान् देश्यतु *Lankāvatāra*, p. 70.

56 स गुरुपरमकृपया अध्यारोपापवादन्यायेनैनमुपदिशति *Vedāntasāra*. p. 15 also अध्यारोपापवादाभ्यां प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्मदर्शितम् *Pañcadaśi*, 7.68.

57 ज्ञेयमेव समारोपितहपत्वादावृतिः *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, p. 447. also श्रूयते देश्यते चापि समारोपादनक्षरः *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 264 यदि खलु तदध्यारोपाद् भाववद्धिरस्तीत्युच्यते कीदर्शं तत् *op. cit.*, p. 264. et seq.

58 केयं धर्माणां धर्मता धर्माणां स्वभाव...कोऽयं स्वभावः...येयं शून्यता केयं शून्यता निःस्वभाव्यम् *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 264-65.

59 किमिदं निःस्वभाव्यम् तथता केयं तथता तथाभावः *loc. cit.* For *Tathatā*, see *Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhbāṣyātikā*, Calcutta, 1932, p. 41 (1.15-16). *Trimśikā*, Lévi's edition, p. 21.

60 तथाभावोऽविकारित्वं सदैव स्थायता *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 264-65.

town.<sup>61</sup> There is nothing either internal or external. The notion of I and Mine technically known as *satkāyadṛṣṭi*<sup>62</sup> disappears completely in the ultimate state where there is neither subject nor object. The disappearance of such notion is followed by the disappearance of *samsāra*<sup>63</sup> where its root is stuck deep into. The sole aim of Sūnyavāda is to nullify or to root out the notion of I and Mine. One who realises Sūnyatā has neither likes nor dislikes. He feels attached neither to gain nor pleasure nor does he feel aversion to loss or pain.<sup>64</sup> As there is no ātman the notion of it will not arise and when the notion of ātman ceases to arise the notion of mine (आत्मीय) will necessarily disappear.<sup>65</sup>

But, when anyone speaks of *nirvāṇa* he imagines the existence of a man and his *nirvāṇa*. Due to imperfect vision he thinks that a man can attain this ultimate state after practising the disciplinary rules. But all these are fancies (परिकल्पना).<sup>66</sup> It has no concern with the various development of *citta* (चित्तोत्पाद), stage (भूमि) of spiritual progress,

61 यथैव गन्धर्वपुरं मरीचिका यथैव माया मुपिनं यथैवम् । स्वभावशून्या हि तु निमित्तभावना तथोपमान् जानथ सर्वधर्मान् S. mādhibirdhasūtra, Buddhist Text Society, 9, p. 29. गन्धर्वनगराकारा मरीचिस्वप्रसन्निभाः Mūlamadhyamakakārikā, 17.33. also see *Vṛtti* thereunder. गन्धर्वनगरस्वप्रमायानिर्माणसृष्टशाः Laṅkāvatāra ; p. 283. also *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, Bendali's edition, p. 14.

62 स्वकाये दृष्टिरात्मात्मीयहृषिः Madhyamakavṛtti on Kārikā, 23.5.

63 सत्कायदृष्टिप्रभवान शेषान्...आत्मानमस्य विषयं च बुद्धा योगी करोत्यात्मानिषेधमेव op. cit., p. 340, also see *Tattvasaṃgraha*, 3489.

64 न शून्यवादो लोकधर्मः संहितेऽनाधितत्वात् न स लाभेन संहृष्ट्यतैऽलाभेन वा विमना भवति यशसा न विस्मयतेऽयशसा न संकुचति ।...शून्यवादिनो न क्वचिदनुरागो न विरागः quoted, *Siksāsamuccaya*, p. 264.

65 ममेति अहमिति क्षीणे बहिधध्यात्ममेव च । निरूप्यत उपादानं तत्क्षयाजन्मनः क्षयः Mūlamadhyamakakārikā, 18.5.

66 स न च तेन समाधिना मन्यते अहं समाहित इति । अहं समाधिं समापत्स्ये । अहं समाधिं समापन्नः । अहं समाधिं समापये । सर्वे एते विकल्पा महासत्त्वस्य न विद्यन्ते नोपलभ्यस्ते Pañcavimśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, p. 144.

fruits (फल) of spiritual discipline. On ultimate analysis there is neither a monk nor a *nirvāṇa* to be attained.<sup>67</sup> One should remove all misconceptions about the world and should realise the non-duality of all worldly things (अद्वयमेतदद्वैधीकारम्).<sup>68</sup>

Brahman of Śaṅkara has been characterised as *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda* but these are not determinations being each of them unspeakable, absolute beyond the determinate construction of *sat* and *cit* and *ānanda* formulated by our consciousness.<sup>69</sup> An individual has not only to correct his self from the subjective illusion of individuality, not only to wait for objective illusion of individuality to be corrected<sup>70</sup> but also to contemplate all these corrections as false.<sup>71</sup> He has to contemplate *mokṣa* not as something to be realised or effected or remanifested,<sup>72</sup> not even as an eternal predicament of the self but as the absolute self itself (ब्रह्मस्वरूप).<sup>73</sup> An individual illusorily thinks that he is not free. So he wants to be free. But he is eternally free. For the dawning of the consciousness that he is always free there is the necessity of *sādhanā* or discipline. *Sādhanā* prepares the ground for attaining

67 पुनः परमार्थेन प्राप्तिनाभिसमयो न स्वोत्त्रापव्वो सकृदागमी नानागामी नार्हञ्ज प्रत्येकवृद्धो न वोधिसत्त्वो न बुद्धः op. cit., p. 261.

68 सर्वाकारज्ञता अद्वया अद्वैधीकारा सर्वधर्मभावतामुपादाय op. cit., p. 142

69 आनन्दादिभिरस्थूलादिभिश्चात्मात् लक्षितः । अखण्डैकरमः सोऽहमस्मीत्येवमुपासते Pañcadaśi, 9.73 also संसर्गो वा विशिष्टो वा वाक्यार्थो नात् सम्भवः । अखण्डैकरसत्त्वेन वाक्यार्थे विदुषां मतः ॥ प्रत्यग्बोधो य आभाति सोऽद्वयानन्दलक्षणः । अद्वयानन्दरूपश्च प्रत्यग्बोधैकलक्षणः ॥ op. cit., 7.75-76.

70 तस्मादेहादिव्यतिरिक्तात्मास्तित्ववादिनां देहादावहंप्रत्ययः मिथ्यैव न गौणः । तस्मान्मिथ्या प्रत्ययनिमित्तत्वात् सशरीत्वस्य सिद्धं जीवतोऽपि विदुषोऽशरीरत्वम् Sāṅkarabhāṣya, (Samanvaya) p. 152,

71 मिथ्यात्मनोऽसर्वे देहेन्द्रियादिवाधनं श्रवणादिवाधनं च ततश्च न केवलं लोक्याता समुच्छ्रेदः—Bhāmatī ; Adyar, p. 243.

72 नापि संस्कार्यो मोक्षः येन व्यापारमपेक्षते Sāṅkarabhāṣya (Samanvaya) p. 126.

73 अनाधेयातिशयब्रह्मस्वरूपत्वान्मोक्षस्य loc. cit., see also Bhāmatī, thereunder.

knowledge in which the enquiry into spiritual truth can start.<sup>74</sup> When a progressive transparency of mind is effected through *sādhanā* truth begins to shine where the knowledge of self is found to be not distinct from but as one with knowledge, the eternal Brahman.<sup>75</sup>

According to Mādhyamikas *nirvāṇa* is an inexpressible absolute.<sup>76</sup> It is the same as *Śūnyatā* of which the universe is a mere reflection.<sup>77</sup> According to Śaṅkara *mokṣa* is the same as Brahman.<sup>78</sup> It is ineffable<sup>79</sup> and the universe is a mere reflection of it.<sup>80</sup> What the Mādhyamikas and Śaṅkara aimed at was to establish a unity corresponding to the Upanisadic absolute.<sup>81</sup> The characteristic nature of

74 तस्मादहं ब्रह्मास्मीत्येतद्वसाना एव सर्वे विधयः सर्वाणि चेतराणि प्रमाणानि *Saṅkarabhāṣya*, (Samanvaya), p. 154, also सगुणोपासनमपि चित्तैकाग्रथद्वारा निर्विशेष वद्वसाक्षात्कारहेतुः *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, Nyayapañcānana edition, p. 355.

75 यस्तु साक्षात्कारो भाविकः, नासौ कार्यः तस्य ब्रह्मस्वरूपत्वात् *Bhāmati*, Adyar, p. 244.

76 अप्रहीनमसंप्राप्तमनुच्छ्रवमशाश्वत् । अनिरुद्धमनुत्पन्नमेतत्रिवर्णमुच्यते *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, chap. 25. यथा धर्मधातुर्या च तथता या च भूतकोटिः यथाचिन्त्यधातुर्येच निर्वाणम् सर्वे एते धर्मा न संयुक्ता न विसंयुक्ता अरुपिणोऽनिदर्शना एकलक्षणा यदुतालक्षणाः *Pañcavimsatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, p. 244 also see pp. 239-40.

77 तथागतो हि प्रतिविम्बभूतः कुरुतस्य धर्मस्यानास्त्रवस्य *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, pp. 449-50.

78 नित्यशुद्धतां च ब्रह्मणो दर्शयतः ब्रह्मभावश्च मोक्षः । तस्मान्नसंस्कार्योऽपि मोक्षः *Saṅkarabhāṣya* (Samanvaya), p. 128.

79 *Saṅkarabhāṣya*, *Brāhmaśūtra*, 3.2.17 also अशब्दमस्पर्शमरूपमव्ययं तथा वसन्त्रिलमगन्धवच्च यत् । अनाच्यनन्तं महतः परं ध्रुवं । निचाच्य तन्मृत्युमुखात् प्रमुच्यते *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, 3.15. also see 2.3.

80 ईषद् भासमानाभासः प्रतिविम्बस्तथाविधः विम्बलक्षणहीनः सन् विम्बवत् भासते स हि *Pañcadaśī*, 8.31.

81 *advayajñāna* of the Mādhyamikas प्रज्ञापारमिताज्ञानमद्वयं स तथागतः । साध्या तादर्थ्ययोगेन तच्छब्दयं ग्रन्थमार्गयोः quoted, *Abhisamayālānikāra*, Gackward Oriental Series, p. 28. प्रत्यया प्रत्ययोत्पन्ना अविद्यातथतादयः । धर्मद्वयेन वर्तन्ते अद्वया तथता भवेत् ॥ *Lankāvatāra*, p. 348. Śaṅkara's explanation of *ādibuddhāḥ* in *Gaudapadakārikā*, 4.92 as अबुद्वाः नित्यबोधस्वरूपाः and of *kṣanti* as बोधकर्तव्यतानिरपेक्षता also नित्यशुद्धबुद्मुक्तसत्यस्त्रभावं प्रत्यक्

Śaṅkara's absolute is pure intelligence (चित्) and bliss (आनन्द). The characteristic nature of Mādhyamika's absolute is quietude (शान्त) and tranquillity (शिव).<sup>82</sup> Both can be equated so far as their impersonal (तटस्थ) aspects are concerned.

AJIT RANJAN BHATTACHARYA

चैतन्यमेव आत्मतत्त्वमिति वेदान्तविदनुभवः *Vedāntasāra*, p. 72 आत्मेति भद्रन्त शारद्रतीपुत्र बुद्धस्यैतदधिवचनम् *Saptaśatikāprajñāpāramitā*, Tucci edition, p. 124.

82 सर्वोपलभोपशमः प्रपञ्चोपशमः शिवः *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, 20.25 also निस्खभावतयासिद्धा उत्तरोत्तरनिश्चयाम्। अनुत्पन्नानिरुद्धादिशान्तप्रकृतिनिर्वताः *Mahāyānasūtrālankarā*, 11.51. also Tibetan. gzod. ma. nas, shi. ba. meaning आदितः शान्तः in Tibetan *Madhyamakaśāstra* of Nāgārjuna.

## A rare type of Bodhisattva-images from Sanchi

In the exterior southern niche of Temple 45 at Sanchi, dating from the tenth-eleventh century, is a two-armed male deity: the head which had a circular halo around it is broken; the damaged right hand is in *varada-mudrā* and the left, holding the stalk of a half-blown lotus, rests on the seat. Flanked by a female attendant on either side, he is seated in *lalitasana* on a double-petalled lotus with a peacock below it, the pendant right leg resting on another lotus. He is richly bejewelled and is clad in an undergarment held by a girdle studded with gems; a pleated scarf encircles his body. But for the broken head the sculpture (pl. I)<sup>1</sup> would have been one of the best specimens of medieval art. Another image (pl. II), with almost identical features, again with its head broken, is exhibited in the local museum.

Sir John Marshall, probably thinking the sculpture as the representation of the male counterpart of Mahāmāyūrī, also known as Vidyārājñī, tentatively identified it with Mayūravidyārāja<sup>2</sup>. Such a deity, however, does not find mention in the extant texts on Buddhist iconography. Besides, there is hardly any similarity between this sculpture and the representation of Mahāmāyūrī, the personification of the Tantric text of that name. The peacock in the sculptures is the only point which might have led Marshall to associate them with the goddess of the Pañcarakṣamandala. But the *dhyānas* of Mahāmāyūrī, as given in the *Sādbhanamālā*, do not prescribe the peacock as her *vāhana* but lay down that she should hold peacock-tail or feather in one of her hands<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand the *varada* pose of the right hand and the lotus held by the left hand in the sculptures suggest their affiliation with some form of Avalokiteśvara.

Of all the deities of the later Buddhist pantheon, of whom *dhyānas* are available, that of Vajradharma Lokeśvara is the nearest approach

<sup>1</sup> Photographs reproduced on pls. I-IV are the copyright of the Department of Archaeology, Govt. of India.

<sup>2</sup> J. Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, vol. I, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Oxford, 1924) p. 111.



Vajradharma Lokesvara (?), Temple 45,  
Sanchi, ht, 2' 4"





Vajradharma Lokeśvara (?), Sanchi Museum.  
ht. 2' 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ "



to the sculptures under discussion. This form of Avalokiteśvara is thus described in the *Sādhanamālā*:

Tām sitām rakta-varṇām tu padmarāga-sama-dyutim  
 Pañca-Buddha-makuta-dharām harsenotphulla-locaṇam  
 Vāmato spardhayā nālām dhṛtvā ṣoḍaśa-patrakam  
 Padmām vikāśayantaṁ ca bṛdi dakṣinā-pāṇinā  
 Mayūropari madhyasthe niṣaṇṇām candra-maṇḍale  
 Sattvaparyāṅkam ābhujya sa-śringāra-rasotsavam  
 Caityāntastha-mahākarma-kūṭagāra-vihāriṇam  
 Bhāvayed Vajradharmāgryām nityām bodhim avāpnuyāt<sup>4</sup>

‘(The worshipper) should meditate on that supreme Vajradharma, who is of reddish white complexion, who has the brilliance of the *padmarāga* gem, who holds on his crown the five Buddhas, whose eyes beam with delight, who, while proudly holding in his left hand a lotus-stalk, causes a sixteen-petalled lotus to bloom on his chest with his right hand, who is seated in the centre of a lunar orb on a peacock while enjoying his animal-seat, who is festive with amorous sentiment and who lives in the sanctum inside a *caitya*, where great performances take place. (The worshipper meditating this form) obtains the *bodhi* eternally.’

The Sanchi sculptures agree in almost all the details with the above description of Vajradharma Lokeśvara, except that the right hand is in *varada*<sup>5</sup> and is not placed on the breast in the attitude of causing a lotus to blossom<sup>6</sup>. The *dhyāna* does not specify the *āsana* of the deity but the *lalitāsana* of the sculptures is not unbecoming a god

4 *Sādhanamālā*, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, I (Gackwad's Oriental Series, XXVI, Baroda, 1925), p. 33.

5 Of the two illustrations given by B. Bhattacharyya in his *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, one (pl. XXIV c), taken from the paintings of the modern Nepalese artists, has a manuscript in his right hand, while the other (pl. XLVIII), as found on the wooden panels of the Macchandar Vahal *vihāra* at Kathmandu, shows his right hand in *abbaya-mudrā*, pp. 51 and 180.

6 The half-blown lotus in the left hand of the sculptures may possibly signify the ‘causing of a lotus to bloom’. In the analogous case of Tārā as the attendant of Khasarpaṇa, the *sādhanas* say that she should cause to bloom a stalked lotus with her right hand (*sañālām utpalām dakṣinākareṇa vikāśayanī*), Bhattacharyya, *ibid.*, p. 37, but often in sculptures she holds a half-blown lotus in her left hand, the empty right hand being in some *mudrā* (cf. *ibid.*, pl. XXI).

'who is festive with amorous sentiment', with which is also consistent the rich ornamentation of the sculptures. As the crown along with the head is broken in both the images we cannot be sure whether it bore the effigies of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, as enjoined in the *sādbhana* of Vajradharma Lokeśvara.

It may be noted, however, that the images of Vajradharma Lokeśvara, truly answering to the description in the *Sādbhanamālā*, are not unknown. In the gallery of the Indian Museum is exhibited an image (pl. III)<sup>7</sup> of the deity, hailing from Bihar. Richly bejewelled he is seated in *paryāṅkāsana* on a *viśvapadma* (double-petalled lotus) resting on a throne supported by a pair of peacocks; he opens against his breast petals of a lotus, the stalk of which is held by his left hand. On his *karaṇḍa-makuta* are shown five Dhyāni Buddhas in three rows of three, one and one each respectively. The oval halo is inscribed with the Buddhist creed and a donative record in characters of *circa* tenth century. In front of the throne is a dwarfish fierce-looking figure with bristling flame-like hair in *pratyālīdha* attitude; with his right hand he brandishes a mace (*mudgara*), while his left hand is shown against his breast with the index finger raised and holding a noose (*tarjanīpāśa-hṛdayastha vāmakaram*). This figure may stand for Kṛṣṇayamāri as described in one of the *sādbhanas* quoted by B. Bhattacharyya in his *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 71. The description tallies in most of the details with it except in the matter of the buffalo-mount which is absent here. A second representation of the deity (pl. IV) exists in the reserved collection of the said museum.<sup>8</sup> The main deity seated on a *viśvapadma* supported by a pair of peacocks is remarkably similar to the preceding, but here he is flanked by two goddesses seated in the same *āsana*, the left one of whom holds *vajraghaṇṭas* in her both hands. She may be described as the goddess Vajraghaṇṭā, one of the four 'guardians of the gates' associated with such Vajrayāna deities as Lokanātha and Vajratārā. The *sādbhanas* describe her as one-faced and two-armed carrying a bell

7 No. 3784. The photograph has been reproduced on pl. IX (a) of R. D. Banerji's *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*. There it is labelled as Vajrapāṇi.

8 No. 3798. Both these sculptures are noticed in T. Bloch's *Supplementary Catalogue of the Archaeological Collection of the Indian Museum*, pp. 61-62 where they are described as Padmapāṇi.



Vajradharmalokesvara, Indian Museum  
(No. 3784), ht. 1' 10"





4

Vajradharma Lokesvara, Indian Museum  
(No. 3798) ht, 1' 8"



surmounted by *vajra*. The attributes in the hands of the right hand goddess are broken. Above these goddesses are the representations of a *viśvavajra* and *ratna*(?) on a stand. On the pedestal is a three-headed six-armed dwarfish deity with terrible appearance, open mouths and bare fangs in *ālīḍha* attitude; in his right hand he carries a sword, a mace and a *padma*; of his left hands, one holds a *pāśa*, the second broken and the third is in *kaṭhasta* pose. This deity may stand for another variety of Kṛṣṇayamāti as described in the *Sādhanamālā*.<sup>9</sup> The absence of mounts in both the forms of Kṛṣṇayamāti, as represented in the pedestal of the two Vajradharma Lokeśvara images, may be due to their being attendant deities. On two sides of this figure on the pedestal are two goddesses, the left one of whom standing in *ālīḍha* pose and holding a *kartṛ* and a *kapāla* is equally awe-inspiring and dwarfish, corresponding in her iconographic details to Ekajaṭā; the right one holding a rosary and a *kamandalu*(?) stands in *pratyālīḍha* attitude. The sculpture, dating from *circa* tenth century, comes from Nalanda.

DEBALA MITRA

## Scientific Background of the Buddhist Tantras

Usually, it is the habit with uninformed people to decry a thing because it is not understood. The rule applies with equal force to the science and practice of the Tantras. Many scholars have dubbed the Tantras as magic, black magic, necromancy, unscientific and pseudo-scientific, and decried the teachings and findings of the Tantras as being worthless and worthy of nothing but unqualified condemnation on this or that ground. It will, therefore, be a shock to many to learn that the Tantras are based on solid scientific facts, and that their followers derived and utilized cosmic power which is freely floating around.

The Tāntrics were conversant with the theory of tele-communication like radio and tele-vision, and that they could transmit sound and power through space without elaborate appliances. Dūraśravaṇa (hearing distant sounds), Dūradarśana (seeing distant visions), Dūracikitsā (distant healing) and similar powers were listed as Siddhis (super-normal powers) as a direct outcome of Tāntric Sādhana. In the Tāntric works there is a clear indication that heat and cold could be transmitted through space to the desired object or person, and influence it or him from a distance. The process of Sānti (propitiation) could be performed from a distance, and thereby bring about the cure of a disease.

In the Tantras cosmic colour plays a most important part. Every deity has an individual colour, every direction has a colour; the Dhyāni Buddhas were made up of one colour or another. The Tāntrics were conversant with the power of cosmic colours and employed them for multifarious purposes. The Tāntrics of the Buddhist faith considered Śūnya as the creator of the universe, limitless, omnipotent and omnipresent, and the repository of infinite wisdom, infinite knowledge, infinite sound and infinite light. The Tāntrics intuitively knew that the world of matter in its ultimate state is nothing but rays and radiations, and this knowledge is reflected in their writings and in their many and varied practices of bewildering intricacy.

The Tāntrics formulated that all letters, words and sentences, with or without meaning, are nothing but Śūnya in essence, that is to say, they are condensations of cosmic power, and therefore, these letters, words and sentences have certain definite vibrations, and these vibrations can be employed for good as well as evil. The deities are the

beings of the invisible world just as we are the beings of the visible world. The deities have their definite vibrations because they are nothing but Śūnya in essence, that is to say, the deities are condensations of Śūnya, the ultimate cosmic force. The Mantras for the deities have the same vibrations as their presiding deities; they are able to attract the deities and make them visible to the mind's eye, and when Sādhana reaches its final point they become visible even to the naked eye. The worshipper and the deity become one by the process of complete identification, and the Sādhaka derives all the powers residing in the deity.

The Tāntrics knew the power of the mind which according to them was Śūnya in essence. The mind has one peculiar power, and with the help of this power the human mind could adjust itself to the different vibrations and become one with them. In modern scientific language the mind has the power to adjust itself to the same wave-length as that of the deity or anything, high or low. Low thoughts lower down the wave-length of the mind while higher thoughts raise its level. Even Śūnya can be conceived and realised if the mind is properly attuned to the highest wave-length of the Śūnya or the Absolute Limitless Cosmic Substratum.

Further, the Tāntrics were acquainted with the fact that certain syllables had the same wave-length as those of the five Skandhas (elements), and that the utterance of the syllables gave rise to the same set of vibrations as those of the five Skandhas (elements). The five Skandhas, it may be remarked, are the counterparts of the five *Tanmātras* or 'subtle substances' as formulated in the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy. Behind the Skandhas are the five cosmic colours which by condensation give rise to the five Dhyāni Buddhas and their numerous offspring. The five Dhyāni Buddhas, their cosmic colours and the five Skandhas or cosmic principles represented by them are given in the Table below for ready reference:

<i>Dhyāni Buddhas</i>	<i>Skandhas</i>	<i>Colours</i>
Vairocana	Rūpa	White
Ratnasambhava	Vedanā	Yellow
Amitābha	Saṃjñā	Red
Amoghasiddhi	Saṃskāra	Green
Akṣobhya	Vijñāna	Blue

The Tāntrics recognised no difference between name and form, and believed rightly that the name is not different from form, and that even a syllable can represent the Skandhas, and all the power the Skandhas possess, is contained in the syllable itself. These syllables are known as the Bijamantras or Seed-syllables, usually consisting of one syllable with an anusvāra. There were syllables for the ultimate cosmic principles such as Earth, Air, Water and Fire. The seed LAM, for instance, stands for the Pṛthvī principle, VAM for the Ap principle, RAM for the Fire principle and YAM for the Air principle. This indicates that there is no difference between RAM and Fire, and that by constant meditation on the seed RAM the Fire principle can be brought under control, manifestly because the wave-length of the two happen to be the same.

In the same way, by patient research they found out the germ syllables and the Mantras of the deities of the Vajrayāna system. The germ syllables were the deities themselves and the Mantras formed the call-signs for the different deities. In other words, the Tāntrics discovered the supreme truth that Bijamantras are endowed with the same vibrations as those of the deities, and by employing the Mantras the corresponding deities can be attracted, visualised and realised. In terms of modern science, the Mantras and the Bijamantras have the same set of vibrations or wave-length as the deities of the invisible world, and that the human mind was capable of changing and tuning its vibrations to the wave-length of the deity by constant meditation.

The difference between the Bija and the Mantra is something like this: The Bija represents the deity in a subtle form while the Mantra is for the gross form. The syllable TĀM, for instance, is the Bija of the popular Vajrayāna deity, Tārā. This Mantra is required in the beginning of meditation, and the mind should concentrate on its Yellow Rays spreading out to the firmament and illumining the invisible worlds and there discover the form of the deity. The longer Mantra of Tārā is: OM TĀRE TUTTĀRE TURE SVĀHĀ which is to be constantly repeated and meditated upon in order to bring the deity nearer to the worshipper by the process of attraction. According to the Buddhist Tāntrics different Mantras have different powers although they may relate to the same deity. The different Mantras have to be utilized for different

purposes. Everywhere it was conceded that the Bīja, Mantra and the rest had the same set of vibrations as the deity worshipped, because they recognised no difference between the deity and its various symbols—all having the same measure of vibrations.

The method of propitiation and realisation of the deities or the radiant beings of the invisible world was elaborated in the Sādhana which may be called the WHO'S WHO of these radiant beings. But more interesting and instructive is the story of how the Tāntrics used to transmit power through space to distant objects either for good or for evil. In the Mahākāla Sādhana at the end part of the famous Tāntric work, the *Sādbanamālā*,<sup>1</sup> this story is related in detail. The details of the process of distant influencing became the starting point of the unique and the most practical system of healing by Tele-Therapy or the Cosmic Ray Therapy which seeks to cure patients from a distance without medicine, personal attendance or examination. The process described in the Sādhana, therefore deserves special attention.

In the Mahākāla Sādhana, it is said that in order to influence a person at a distance an effigy of *Kuśa* grass should be made for the person aimed at, and thereon the Mahākāla Mantra should be repeated continuously. Then *Viśarājikā* seeds and pungent condiments like black pepper, dry ginger and *Pippalī* should be powdered, mixed and prepared into a paste. This paste should be liberally applied to the effigy while repeating the Mantra already cited. Then on each and every limb thorns should be pierced. Thereafter, a fire should be made with *Khadira* wood, and on that fire the effigy should be baked while repeating the Mantra. When this is done, the person aimed at is suddenly overtaken by high temperature and his consciousness is lost.

When, however, it becomes necessary to counteract the effect of the process just described, the Sādhana adds that the effigy should be removed from fire, and milk should be poured on the effigy until fever subsides.

In terms of the present day science, it can be easily understood why Mantras have to be repeated in order to bring the effigy in tune with the vibrations of the victim aimed at. Mantras are

1. *Sādbanamālā*, GOS, Vol. II, p. 589.

repeated continuously in order to raise the wave-length of the inanimate effigy of *Kusa* grass to the level of the person to be influenced by adding word vibrations. And unless the wave-lengths of both the effigy and the person are tuned to the same length, the cosmic forces will not recognise the person, just as a Radio set will not give any programme until it is tuned to the same wave-length as that of the station radiating the programme. When after continuous muttering of the Mantra the vibrations of the effigy and the person are brought to the same level, the Tāntric is able to transmit the fire principle through space by heating and baking the image. As the wave-lengths of the two ends are the same the heat applied to the effigy is immediately transmitted through space to the person at a distance. No wonder the heat of the fire-principle brings about fever and delirium.

To reverse the effect of the earlier process is to bring normalcy in the victim by sending out cold vibrations by the same wireless method. For this purpose the effigy is taken out from fire. By this, heat is first eliminated, and then when milk is poured incessantly on the effigy cold vibrations of milk is transmitted through space to the victim. Milk represents the Water (*Ap*) principle, and moreover, being white in colour, it is doubly cooling. The healing process takes effect almost immediately and in a short time the victim is well.

Taking the cue from the *Mahākāla Sādhana*, a new system of healing, called Tele-Therapy is developed which seeks to transmit hot and cold forces or the forces of the five elements (Earth, Air, Water, Ākāśa and Fire) through space to patients at a distance, and make them well without medicine and without examination or external applications. It is not possible to prepare effigies for particular persons and raise their wave-length, because that is a very cumbrous process now in the present century when photography is so well developed. It may be noticed that the photograph has the same set of vibrations as its owner, and therefore, the wave-lengths of both the photograph and its owner are the same. The cosmic forces recognise this identity of wave-length. On the photographs certain jewel vibrations produced from an electric motor are released for several hours a day, and this has yielded remarkable results in a number of acute and chronic diseases. The experience of the last three years in the line has shown great promise, and it is now possible for us

to foresee a time when the work of healing will be done with the help of photographs from an office or a laboratory. Whether we like it or not, we are enveloped in cosmic rays, call them either Mahābhūtas or the planets as it pleases. They are not at a distance, they are right in the midst of our bodies and our sense-organs. This will be shown when a person is examined through a prism by any common inquirer. When the Rays become malefic, illness supervenes, and again when they are altered, that illness disappears. In spite of our researches into the subject of disease and medicine, we have progressed very little and have not been able to find out the true cause of even the principal diseases. Once the cause is known, eradication becomes easy and simple. Let us remember that the diseases are in their ultimate state, nothing but rays and radiations. The so-called *virus* of modern medicine is the Ray Malefic.

The doctrine of the Buddhist Tāntrics that everything in this world has for its substratum the limitless Śūnya, and wherever there is a manifestation of Śūnya, a colour is attached to it. This gives a clue to find out the true colours of all tangible objects through a prism. With the help of a prism true colours of gems have been ascertained, all the VIBGYOR rays have been individualised and their powers have been pretty well fixed. And what is important, all the seven cosmic colours have been produced with the help of gems and an electric motor, and transmitted through space to numerous patients over their photographs with gratifying results. The gems are cosmic colour concentrates, they are Śūnya in essence, and their brilliance shows that they are not only rich in cosmic colours but also can readily discharge their rays when under the influence of an electric motor. The Rays travel with the speed of thought, and they are omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent like their substratum—the Śūnya. The gems release hot and cold vibrations, e.g. the Green rays discharged by Emeralds send out cold vibrations, and the Red rays released by brilliant Rubies transmit hot vibrations; and they know exactly their mission, and unerringly reach their destination and start their healing work. Their working ways are as mysterious as those of the Creator himself.

It is high time, in spite of what the uninitiated or the ignorant may think or write, to divert our close attention to the Tantras, the repositories of higher scientific knowledge. The Tantras should not

only be studied and treated with respect they deserve, but also scientific facts should be gleaned from them, and put into practical use through scientific institutions. Still there is much for modern science to learn from the Tantras. When the knowledge of the scientific aspect of the Tantras becomes the general property of mankind, the scientists will come face to face with the real substratum of the Universe, the Śūnya or Brahman, as it may be called, and start playing with the Cosmic Rays even as the great creator, endearingly called The Grand-father, does. When that stage is reached, the latest scientific developments are likely to pale into insignificance, because we are as yet ignorant of the cosmic elements, the cosmic rays and the great cosmic powers that are freely floating around. When we come to know what the Tāntrics knew, the difference between Magic, Philosophy and Science will disappear.

It is ignorance that makes a person think that he can do sinful acts in secret without a chance of their being detected by any visible or invisible agency. When true knowledge dawns on mankind a person will think several times before doing any improper action, because he is surrounded and enveloped in the ever-vigilant, omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent cosmic rays which are watching him by day and by night, limb by limb, and examining him thought by thought. True knowledge of a scientific nature may still lead mankind to the high principles of Right Living and Right Thinking, as Graciously formulated by Lord Buddha Two Thousand Five Hundred years ago !

B. BHATTACHARYYA

## Buddhism in South-East Asia

### Beginning

According to a tradition preserved in the Ceylonese Chronicles, Buddhism was preached in Suvarṇabhūmi by the missionaries of Aśoka. Though the location of Suvarṇabhūmi is uncertain, some having identified it with Burma, others with Siam (Thailand), there is no doubt that it refers to some part of Indo-China. But the authenticity of the tradition itself is open to question, as no early and reliable evidence has been obtained so far in support of it. Nor can we accept the view that the first two disciples of the Buddha named Trapaṇa and Bhallika, who built a sanctuary over his relics in their native land, belonged to Burma, for the Utkala country, which is referred to in the canonical texts as their native land, is certainly to be identified with Orissa.

There is, however, no doubt that Buddhism obtained a definite footing in South-east Asia during the early centuries of the Christian era. This is proved by the discovery of the images of Buddha of the Amarāvatī style in Thailand (Siam), Annam (Campā), Sumatra, Java and Celebes. The representation of the Buddha by a symbol, such as *dharmacakra* (wheel of law), rather than a human figure, in some of the sculptures in Thailand, also support the introduction of Buddhism in this region at an early date.

#### i. Thailand

The early sculptures discovered in Thailand prove conclusively that Buddhism was introduced in this region at the beginning of the Christian era. A Wheel of Law, associated with figures of crouching deer, was dug up at Pra Pathom. Another early site, Pong Tuk, has yielded bronze Buddha images of the Amarāvatī style, which may be dated in the second century A.D. Buddhist images of the Gupta style, both of earlier and later type, have also been discovered. As the inscriptions, engraved on the latter, may be referred to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., those of the earlier type probably belong to the fourth century A.D.

From this early period we may trace the uninterrupted progress of Hinayāna Buddhism in this country. The Thai conquest of the land in the thirteenth century A.D. gave a great impetus to this religion. The Thai rulers were ardent followers of Hinayāna Buddhism. We learn from the inscription of Rām Kañheng, that this famous king was an ardent follower of Hinayāna Buddhism and decorated his capital Sukhodaya with temples, monasteries and images of Buddha at the close of the thirteenth century A.D. The Hinayāna Buddhism of the Thais was sustained and influenced by Burma and the island of Ceylon. The intercourse between Mons of Lower Burma and Thailand were of long standing. A Thai king sent a messenger to Ceylon in A.D. 1361 who brought back with him a senior monk who reformed the religion. The Hinayāna Buddhism with its Pāli canon flourishes even now in Thailand, Burma and Ceylon, and it is not therefore necessary to discuss its history in great detail.

## 2. Cambodia

Buddhism made its influence felt in Cambodia as early as the fifth century A.D., for king Jaya-varman of Fu-nan, who ruled towards the close of that century, sent an embassy to China in A.D. 503, with presents including an image of Buddha. An inscription of his son Rudravarman begins with an invocation to Buddha. From this time onward the prevalence of Buddhism is proved by inscriptions. But it had a set-back in the 7th century, and the epigraphic records indicate that Saivism, not Buddhism, was the dominant religion of Cambodia. It is curious, in view of the present state of things, that very few kings of Cambodia, of whom we possess any epigraphic record, were followers of Buddhism. Sūryavarman I (11th century A.D.) was a Buddhist, for he had the posthumous title *Nirvāṇa-pada*. But his inscription on a temple at Prah Khan<sup>1</sup> begins with an invocation to Śiva in the first verse, and to the Buddha in the second. Several inscriptions on the temple known as Prasat Ta Keo,<sup>2</sup> in honour of Yogīvara Pandita, the *guru* of king Sūryavarman, begin with invocations to Śiva and Viṣṇu, and refer to donations made to these gods. Jayavarman VII, perhaps the greatest king of Kambuja, was a Buddhist, and his Ta Prohm Inscription, dated A.D. 1186, gives a

<sup>1</sup> R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, p. 360

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 351 ff.

detailed list of his magnificent donations to this temple.<sup>3</sup> The merit of these pious works was to accrue to the king's mother so that she might obtain the state of Buddha (v. 141).<sup>4</sup> In addition to the kings mentioned above, high dignitaries like Kavīndrārimathana and Kīrtipāṇḍita, both belonging to the tenth century A.D., were ardent Buddhists, and the latter claimed to have lighted again the torch of the true law which the sins of the world had extinguished. The form of Buddhism referred to is clearly Mahāyāna.

But if we take the epigraphic data as a whole, there remains no doubt that Buddhism was never a dominant religion in Kambuja till the time of Jayavarman VII. But even the patronage of this great emperor did not establish Buddhism as a state religion, as it is now. It is interesting to note that during the reign of king Śrīndra-varmādeva, a later king, we find an inscription<sup>5</sup>, dated A. D. 1308, written in Pāli and referring to Hīnayāna form of Buddhism. The next two kings, Śrīndra-Jayavarman and Jayavarma-Parameśvara were followers respectively of Viṣṇu and Śiva.

The state of religion in Cambodia is described by Cheu Ta-kuan who visited the country in A.D. 1296. It appears that Hīnayāna Buddhism was in a flourishing state at this time. Yet the older inscriptions mostly refer to Mahāyāna doctrine. Taking everything into consideration, we are forced to the conclusion that it was the influence of Thailand (Siam) that gradually introduced a great change in the religion of Kambuja. On the whole Brahmanical religion, specially Śaivism, was dominant in Kambuja, though Mahāyāna Buddhism was also a powerful sect, up to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. But the political dominance of the Thais (of Siam) in Cambodia established the supremacy of Hīnayāna Buddhism which is now the only religion of the people.

### 3. Campā

The ancient Hindu colony of Campā corresponds, roughly, to the southern part of Annam. The early introduction of Buddhism in this region is indicated by an image of Buddha of the Amarāvati style at Dong-Duong. But there is no epigraphic reference to

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 459 ff,

4 *Ibid.*, p. 474

5 *Ibid.*, p. 533

Buddhism before the 9th century A.D.<sup>6</sup> The Bakul Stelae Inscription,<sup>7</sup> dated A.D. 829, refers to the construction of two temples and two monasteries for Jina and Śaṅkara. Jina may denote either the Buddha or Mahāvīra, but as there is no evidence for the existence of Jainism in South-east Asia, Jina may be taken to denote Buddha. The long inscription on the four faces of a stelae found at Dong-Duong<sup>8</sup> records the installation of an image of Buddha in A.D. 875, and the foundation of a Buddhist temple and a monastery by the Buddhist king Indra-varman. The remains of a Buddhist temple at this place, far greater in dimensions than the largest Brahmanical temple in Campā, prove that Dong-Duong (ancient Amarāvatī) in the province of Quang Nam was an important stronghold of Buddhism in Campā.

Many later kings patronised Buddhism, and monasteries and temples were built in different parts of the kingdom. Many Buddhist images have also been found in different parts of Campā.

I-tsing refers to the prevalence of Buddhism in Campā and remarks that the "Buddhists generally belong to the Āryasammitiyā-nikāya and there are also a few followers of the Sarvāstivādanikāya." Thus Hinayāna prevailed at the end of the seventh century A.D. But the inscriptions and images leave no doubt that the Mahāyāna soon occupied the dominant position in Campā. Particular reference may be made to An-Thai Stelae Inscription<sup>9</sup> dated 824 Saka (=A.D. 902) which records the erection of a statue of Lokanātha by *sthavira* Nāgapuspa, the abbot of the monastery of Pramudita-Lokeśvara, and refers to Vajradhātu, Padmadhātu and Cakradhātu, Amitābha and Vaitocana.

It is interesting to note that Buddhist and Saiva temples and monasteries were often erected side by side, by the same donor, that the epithet Ḏamareśvara (lord of the *Bhūtas*), originally belonging to Siva, was applied to Buddha, and that figures of Siva decorated the Buddhist temples of Dong-Duong.

6 Many scholars find traces of Buddhism in Vocanh inscription, but I do not find anything definitely Buddhist in it. (For the inscription cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Champa*, Book III, p. 1.). Coedes maintains that it is Buddhist—*Les États Hindouisés d'Indo-Chine et d'Indonésie* (1948), p. 74.

7 *Champa*, Bk. III, p. 65

8 *Ibid.*, p. 74

9 *Ibid.*, p. 105

#### 4. Malay Peninsula

The well-known Buddhist formula 'ye dharmā hetuprabhavā' etc. followed by another verse beginning with *Ajñānāc = cīyate karma*, is engraved on a slab of stone found amid the ruins of an ancient brick building at Keddah. The second verse alone is engraved on a piece of stone, probably a part of an old shrine, in the northern part of province Wellesley. Both these inscriptions have been referred to the fourth or fifth century A.D.<sup>10</sup> Three Sanskrit verses are inscribed on a clay tablet found near Keddah. They inculcate Mahāyāna philosophical doctrines of Mādhyamika school, and have been traced to a text entitled *Sāgaramati-paripṛečha*, which is known only from a Chinese translation."<sup>11</sup>

The inscriptions mentioned above also prove that Buddhist temples, both of brick and stone, were built in Wellesley Province and Keddah in the fourth or fifth century A.D. The great *stūpa* of Nakhon Sri Dhammarāt and a number of temples surrounding it indicate the existence of a flourishing Buddhist colony in this region. A number of terracotta votive tablets found in neighbouring caves also show that a large number of Buddhist monks resided therein.

#### 5. Indonesia<sup>12</sup>

Buddhism did not obtain a secure footing in Indonesia till after the fourth century A.D. At the time when Fa-hien visited Java there was very little trace of Buddhism in that island. But Guṇavarman, who belonged to the royal family of Kipin (Kāshmir or Afghanistan) but had taken to religion, preached Buddhism in Java early in the fifth century A.D., and it soon took deep root in the soil. As Guṇavarman translated a text of the Dharmagupta sect, he must have belonged to the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, and it was evidently due to his influence that this sect became dominant in Java and the neighbouring islands.

The neighbouring island of Bali also came under the influence of Buddhism about the same time. For according to the *History of the Liang Dynasty* (A. D. 502-556), the earliest Chinese historical annals

<sup>10</sup> R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I, pp. 88ff.

<sup>11</sup> *JGIS*, VIII, p. 2

<sup>12</sup> For the facts mentioned in this section cf. *Suvarṇadvīpa*, part II.

that give an account of this island, the king of Bali claimed that the wife of Suddhodana was a daughter of his country.

By the seventh century A.D. Buddhism flourished all over Indonesia, and Śrī-Vijaya in Sumatra became a stronghold of this religion. We possess an inscription, dated Śaka 606 (A.D. 684), of a Buddhist king of this country named Jayanāśa. There was a regular trade and maritime intercourse between Śrī-Vijaya and India. On his way to India the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing halted at Śrī-Vijaya for six months, and he again visited the place, after his return to China, in order to copy and translate the voluminous Buddhist texts which he had brought with him from India.

It is evident from I-tsing's statement that although Hīnayāna was dominant in these regions there were in Śrī-Vijaya a few who followed the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. This is also proved by the inscription of Jayanāśa referred to above. It not only contains definite reference to the Mahāyāna doctrine, but the use of the word *vajra-śarīra* further indicates that this Mahāyāna was of the Tāntrik form known as Vajra-yāna, Mantra-yāna or Tantra-yāna.

Indonesia was visited by eminent Buddhist scholars from India such as Dharmapāla, a Professor of Nālandā in the seventh century A.D., and Vajrabodhi, a South Indian monk. The latter and his disciple Amoghavajra, who accompanied him, were teachers of Tāntrik cult and are credited with its introduction to China. Both of them halted at Śrī-Vijaya for five months on their way from Ceylon to China, early in the eighth century A.D.

Towards the close of this century the Mahāyāna cult acquired great predominance owing to the patronage of the Sailendas who ruled over the greater part of Indonesia. Two inscriptions, dated A. D. 778 and 782, refer to the construction of a temple of Tārā at Kalasan, and setting up of an image of Mañjuśrī at Kelurak by the Sailendra emperors. The latter was inspired by their *guru* Kumāraghoṣa, an inhabitant of Gauda. The Sailendra emperors were in close touch with the Pala emperor Devapāla of Bengal, and the Cola emperor Rājarāja, both of whom endowed the monasteries built by the Sailendas, respectively at Nālandā and Negapatam.

The Mahāyāna form of Buddhism has left permanent memorials in Java in the famous *stūpa* of Barabudur and a number of other magnificent temples erected during the Sailendra rule. The Javanese

literature and the Buddhist images found in Java clearly indicate that all the essential features of Mahāyāna, even of its last phases, were fully developed in that island. As in India, a number of Hindu gods were adopted in the Buddhist pantheon, though they were relegated to an inferior position. New divinities were introduced, some of which, like Trailokyavijaya, Hevajra, Bhairava and Heruka, were of monstrous or terrifying appearance. The Tantra-yāna, including Kāla-cakratantra, prevailed both in Java and Sumatra. The famous king Kṛtanagara of Java was a devout follower of the Tantra-yāna or Vajra-yāna, and his drinking bout is approved in a Javanese historical text on the ground that he scrupulously followed the prescriptions of religion. King Ādityavarman of Malayu in Sumatra, who was ruling as a vassal of Kṛtanagara in A.D. 1286, seems to have been a follower of the Bhairava cult.

As in India, there was a gradual rapprochement between Mahāyāna and Brahmanical religion. This was more clearly indicated in Indonesia by the fact that gradually Siva, Viṣṇu and Buddha were regarded as identical and so were their Śaktis. A definite Siva-Buddha cult existed in Java, and in modern Balinese theology Buddha is regarded as a younger brother of Siva.

There are two Buddhist texts in Java which give an interesting insight into the developed form of Mahāyāna. The first, *Sanghyang Kamahāyānikan* is a free Javanese version of a Sanskrit original, interspersed with a number of original Sanskrit verses. It was probably composed in the Sailendra period (8th century A. D.), but was modified, about a century or two later, in a manner which has been regarded as a Hinduised or Śaiva version of a Buddhist original. It contains an exposition of the leading principles of Mahāyāna and gives an account of its theology according to the Yogācāra system. It brings the Hindu Trinity in organic relation with the Buddhist pantheon. The picture of Mahāyāna in Java which it unfolds shows a close resemblance with, but also minor differences from, the form of religion current in India.

The second text *Kamahāyānan Mantranaya* contains forty-one Sanskrit verses with Javanese commentaries. It contains an exposition of the Tantra-yāna or Vajra-yāna both in its theoretical and practical aspects. The five kinds of sensual enjoyments (*pañca-ma-kāra*) are clearly prescribed, and the devotee is forbidden to communicate the secrets of *vajra*, *ghaṇṭā* and *mudrā* to those who do not belong to the *Mandala*.

## Principle of the King's Righteousness

[In the Pali canon and the Jātaka commentary]

The most important contribution of the Buddhist canonists of the *Theravāda* School to the store of our ancient political thought consists in their 'total' application of the principle of righteousness to the branches of the king's internal and external policy. Its importance is matched by that of the parallel early *Smṛti* conception of a fundamental law of the social order (indicated by the same term *dharma*) which is held to be based upon the twofold source of the Sacred Canon and custom (or convention). In the descriptions of good kings (I.260 II.118, III.325, *ibid* 470, V.378) in the *Jātaka* stories we are told that they ruled in righteousness, that they shunned the four wrong courses of life (*agatigamana*) [comprising excitement, malice, delusion and fear], that they practised the ten royal duties (*rājadhamma*) [namely, alms-giving, morality, liberality, straightforwardness, refraining from anger and from injury, forbearance, and refraining from opposition], that they won over the people by the four elements of popularity (*sāmgabavatthu*) [namely, liberality, affability, beneficent rule and impartiality]. Cast in a distinctly sectarian mould are the descriptions of good kings (I.262, V.1, VI.96-97) in other stories to the effect that not only did they rule in righteousness, but they were zealous in the observance of the fast-day and keeping the ten items of good behaviour (*sīla*) [namely, abstinence from taking life, from taking what is not given, from adultery, from telling lies, from slander, from harsh speech, from frivolous talks, from covetousness, from malevolence, and from heretical views.] We have again a remarkable story (no. 276) of eleven persons with the king at their head in the Kuru kingdom who practised what was called 'Kuru-righteousness' (*Kurudhamma*) identified in the course of the story with the five *sīlas* obligatory upon the Buddhist lay disciple. How a king's righteousness instead of its reverse benefits himself is told in a few stories. Thus we learn (nos. 51, 151, and 282) how a king who conquered wrath by mildness, and badness with goodness was adjudged superior to another who met the good with goodness and the bad with badness and how kings allowed themselves to be captured and ill-treated by

neighbouring kings only to gain back their freedom and their kingdom through their inherent goodness.

The most impressive lessons on the principle of righteousness occur in course of the admonitions addressed to kings by wise beings in the stories. When a monkey-king, we read in one story (no. 407), wore himself out by his effort to save his followers from certain death, his captor, a human king, asked him (III. 373) the question,—What he was to them and what they were to him, that he made himself a bridge for their safely passing through a river? He felt no pain of his bonds, replied the monkey-king, because of securing the happiness of those over whom he reigned. Asking the human king to learn the lesson by his example, the monkey-king admonished him to seek the happiness of his whole realm, his beasts of burden, his troops and the inhabitants of his cities. In a second story (no. 501) a wise king instructs another king in the so-called ten stanzas relating to the practice of righteousness (*dasadhammadacariyā gātbā*). These comprise the observance of righteousness towards the mother and the father, the wife and the son, relatives and ministers, draught animals, the realm, recluses and Brāhmaṇas, birds and beasts. How a king is instructed in the duties of his office by three wise birds whom he had adopted as his children is told in a third story (no. 521). Asked by the king about the general duties of a ruler, the first speaker says at the outset (V. 112) that he should rule his kingdom with righteousness (*dhamma*) after abiding by the three truths (*dhamma*). When the king puts to the third and the wisest speaker a specific question about the highest of all powers, the latter repeats the ten stanzas above quoted relating to the king's practice of righteousness. In a shorter and a longer version (nos. 533 and 534) of a dialogue between a wise swan and a king the question is asked by the bird whether his kingdom is ruled righteously and it is answered by the king in the affirmative (V. 348, ibid 377-78). To the above is added in the longer version the question whether the king observes the ten *rājadhammas* as well as the king's own affirmation of his observance of the virtues of liberality, good conduct, non-attachment, straightforwardness, mildness, austerity, suppression of anger, non-injury, patience and forbearance. How should a mortal (meaning himself), asks the king of a false ascetic in yet another story (no. 544), practise righteousness towards his parents, his teachers, his wife and children, the aged, the

ascetics and the Brāhmaṇas, the military forces and the countryfolk. With the answer of the ascetic who was a believer in the doctrine of annihilation we have no concern. The Great Being, being asked by the king to teach him the path of piety, admonished him by the example of the virtuous kings of old to shun unrighteousness and practise righteousness. The king, it is explained (VI. 251), should distribute every morning and evening by public proclamation food and drink, garlands and unguents, clothes, umbrellas and shoes to the needy; he should not put to labour old men and aged domestic animals, for when they were strong they gave him service. Following this instruction with an elaborate simile of the human body to a chariot, the speaker (*ibid* 252-53) impresses upon the king the lessons of abstinence from injury, liberality, circumspection, self-control and other virtues. In yet another story (no. 540) an ascetic's son admonishing a king asks him (VI 94) to practise the ten duties (*dhammas*), namely, those towards his mother and father, his wife and son, his friends and ministers, his townships and villages, the recluses and the Brāhmaṇas, the birds and the beasts.

The above extracts indicate in the first place the authors' view of the relation of righteousness to kingship. Righteousness, we are told, is the essence of kingship as well as the king's best policy. Secondly, the authors clarify the principles and policies of government involved in the above concept. The king, we read, should avoid the specified groups of vices and practise the specified groups of virtues, the latter being identified in some instances with the precepts incumbent on the Buddhist lay disciple. Above all we are told that the king should apply himself to the promotion of universal happiness of his subjects so as to extend its benefit down to the dumb creation.

Nothing illustrates so well the belief of the early Buddhist canonists in the profound significance of the king's righteousness than their frequent references to the far-reaching consequences of the ruler's reaction to this fundamental principle. When kings become unrighteous, we are told in a canonical text (*Anguttara-Nikāya* II 74-76), the king's officers (*rājayutta*) also become unrighteous, this being so the Brāhmaṇas and the mass of ordinary freemen (*gabapati*), the townsfolk and the villagers in their turn become unrighteous, this being so the Sun and the Moon, the stars and the constellations go wrong in their courses; days and nights, months, seasons, and years

are out of joint; the winds blow wrong; the *devas* being annoyed do not bestow sufficient rain. This being so the crops ripen in the wrong season, and consequently men are short-lived, ill favoured, weak and sickly. Conversely, when kings become righteous all the reverse consequences follow.

The above view of the tremendous significance of the king's righteousness is repeated in the *Jātaka* stories. How a king's violation of righteousness recoiled upon himself with tremendous force is vividly told in one story (no. 422). In an Age when the world spoke the truth and lying was unknown, a king, we are told (III 456-61), decided to make the appointment of his family priest by lying. An ascetic appearing in the king's presence warned him, but in vain, against the danger of this course by saying that the king by telling a lie destroys righteousness, and by destroying righteousness he destroys himself. When the king inspite of the warning told a lie, he was deserted by the four protecting deities, his body was befouled, he fell from the sky upon the earth, and all his four supernatural powers disappeared. Six times in succession the king's priest offered to restore his supernatural powers if he should speak the truth, but the king disregarding all these offers sank lower and lower in the earth till at last the earth opened up for him and he was consumed by the fires of hell.

The influence of the king's attitude towards righteousness upon the fortunes of his subjects and indeed upon their whole physical environment is told after the pattern of the canonical text quoted above in other series of the *Jātakas*. According to an oft-quoted passage in these stories (III 111, V 222, ibid 242) the people follow the king as a herd of cattle follow the bull, and the whole realm enjoys weal or woe according as the king is righteous or otherwise. Turning to the stories themselves we have first the story (no. 527) of a virtuous king's self-admonition by way of escape from his sorest temptation. A king of the Sivis, we read, having madly fallen in love with the wife of his commander-in-chief and being repeatedly and earnestly pressed by the latter to take her to himself, as often and passionately rejects the offer. The king ends (V 222-23) by teaching his most loyal officer the ways of righteousness as practised by good men. Blessed is a king, we read, who delights in righteousness, and happiness it is to eschew sin. Happily the subjects live as under a

cold shade in the kingdom of a king who is free from anger and fixed in righteousness. The speaker next observes on the analogy of a herd of cattle following the bull that when the king becomes unrighteous, the common folk follow him and the whole realm comes to grief, and in the contrary case the common folk follow the king's example and the whole realm enjoys happiness. Declaring his intention not to win authority or conquest of the whole world by unrighteousness, the king concludes by expressing his determination to abide by the Sivi righteousness. The story ends (*ibid* 223) with a passionate admonition of the commander-in-chief to the king to practise righteousness after the text (V 223) quoted above.

When a householder, we read in a second story (no. 194), was about to be killed by the order of a wicked king on a trumped-up charge of theft, the cries and lamentations of his virtuous wife caused the God Sakka to descend from heaven and so use His supernatural powers that the wicked king was killed, and the honest householder became king in his place. Commending the new king to the people as one who would thenceforth rule righteously, the god pointed out the danger of the king's unrighteous rule. Should the king, he declared (II 124), be unrighteous, the gods would send down rain out of season and not in season, and the three 'fears' (those of pestilence, disease and the sword) would come down from heaven upon men. When the king, we read in a third story (no. 334), enquired of an ascetic why the ripe figs offered to him tasted sweet, he was told that it was because the king ruled his kingdom righteously. When kings rule unrighteously, it was explained, oil, honey, molasses and the like as well as wild roots and fruits lose their sweetness and strength and not only these but the whole realm lose their vigour, but should the kings be righteous, these would become strong. In the sequel the king found out by a practical test the truth of the ascetic's statement (III 110-11).

The above extracts indicate in impressive language the authors' view of the immense significance of the king's attitude towards righteousness in relation to his whole environment. In its simplest form it means that the king by his example influences for good or for evil the moral stature of his subjects and hence causes their happiness or misery. More complex than the above is the explanation that the

king through his attitude towards righteousness influences for good or for evil the course of the climatic phenomena shaping man's agricultural production as well as the degree of productivity of his life-giving crops. According to the most complex interpretation the king through his attitude towards righteousness shapes by a regular chain of causation the moral stature of his subjects, the movements of heavenly bodies and the succession of time as well as the operation of the climatic factors governing agricultural production, and finally the physical type of the people. Political righteousness, as thus conceived, rises to the level of a cosmic principle of creation.

From the early Buddhist conception of righteousness in relation to the king let us now turn to the same concept in relation to the World-ruler (Pali, *Cakkavatti*=Skt., *Cakravarti*). In the stock-description of the *Cakkavatti*'s characteristics we are told that he is called the Emperor over the four quarters of the earth, righteous in himself, ruling righteously, triumphant abroad, enforcing law and order at home, possessed of the seven jewels. The process of the World-ruler's universal conquest is described in two canonical extracts (*Dīgha Nikāya* II 169f and III 62f). These deal respectively with the romantic biographies of the *Cakkavatti* Mahāsudassana and the son of the *Cakkavatti* Dalhanemi. The Emperor, we read, having discovered the wonderful Wheel and solemnly invoked it to roll onwards, followed it on its onward course successively towards the East, the South, the North and the West. As the mighty monarch appeared in each quarter with his fourfold army, the rival kings therein offered their submission. The *Cakkavatti* allowed them to retain their possessions on condition of their observance of the five moral precepts binding upon the Buddhist lay-man. "Ye shall", so goes his solemn admonition, "slay no living thing, ye shall not take that which has not been given, ye shall not act wrongly touching bodily desires, ye shall speak no lie, ye shall drink no maddening drink". The same stories illustrate the nature of the *Cakkavatti*'s rule over his subjects as well as his vassals. Among the four gifts (*iddhis*) of Mahāsudassana, we are told (*Dīgha-Nikāya* II 178) that he was popular with the Brāhmaṇas and the householders just as a father is near and dear to his own sons, while conversely the Brāhmaṇas and the householders were near and dear to him just as his sons are near and dear to a father. Of King Dalhanemi we

read that he lived on this earth to its ocean-bounds, having conquered it not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness. In a third extract (*Anguttara-Nikāya* III, 149) the Buddha referring to "the king, the world-ruler, the righteous one, the righteous king", observes that righteousness (*dhamma*) is his king. Such a king, he explains, honours, esteems and reveres *dhamma*, with *dhamma* as the standard he provides righteous safety, cover and protection for folk within his realm, for Khattiyas and attendant army, for Brāhmaṇa and householder, for town-and country-folk, for recluses and Brāhmaṇas, for birds and beasts. "Thus verily by righteousness he sets the wheel in motion, of which the course can not be resisted by any inimical king whatsoever".

Some further light is thrown upon the Buddhist conception of the World-ruler by the description in another canonical text (*Dīghanikāya*, III 60) of the careers of the *Cakkavattis* of Dalhanemi's line. When Dalhanemi we read left the throne to his eldest son and retired to a hermitage, the celestial wheel disappeared from view. Consoling the new king for his loss a hermit observes that the celestial wheel was not his paternal heritage, but it might manifest itself to him if he observed the Aryan duty of a *Cakkavatti* (*ariyāñ cakkavatti-vattam*). What this means is explained in the following lines. "Thou should," says the sage, "provide right watch, ward and protection for thy own folk, for the army, for the nobles, for vassals, for Brāhmaṇas and householders, for town and country-folk, for recluses and Brāhmaṇas and for beasts and birds. Throughout thy kingdom let no wrong-doing prevail. And whosoever in thy kingdom is poor, to him let wealth be given. Should recluses and Brāhmaṇas ask thee for the proper line of action, thou should deter them from evil and bid them take up what is good". Following this advice the king was rewarded with the reappearance of the celestial wheel. When a later king of Dalhanemi's line preferred to govern his people according to his own will, they failed to prosper as they had done under former kings observant of the way of life of a *Cakkavatti*. Even when he was reminded of his duty by his ministers and courtiers, the king simply provided watch and ward and protection for his people but failed to give alms to the destitute. This led to poverty of the people and the progressive deterioration of their morals and shortening of their lives. At length the very extremity of the evil led the people on

their own initiative to increase their performance of good deeds which resulted in the lengthening of their lives.

The above extracts are of extreme significance as involving the extension of the principle of the king's righteousness to the concept of the World-ruler. The attributes of this ruler comprise not only universal supremacy and successful administration at home and abroad, but also and above all, righteousness. In the branch of the *Cakkavatti*'s internal administration, this last principle connotes the reciprocal love and affection of the ruler and his subjects as well as the ruler's provision of universal security for his subjects down even to the dumb animals. In the sphere of foreign relations the *Cakkavatti*'s conquest of the quarters is achieved not by force but by righteousness, while his rule over his vassals is founded upon the enforcement of the five precepts that are binding upon the Buddhist lay-man. Interpreting even the mystical wheel, the palladium of the World-ruler, in terms of righteousness, the canonist explains it to mean not the patrimony inherited by the ruler from his ancestors, but as the fulfilment of his characteristic attributes. These attributes comprise provision of universal security for the subjects, extensive poor-relief, prevention of wrong-doing, and instruction of the religieux in virtue. The concluding extract refers, after the pattern of the above-quoted text relating to kingship, to the profound repercussions of the World-ruler's attitude towards righteousness upon the fortunes of his subjects. For we are told that while a partial fulfilment of this principle by the ruler leads to the moral and physical decay of the people, its complete fulfilment by them even on their own initiative produces the contrary result.

We may consider in conclusion a remarkable view laid down by a well-known French Indologist of our time (Prof. Paul Masson Oursel in *Ancient India and Indian Civilization*, pp. 93-95) about a fundamental antithesis between the Brahmanical and the Buddhist ideas of *dharma* in their relation to political theory. The former, we are told, in maintaining a social order based upon the special constitution of each caste does not encourage the appearance of "a political spirit", while the latter by aiming at a law applicable to all mankind makes for unlimited imperialism. Expressing this contrast in another way the author argues that while the Brahmanical *dharma* falls "short of monarchy", its Buddhist counterpart leads to "world-empire".

Again he observes that while the king in the Brahmanical theory confines himself to the preservation of the eternal social order, the king according to the Buddhist theory not only causes the law to reign but starts and promotes the same. We have endeavoured to show in another place<sup>1</sup> that the true difference between the Brahmanical and the Buddhist concepts in relation to social and political theory lies elsewhere, and we can only repeat here some of our principal arguments. *Dharma* in the *Smyritis* connotes above all the comprehensive law of the social order of which the king himself is the unit, while it signifies in the conception of the Buddhist cononists specially the principle of righteousness. In its political aspect the Brahmanical *dharma* stands particularly for the Whole Duty of the king (*rājadharma*) which from the first is conceived in sufficiently elastic terms to provide for the needs of the kingdom and to permit in Manu and still more in the *Mahābhārata* (after Bhīṣma) the wholesale incorporation of the *Arthaśāstra* categories and concepts relating to the branches of the king's internal and external administration. On the other hand the Buddhist *dharma* in its relation to the king involves the application of the universal ethics of Buddhism to the State administration, this principle being even extended to the somewhat idealistic concept of the World-ruler.

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<sup>1</sup> In chap. XIII of the author's forthcoming work, *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, in course of publication by the Oxford University Press.

## Buddhism in Ancient Kambujadesa

(*An Epigraphic Study*)

Buddhism in ancient Kambujadeśa was characterised by two important features—its compatibility with Brahmanism and its progress in the other way from Mahāyānism to Hīnayānism. In this respect it differed from Indian Buddhism which originated as a revolt against the existing socio-religious structure that recognised the hierarchy of the Brahmins, and stressed the conception of arhathood as the *summum bonum*. It is rather interesting to find that there is not a single record which could show the least sign of bitterness or antagonism between the two existing systems. On the other hand, we find Buddha being accorded a position in the Brahmanical trinity. The identification of Śaivism and Buddhism was complete and we find the trinity composed of Padmodbhava<sup>1</sup> (Brahmā), Ambhojanetra (Viṣṇu), and the Buddha (*Yaśca Padmodbhav = āmbhojanetra-Buddham*). One has also to commend the catholic spirit of the emperors whose personal faith in no way affected their outlook. We find that some of the prominent Buddhists in the state service shared that catholic spirit. Kavindrārimathana, who had set up a statue of Prajñāpāramitā, was above suspicion (*Buddhānām-agrāñir api*) so far as his loyalty to the Brahmanical emperor and his state religion was concerned.

The earliest reference to Buddhism in Kambujadeśa is noticed in a record dating from the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A. D.<sup>2</sup> It records dedications of male and female slaves by Pon Prajñā Candra to the three Bodhisattvas, Śāstā, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara. The Bodhisattvas are accorded the Khmer title *Vrah Kamratā āñ* which is also borne by the Brahmanical deities. Avalokiteśvara is not noticed in any other record, but we notice the form Lokeśvara for the first time in the Prasat Ta Kami inscription<sup>3</sup> dated in the Śaka year 713. Buddhism, however, appears to have been introduced earlier than the seventh century A. D., as we find in the Vat Prei inscription (Ba Phnom Dist) of Jaya-varman, dated in the

1 Majumdar, *Kumbuja inscriptions*, No. 156, p. 399

2 Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, vol. I, p. 442

3 Majumdar, *op cit.*, No. 52 A, p. 571

Saka year 587<sup>4</sup>, a reference to the two Bhiksus Ratnabhānu and Ratnasimha whose sister's daughter was authorised and guaranteed the hereditary enjoyment of a religious property by king Jaya-varman in the year 587-565 A. D. There is no reference to any Brahmanical god, and the term Bhikṣu suggests that the family was Buddhist. In the Khmer text the donations by these two Bhiksus were made in favour of *Vrah* which is a vague term denoting Buddha, as well as Brahmanical gods, and also the King. We have, therefore, to take the character of the record from the reference to the Buddhist Bhiksus who are the donors.

There is no Buddhist record for a little over two hundred years, and here one has to believe the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing<sup>5</sup>, who suggests that Buddhism flourished in Fu-nan in early times but was then subverted by a wicked king whose identity is not established, but it is suggested that he might be either Bhavavarman or I-Sāna-varman or Jaya-varman. This state of stalemate seems to have continued. Although there is no reference to the persecution of Buddhists in Kambujadeśa, the absence of positive evidence throws some doubt on its flourishing nature. The Kok Samron inscription<sup>6</sup> (Siem Rap, Dist Battambang) records an invocation to Saṅgha, though Buddha and Dharma are also noticed in a subsequent verse (*namas Saṅghāya Sambuddharatnam prañamāmi dharma*). This invocation to Saṅgha, and the reference to Buddha and Dharma reveal the Buddhist character of the record. The eulogy of King Rajendra-varman makes the record contemporary with that ruler who became king in the Saka year 883=961 A. D. It is interesting to find that in another inscription<sup>7</sup> of the time of Rajendra-varman, dated in the Saka year 883=961 A. D. from Pre Rup (Angkor region), the Yogācāra system is mentioned.

It is equally interesting to find references to other divinities of the Buddhist pantheon whose statues were set up in Kambujadeśa in that period. An inscription from Thma Puok<sup>8</sup> (Svay Cek in Battambang) of the time of Jaya-varman V, and dated in the Saka Samvat 911=

4 *Ibid.*, No. 29, p. 37

5 Takakusu, p. 12

6 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, No. 100 E, p. 583

7 *Ibid.*, No. 102, p. 233, v. 275

8 *Ibid.*, No. 113 A, p. 594

989 A.D. contains invocations to Buddha, Prajñāpāramitā, Lokeśvara, Vajrin, Maitreya and Indra. The six divinities were installed by the sage Padma-Vairocana and some of them may be identified with the image of the deities round the miniature temple. A little earlier in the year 903-981 A.D., an image of the mother of the Buddha was set up by Tribhuvanarāja. The inscription found at Phnom Bantay<sup>9</sup> (South of Angkor Bauray to the west of Battambang) invokes the Buddhist Mahāyāna divinities including Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. Installation of the images of other Brahmanical divinities like Jagadiśvara and Trailoyanātha is also mentioned. They were set up by other members probably of the same family.

The most important record is the Phimanaka inscription<sup>10</sup> of Jaya-varman VII in which Trikāya, Buddha and Lokeśvara are invoked. The two queens of the emperor were Buddhist. The second one, who was the elder sister of the first one, was very learned and taught the Buddhist nuns of the convents of Nagendratuṅga, Tilakttara and Narendrāśrama. This elder sister had initiated the younger one into Buddhism during the absence of her lord and she could see his image after the performance of certain ceremony. On the return of her lord, a dramatic performance, of which the plot was drawn from the Jātakas, was made by a body of nuns recruited from cast away girls. After the death of the younger sister, the elder sister won the favour of the king who asked her to teach the Buddhist doctrines in various convents. The importance of this record lies in several ways. First, it shows that Buddhism was active in its proselytising spirit and it freely drew its members from the Brahmanical and royal families, and there were a number of convents for cast away girls. The Buddhist literature was equally popular and the Jātaka stories could form the subjects of dramatic performances so as to impress upon the masses the importance and divine character of the Buddhist Lord.

The School of the lower vehicle, namely that of Sthāviras, also flourished in Kambujadeśa, though it arrived here much later than Mahāyāna. Unfortunately, there is only one record<sup>11</sup> of the time of Sūrya-varman I dated in the year 944, 947 from Lopburi in the modern temple of Bang Pahin, but it was brought from Lopburi

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 113 p. 299

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 182, p. 515

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 139, p. 343

in Siam. The inscription contains an order of King Sūrya-varman laying down the regulation that in all sacred places, temples, monasteries and hermitages, the ascetics, the Sthāviras (monks of the little vehicle) and monks of the Grand vehicle were required to offer to the king the merit of their austerities.

From the findspots of these records certain conclusions might be drawn. The Mahāyāna Buddhist records are found (in chronological order) in Prasat Takham (Siem Rap), Vat Prei (Ba Phnom), Kok Saman (Siem Rap), Pre Rup (Angkor region), Thma Puok (Savay Cak in Battambang), Phnom Bantay (south of Angkor) and Phimanaka (Angkor Thom). They suggest that Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced from the north west and it came probably by the land route. The earlier wave of Hīnayānists probably followed the same route. The later influx of Hīnayānists from Ceylon seems to have come by the sea route. We learn from the Kok Svay Cek (two miles south of western Baray) inscription<sup>12</sup> of Śrīndra-varman that the king gave to *mahāthera* (the great monk) Sirindamoli a village, and a Vihāra was built in 1231 where an image of Buddha was installed. The king gave four villages to the monastery. This is the earliest epigraphic evidence for the introduction of Ceylonese Hīnayāna Buddhism in Kambuja. We might also consider here the evidence furnished by the Chinese sources on the state of Buddhism in ancient Fu-nan. We learn that a coral image of the Buddha was sent to the emperor Wu-ti (500-550) in 503 A. D., and the inhabitants of Fu-nan made bronze image of the heavenly genii with two or four heads and four arms. An image made of sandal wood was sent to the Chinese emperor by Liu-t'o-pa-mo (Rudra-varman) and in 539 he offered him a hair of the Buddha twelve feet long. The two monks who went to China to translate Chinese scriptures, namely Saṅghapāla and Mandra were also from Fu-nan. I-tsing while returning from India in 675 A. D. describes the country of Po-nan formerly called Fu-nan of which the people were originally worshippers of the devas, but later on Buddhism flourished there. A wicked king exterminated all members of the Buddhist brotherhood.<sup>13</sup> This suggests that Buddhism in its earlier phase flourished in the Ba Phnom region in the south-east. As the

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 188, p. 533

<sup>13</sup> Elliot, *Hinduism & Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 106

Chinese evidence is earlier than the epigraphic records noticed above, it may be presumed that Buddhism came to ancient Kambujadeśa at a fairly early date, probably synchronising with the time of the second Kauṇḍinya, and it had a set back probably in the time of Bhavarman or his successors. It, however, flourished, but from the 10th to the 13th century it was at its peak because of the patronage of the Khmer rulers like Sūrya-varman, called *Nirvāṇapada* and Jayavarman VII who was considerably influenced by his talented sister-in-law who later on became his wife. These rulers did not alienate their devotion to the family deity, and Saivism continued to be the state religion, despite their adherence to Buddhism. Another ruler Yaśo-varman established a Saugatāśrama like the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava āśramas.

In the propagation of Buddhism some important state dignitaries also played a prominent part. These include Satya-varman<sup>14</sup> who was charged with the erection of the building known as Phimanakei, Kavindrātimathana<sup>15</sup> a minister under Rājendra-varman V and Jaya-varman V who erected many statues including those of Buddha, Vajrapāṇi, Prajñā-pāramita and Lokeśvara. Kīrti-Paṇḍita<sup>16</sup> was the minister of Jaya-varman V and it was due to his efforts that the pure doctrine of the Buddha reappeared like the moon from behind the clouds or the sun at dawn. This Kīrtipāṇḍita also introduced Buddhist books from abroad, and it is suggested that the *Sāstra Madhya Vibhāga* and the commentary on the *Tattva Saṅgraha*<sup>17</sup> were brought by him. These ministers were certainly Buddhists and they never let their personal religion interfere in their official duties and the state religion.

Another important point worth attention is that Buddhism was so much in line with Brahmanism that Buddha actually found a place in the Brahmanical trinity. In the Prasat Prah Khset inscription<sup>18</sup> of Udayārka-varman dated in the Śaka year 989 = 1067 A. D., there is a reference to the *linga* formerly given to king Sūryavarman by his minister Sarāma and to this were added images of Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Buddha, and the entire group called *Caturmūrti* was consecrated to Siva. Buddha is associated with Rudra in another inscription. The Prah Put lo Rock inscription<sup>19</sup> (cave in Mt. Kulen) dated in the Śaka

<sup>14</sup> Aymonier, vol. I, pp. 261 ff; *Ibid.*, p. 123

year 869=947 A. D. records in the Khmer text the installation of an image of Tathāgata (Buddha), Rudra and probably other gods in the holy cave. There is not the slightest doubt that Buddhism in ancient Kambujadeśa was not so violent against Brahmanism and the latter assimilated Buddha in its pantheon.

We also find charitable and missionary activities which were associated with Buddhism. Here one is reminded of the humanitarian activities of the Buddhist emperor, Aśoka. Jayavarman VII issued an inscription from Ta Prohm near Angkor which opens with an invocation of the Buddha followed by Lokeśvara and probably Prajñā-pāramitā. It refers to an establishment with 18 principal priests (*adhi-kārinab*), 2740 priests and 2232 assistants and dancing girls. This record also refers to 102 hospitals in his kingdom of which a detailed description is noticed in another record<sup>15</sup> found a Say-Fong in Laos. It opens with an invocation to the Buddha who in his three bodies transcends the distinction between existence and non-existence, and then to the healing Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas who drive away darkness and disease. The hospitals were open to everybody without any distinction of caste.

It would, thus, appear from a study of the Kambuja records that there were probably two or three waves of Buddhist immigrants in that country, and they experienced an initial set back. From the tenth century onwards Mahāyānism flourished as an auxiliary to Brahmanism and not in a spirit of hostility. The assimilation of the Tathāgata in the Brahmanical trinity is a very important factor in the religious history of Kambuja, and it was one of the reasons for the rebuff given to Islam in Cambodia. Brahmanism did not stand in the prosperity of Buddhism and it flourished undisturbed and without any animosity from the State religion. In fact, we have cited instances of high dignitaries and even of kings patronising Buddhism. It seems that catholicity and toleration were the hallmarks in the history of Buddhism in ancient Kambujadeśa.

B. N. PURI

<sup>15</sup> Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 331; *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Elliot, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Nanjo, Catalogue 1244, 1248

<sup>18</sup> Majumdar, *op. cit.*, No. 156, p. 399

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 90, p. 179

<sup>20</sup> Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 124

## Harivarman's Theory of Cognition

Vasubandhu while expounding the eight-fold *drsti* (view) brings in for discussions different theories of sensuous cognitions as entertained by earlier Buddhist authors. The question raised is, what is actually the agent for giving rise to our sensuous perceptions. There appear to have been different groups of philosophers pleading for theory peculiar to each one. The earliest of all is the Sarvāstivādin headed by Vasumitra. The next comes the Vijñānavādin led by Dharmatrāta. These two groups figure prominently in the discussions introduced by Vasubandhu. It will also be evident that Vasubandhu has favoured the Vijñānavādin (advocate of consciousness as the sole agent of perception).

Now we shall see in the following pages what Harivarman, one of the predecessors of Vasubandhu has to say about the subject. Harivarman was one of the profound and original thinkers of ancient India. He fought all his life for puritanic approach to Buddha's preaching, so much so that he had to take great pains to weed out the fungi that grew over the Master's teachings as found in the *Abhidharma*s of the Sarvāstivādins. It is unfortunate that his only treatise, the *Satyasiddhi Śāstra* has been lost to us in its original form now available in an imperfect translation in Chinese of Kumārajīva.<sup>1</sup> One of the most outstanding reforms he has introduced in his system was an absolute denial of any distinction between the primary elements (*bhūta*) and the secondary elements (*bhautika*) a theory which is attributed to Buddhadeva in the *Kośabhāṣya* (ad. I,35) as well as in the *Vibhāṣā*. This theory again has been spoken of as one of the Sautrāntika tenets in the *Hetubinduṭīkā* ( p. 355, l. 19 ).

Therefore the five sense-organs which are reckoned as separate secondary atomic elements by the Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika, are no more than things of nominal existence (*prajñaptisat*) for Harivarman. They are the same as the four great elements that assumed such forms as the eye etc.

<sup>1</sup> This translation contains 20 chuans, fasc. and the whole of the treatise has been translated into Sanskrit by me and will be shortly published.

Now let us turn to see what Harivarman has to say in regard to epistemology. We may maintain that he was, in all probability, a fore-runner of Vasubandhu in pleading for the thesis of *Vijñānadarśana*, consciousness as the sole agent of cognition. Our author has employed for upholding his view almost all the arguments that were pressed for service by Vasubandhu. We may even say on comparison of these two authors that the former is more comprehensive in his arguments than the latter. It will not be without interest if we present here some of his arguments with a view of drawing attention of the scholars to the magnitude of his contribution to the development of Buddhist thought in India. As usual he presents his topics in the form of questions and answers.

(1) At the commencement of the discussion on the present subject (*Satyasiddhi*, sect. 48), Harivarman poses the question: Is it the sense-organ that effects cognition or the consciousness residing in it? His opponent, though not specified, is the Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika who entertain the former alternative.<sup>2</sup> Harivarman contends that in case the sense is cognizer, it will cognize all things simultaneously.

(2) The opponent strives to evade the difficulty by this reasoning: the function of the sense is to light up things and that of the consciousness to make them cognized. The author replies: the sense then that is not in the nature of light, i.e., ear, etc. cannot light up objects. Supposing even that the sense lights up things, the power of cognizing can never be attributed to it. The lamp, for example, illuminates its proximate objects but it never cognizes them. We must, therefore, attribute to the sense the function of giving support to the consciousness which is really the cognizer.

(3) The opponent argues that the passages like *cakṣusā rūpāni drṣṭvā*, etc. necessitate us to hold fast to the sense as sole cognizer. The author retorts by saying that there are still more authoritative passages, viz. *cakṣur brāhmaṇa dvāram yāvad eva rūpāṇām darśanāya*, etc. which prove unmistakably that the sense operates as an instrument

<sup>2</sup> The Sarvastivādin says: the pair of the eyes see (*Kośa*, I. 43); the Vātsiputriya: the single eye sees; the *Dārṣṭāntika*: the company, *sāmagṛi* (*bo-bo*) sees, Ghoṣaka (Miao-yin) *prajñā* associated with the visual consciousness sees (*Vibhāṣā*, Taisho, vol. 27, p. 61c). Read also my *Abhidharma Problems*, *op. cit.* for Kwei-chi's summary of the eleven such theories of the Buddhists and Hindus.

whereas the consciousness residing in it is the agent in giving rise to the cognition. In the light of this unequivocal passage the sentence above cited by you must be explained figuratively, implying the same idea that the eye is the support, i.e., instrument and the consciousness the perceiver. There are also some sayings which attribute emotions to the eye, etc. e.g., *cakṣub priyarūpāṇi kāmyati*, "the eye desires the pleasant objects." But no desire can be attributed to the eye. The mind alone desires. However people attributing the act of desiring to the eye, say that the eye desires. Similarly men in the world talk that the eye sees and the ear hears, etc. The Master, following their conventions employs similar expressions. He never quarrels with the worldlings. They call Viśākhā daughter-in-law of Mṛgāra as *Mṛgāramātā*, mother of Mṛgāra. Buddha also calls her *Mṛgāramātā*. The author has collected a number of such metaphorical expressions from the worldly usages which do not bear their sense. A typical example is when a man sitting on the cot is screaming, we say the cot is screaming (*mañcāḥ kroṣanti*), etc. It is evident therefore that these expressions should not be assessed at their face-value. Thus the author's conclusion stands that while the consciousness alone is perceiver, the sense is also spoken of so because the latter is related to the former as supporter.

(4) The opponent questions: if the sense is not cognizer, how can we account for the expressions like: eye-cognition, ear-cognition (*cakṣur-vijñānam*, etc.)? The author answers: Though the sense and its object play the equally important role in bringing about their cognitions, the former excels the latter by virtue of its being support for the cognizing consciousness. In other words, the sense is the supporting cause (*āśrayabtu*) whereas the object is passive cause *ālambana-pratyaya*. So the sense does not stand on a par with the object. Since the sense plays a more active part in effecting a cognition, the people talk of cognitions as related to their senses, eye-cognition, etc. The point is thus illustrated. The sound is produced when the drum is struck with a stick. The sound thus produced is the effect not only of the drum but of the stick and its act of striking. Nevertheless the people talk of it as the sound of a drum, *bherīśabda*. Similarly the expression like *yavāṅkura* should be explained. The sprout is produced on account of several factors being put together, seed, earth, water, etc. we nevertheless call it *yavāṅkura* (sprout of

millet-seeds) because the seeds are the material cause and excel other factors. We may note in passing that the examples above quoted, viz. *bherīśabda* and *yavāṅkura* are stock-phrases found in the *Kośabhāṣya* and the logical treatises of Diīnāga school to illustrate the expression: *Pratyakṣa*.

(5) Then Harivarman considers the question whether the consciousness cognizes in a close proximity or otherwise. His answer here is as usual a qualified one, viz. the visual, auditory and mind-formed consciousnesses are of non-contacted objects and the other three of proximate objects. It is probably the Vaiśeṣika who pleads that the eye cognizes the object after being contacted with it, and assumes for this purpose some sort of visual ray (*caksū-raśmi*) which runs after the vicinity of cognizable things. The Vaiśeṣika contends that the eye operates only on the proximate object, because if it operates on the remote objects also, it could cognize in one stroke every thing in the world. Our author argues that even in his system the said logical defect (i.e., the eye would be cognizant of remote things) cannot be raised because the scripture has laid down the rule that the visual consciousness will arise only when the following three conditions are favourable: (1) the eye that is not defective (2) the object that falls within the reach of light (*ābhāṣagata*) and (3) the attention that is directed to the object. In the absence of any of these conditions the visual cognition will not arise. Yaśomitra has preserved this important quotation<sup>3</sup> from an unknown source (p. 94, 12). This gives an opportunity for the author to elaborate what is *ābhāṣagata* and what is *anābhāṣagata*; what is the sense-defect and what is not and so on.

There is one more characteristic feature of Harivarman's system of thought. We have already seen that he has denied the distinction between the primary and secondary elements. Likewise he has also done away with the division of thought into mind and mental properties as postulated by the Sarvāstivādins. This division is illogical and apocryphal for Buddhadeva as well as Harivarman. Our author has on the authority of scriptures established that thoughts follow an order of sequence and never operate simultaneously, proving thereby that the so-called theory of *samprayoga* (i.e., one

<sup>3</sup> एवं हि विज्ञानकारणं पञ्चते । चक्षुरिन्द्रियमनुपइतं भवति । विषय आभास-गतो भवति । तज्ज्ञ मनसिकारः प्रत्युपस्थितो भवतीति ।

main thought is associated with several mental properties) of the Sarvāstivādins is not tenable. According to Harivarman, every sensuous consciousness in its first moment is absolutely pure and free from any *vikalpa*, discursive thought. The Sarvāstivādin, however, maintains that there is *vitarka* always present in every moment of consciousness, and hence *nirvikalpa* for him denotes that it is free from *vikalpa* other than the *vitarka* which is otherwise termed *svabhāvavikalpa*, (Kośa, I, 33). Vasubandhu has also criticised the Sarvāstivādin's view in this respect. It is evident that Harivarman was the earliest exponent of the theory of "pure sensation" later elaborated in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and other logical treatises of Dīnnāga School.

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI

## The Nārāyanpur Image of Vināyaka

(Dated the fourth regnal year of Mahīpāla)

The village of Nārāyanpur, where this image was found, is about 15 miles to the north-east of the sub-divisional town of Chandpur in the Tippera district in Eastern Pakistan. The image has on it an inscription which is dated in the fourth year of the reign of King Mahīpāla. This inscription records the establishment of this image of the god Vināyaka by a merchant named Buddhamitra, son of Jambhalamīra. This merchant is said to have been an inhabitant of a place called Bilikandhaka which was situated, in the country of Samataṭa. This image, however, is said to have been installed at a place called Bhasakāga. It may be noted in this connection that an image of Nārāyaṇa was discovered at Bāghaurā in the Brahmanbaria sub-division of the district of Tippera in Eastern Pakistan. The Bāghaurā image is said to have been installed in the third regnal year of King Mahīpāla by a Vaiṣṇava merchant named Lokadatta, an inhabitant of Bilakīndaka in the country of Samataṭa (Vide *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, pp. 353ff). There can hardly be any doubt that the Nārāyanpur image and the Bāghaurā image were installed during the reign of one and the same King Mahīpāla. There is reason to suppose that Bilikandhaka of the Nārāyanpur image inscription is identical with Bilakīndaka of the Bāghaurā image inscription. Dr. N. K. Bhattachari has identified Bilakīndaka with the village Bilakendua, situated near Bāghaura. According to Dr. N. K. Bhattachari the kingdom of Samataṭa mentioned in these inscriptions corresponds to the tract of country bound by the Garo and the Khasi hills and the hills of Tippera on the north and east, by the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra on the west and by the Bay of Bengal on the south. It comprised the eastern half of the Mymensingh and the Dacca districts lying east of the river Brahmaputra, the greater part of Sylhet, and the whole of the Tippera and Noakhali districts. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar Samataṭa apparently included the present Tippera Noakhali region.

Among the kings of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal there were two bearing the name Mahīpāla. According to some scholars

Mahīpāla I ruled during the period circa 992 to 1040 A.D. and according to other scholars during the period circa 988 to 1038 A.D. Mahīpāla II reigned according to some scholars during the period circa 1081-82 A.D. and according to other scholars during the period A.D. 1070-75. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar it is possible to assign the Bāghāurā and the Nārāyanpur images to the reign of any one of these two Mahīpālas, although the name of Mahīpāla I is usually suggested by many scholars. The king mentioned in the Bāghāurā image inscription has been identified by some scholars with the Gurjara Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla I who seems to have reigned during the period A.D. 912-44. Dr. D. C. Sircar remarks in this connection: "This suggestion, however, cannot be accepted in the present state of our knowledge, as there is no evidence to prove Pratīhāra connection with south-east Bengal." (Vide *Indian Culture*, vol. IX., No. I., 1942).

The names Buddhamitra and Jambhalamitra seem to indicate Buddhist influence and hence one should naturally be inclined to suppose that the god Vināyaka installed by Buddhamitra, son of Jambhalamitra, is the Mahāyānic deity of that name. The image in question is about 3 feet in height and is in a seated posture. It is four-armed and wears bangles and a necklace and a crown. The left tusk of his elephant head is represented as broken. The image holds a radish in his right upper hand, rosary in his lower right hand, axe in his upper left hand and sweets in his lower left hand. The elephant-headed god Vināyaka is tasting the sweets in his lower left hand with his trunk. He has lotus symbols on his feet and bears a sacred thread to which a serpent is found tied. There is the representation of a rat, the god's *vāhana* or carrier on the pedestal.

According to Dr. D. C. Sircar (vide *Indian Culture*, vol. IX., No. 1, July-September, 1942) the Nārāyanpur image of the god Vināyaka does not agree with the descriptions of the Mahāyāna Buddhist deity Vināyaka and the image in question agrees almost exactly with the description given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* of the Brāhmaṇical deity of this name. In this text we find the following description of the Brāhmaṇical god Vināyaka:—

"Vināyakastu karttavyo gajavaktraścaturbhujah/,  
Mūlakām cākṣamālā ca tasya daksināhastayoh//  
Pātrām modakapūrṇām tu paraśuś caiva vāmatah/,"

Dantaś cāsyā na karttavyo vāme tipuniśūdanaḥ//  
 Pādapiṭhakṛtpāda eka āsanago bhavet/  
 Pūrṇamodakapātre tu karāgrāni tasya kārayet//  
 Lambodaras tathā kāryalā...../  
 Vyāghracarmāmbadaradharaiḥ sarpayajño-pavītavān//".

Jambhalamitra's son Buddhamitra who installed the image in question thus seems to have been a Brāhmaṇical Hindu. The personal names of Jambhalamitra and of his son Buddhamitra, however, show Buddhist influence. In fact, there was, as Dr. D. C. Sircar aptly argues, hardly any appreciable gulf of difference between a Brāhmaṇical Hindu and a Buddhist householder in Bengal in or about the eleventh century A.D. In manners and customs a Buddhist lay worshipper differed very little from a common Brāhmaṇical Hindu householder of that age in Bengal. The later form of Mahāyāna Buddhism or Tāntric Buddhism, which was in vogue in certain parts of Bengal during this period, had in its pantheon many gods and goddesses, which were alike worshipped by Brāhmaṇical Hindu householders in Bengal at that age. Thus Brāhmaṇism and later Buddhism in Bengal had many common gods and goddesses. A lay Buddhist and an ordinary Brāhmaṇical Hindu householder in Bengal had in consequence during this period many common beliefs and religious practices. The distinction between Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism in Bengal seems during this later period to have been exhibited only in the debates of the philosophers of these two rival schools of thought. Thus the Bhuvaneśvar inscriptions (verse 20) of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva informs us that Bhavadeva II, who is the hero of this *prāśasti* or eulogistic account, was prominent among the exponents of the Brahmādvaita system of Hindu philosophy and was conversant with the writings of Bhaṭṭa (i.e. the great philosopher Kumārila Bhaṭṭa). He was an antagonist of the philosophers of the Buddhist school and he refuted with ease the opinions of the heretic dialecticians

(cf. "Brahmādvaitavidāmudāharaṇabhbhūtavidyādbhūtaśraṣṭā  
 Bhaṭṭagirām gabhīrimaguṇapratyakṣadṛśvā kavīḥ/  
 Bauddhāmbhoniḍhikumbhasambhavamuniḥ pāṣaṇḍavaitaṇḍikā-  
 prajñākhaṇḍana - paṇḍitoyamavanau Sarvvajña līlāyate//").

According to verse 23 of this inscription by following Kumārila Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva wrote a guide to Mīmāṁsā philosophy.

According to the description given in the Bhuvaneśvar inscription Bhavadeva's forefathers were inhabitants of the village of Siddhala in Rādhā (i.e. Western Bengal). On palaeographic evidence Prof. Kielhorn (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 6, p. 198ff) assigned the Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhṛṭṭa Bhavadeva to about 1200 A.D. and observed that "its interest lies in the fact that it treats, not of kings and princes, but of a scholar". Depending on literary sources Monmohan Chakravarti (Vide *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. 8, pp. 342-45) came to the conclusion that the date of Bhavadeva must be somewhere between circa 1025 and 1150 A.D. According to N. G. Majumdar (Vide *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. 3, p. 32) the date of Bhavadeva should be taken as being earlier than the first quarter of the 12th century A.D. and even earlier than the last quarter of the 11th century A.D. Whatever differences there might have been in religious doctrines and philosophical thoughts between Brāhmaṇical Hinduism and Buddhism, the lay Buddhist householders may be said to have differed very little from ordinary Brāhmaṇical Hindu householders even in the early period. So far as the common householders or the ordinary people were concerned, the feeling of separatism among the lay Buddhists and lay Hindu householders in Bengal gradually died out during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. The emperors of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal are mostly known to have been Saugatas or followers of Sugata (i.e. Buddha). But they claim in their records (cf. Verse 5 of the Monghyr Copper-plate inscription of Devapāla) to have been upholders of the Varnāśrama order or of Brāhmaṇical Hinduism as well. The grant of villages by Nārāyaṇavarmā during the reign of the Pāla emperor Dharmapāla (cf. the Khālimpur copper-plate inscription of Dharmapāla) for the continuance of the worship of an image of the god Nanna-Nārāyaṇa and the grant of land as fee by the Pāla emperor Madanapāla (cf. the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla) to a Brāhmaṇa who recited and explained the text of the *Mahābhārata* to his chief queen Citramatikādevī may be pointed out in this connection.

This shows that in spite of differences in religious beliefs and practices there was no ill feeling of communal rivalry between Brāhmaṇical Hindus, Buddhists and Jains in Bengal during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. The Pāhārpur copper-plate

inscription dated in the year 159 of the Gupta era (corresponding to A.D. 478-79) thus records that a Brāhmaṇa named Nāthaśarmī and his wife Rāmī deposited three dīnāras or three gold coins in the city council (*adbiṣṭhānādbikarana*) for purchasing one *kulyavāpa* and four *dronavāpas* of land situated in four different places for meeting the cost incurred for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers, lamps, etc. of the divine Arhats in the monastery at Vaṭa-Gohāli. The donation of a Brāhmaṇa couple for the worship of Jinas, as recorded here, is noteworthy for it shows the spirit of toleration during this period (vide *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 20, pp. 59ff.). Gautama Buddha gradually came to be regarded in Hindu society in India as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and with the growth of later Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Bengal the religious differences which originally existed between ordinary Buddhist and Hindu householders in Bengal gradually ceased to exist with the result that both became fused together as members of one community. That is the reason why Buddhism gradually disappeared from the land of its birth during the medieval period. The fact is that ordinary Buddhist householders had by this time no touch with the writings of philosophers of the Buddhist school.

TAPO NATH CHAKRAVARTI

## Zen Buddhism and Bodhidharma

In the Far East, there is no Buddhist influence so profound and penetrating as that of the Ch'an (Dhyāna) School, popularly known as Zen Buddhism. It has effected a change in the cultural life as well as the general outlook towards the method of attaining Enlightenment. Not merely that; from the beginning of the 10th century A. D. this School has gained supremacy over all other Schools in China, so much so that the monks in the monasteries throughout the country claimed in one way or the other the patriarchal lineage of celebrated Dhyāna masters. This phenomenon may be ascribed to the fact that the Dhyāna School has been the life and soul of Buddhism for over a thousand years in China. As a result of its important position, voluminous works have been produced by various writers. Some of them are compositions containing the sayings of Dhyāna masters, mystical and paradoxical in nature, and others are historical records concerning the patriarchal genealogy, especially that of the various branches of the disciples of Hui Neng, the 6th Patriarch. However, all of them unanimously claim that Bodhidharma, the sage from India, was the 28th Patriarch of the Indian tradition and the First Patriarch of the Chinese Dhyāna School. To substantiate this claim, various fabulous tales or legends have been popularized and linked with his life. We give below a few of them as an illustration :—

1. When the Emperor Wu Ti of the Liang Dynasty (502-549 A. D.) could not understand and appreciate unusual answers given by him, he went across the Yangtse River by means of a piece of reed. He then entered the Shao Lin Monastery in Ho Nan province and practised deep meditation facing the wall for nine long years. As a sequel, it is said, he imprinted his image on the wall.

2. He is said to have attained the hoary age of 150 years, and passed away after that. However, a Chinese envoy, while returning from India, saw Bodhidharma with one shoe dangling from his monk's staff in the Pamirs (Ts'ung Ling). When he reported this to the Emperor, his tomb was unearthed and, to their surprise, they could not find anything else in the coffin, except a broken shoe!

The stories mentioned above appear to indicate that he was a person possessing supernatural powers, or, in the derogatory sense, that

he was some sort of a magician. This, indeed, is unfortunate. We shall endeavour, in the following pages, to bring out the truth about this great sage. Special attention will be paid to the conditions of this School prior to his arrival in China and after his demise.

### *I. Was he the founder of the Chinese Zen Buddhism?*

The answer to this question may be divided into two different categories. In one case, we may say 'No,' and in the other, 'Yes, but partially.'

It is a well-known fact that when Buddhism was introduced into China, it embraced all the three aspects of that religion viz., disciplinary observance, meditation and philosophy (*Sīla*, *Samādhi* and *Prajñā*). As such, we find a large number of works on *Dhyāna* or meditation in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. The earliest ones are probably those translated by An Shih-Kao in 148-170 A. D. Take for instance:—

1. The *Sūtra* spoken by the Buddha on keeping thought in the manner of great *Ānāpāna*. Nanjio No. 682;
2. The *Sūtra* on perception in the law of practice of meditation. Nanjio No. 683;

and the works on the same topic translated by Chih Yao in 185 A.D. (Nanjio Nos. 724, 1338), by Buddhabhadra in A. D. 398-421 (Nanjio No. 1341), and many other important texts translated by Kumārajīva in 402-412 A. D. This would show clearly that the theory and practice of *Dhyāna* had been known to the Chinese Buddhists quite early. Further, we find that there are 21 *Dhyāna* masters in the Buddhist Biographies<sup>1</sup> (completed in 519 A.D.) by Hui Chiao, in which the name of Bodhidharma is not included, while in the second series of the Buddhist Biographies<sup>2</sup> (completed in 645 A.D.) by Tao Hsuan, the names of 135 *Dhyāna* experts are found including a few of the immediate disciples of Bodhidharma. These facts clearly show how popular and well-known was *Dhyāna* Buddhism among the Buddhists at that time. They also show that Bodhidharma, who came to China round about 480 A. D., was the founder of the *Dhyāna* practices would not accord with truth.

<sup>1</sup> Kao-sheng-chuan or Biographies of eminent Buddhist masters. Nanjio No. 1490.

<sup>2</sup> Shu-kao-sheng-chuan or the second series of the Biographies of eminent Buddhist masters by Tao Hsuan. Nanjio No. 1493.

This, however, concerns only the early phase of the Dhyāna School in China which had already a firm footing before the arrival of Bodhidharma, and, therefore, he is not entitled to the honour of being its founder, as is usually supposed. We must make it clear, nevertheless that the later developed Zen School has much to do with him, though the honour seemed to have been forced on him.

When we say the later developed Zen School, we mean the particular form of Zen Buddhism which flourished during the T'ang and the Sung Dynasties (618-905 and 960-1278 A.D. respectively), and was greatly popularized by Hui Neng, the 6th Patriarch who succeeded the Bodhidharma lineage. It was during the early portion of this period that the Japanese Buddhists came to China for higher studies and later took back with them the various Buddhist Schools including the Zen (Zen is the Japanese term for 'Ch'an' which in turn is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Dhyāna'). It is this form of Zen Buddhism that has been widely known to the West. It may be said of Bodhidharma that he was in some way associated with this School, though indirectly.

## II. *The truth of his being the 28 Patriarch.*

Several Chinese records<sup>3</sup> of the Biographies of the Patriarchs of the Zen School claim that Bodhidharma was the 28th Patriarch of the Indian tradition starting from Mahākāśyapa. Ch'i Sung, author of two of these records, asserted that he was really the 28th Patriarch in India and refuted the authority of Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-ching or 'Sūtra on the Nidāna of transmitting the Dharmapiṭaka' (Nanjo No. 1340), a Sanskrit text translated into Chinese in 427 A. D. by Chi-chia-yeah. This work gives us a list of the 'Parampara' tradition of 23 Indian patriarchs, beginning with Mahākāśyapa and ending with Śimha Bhikṣu. In between we have Aśvaghosa as the 11th, Nāgārjuna the 13th, Vasubandhu the 20th and so forth. In the biographical sketch of the last Patriarch, Śimha Bhikṣu, we are told that

- 3 i. Ch'i Sung: A treatise on the right School of transmitting the Law. Nanjo No. 1528,
- ii. Ch'i Sung: Records of the right School of transmitting the Law. Nanjo No. 1529.
- iii. Tao Yuan: Records of the transmission of the lamp upto the Ching Teh Period—1004-1007 A.D. Nanjo No. 1524.

he was killed by Mirakutsu (Mihirakula?), a king belonging to the heretic faith, known for his destruction caused to Buddhist establishments and the massacre of the Buddhist monks in Kashmir. As a sequel, the line of 'Parampara' was discontinued after his death, because he could not find a suitable person to succeed him while he was alive. On the evidence of this document, it is very difficult for us to believe the claim that Bodhidharma was the 28th Patriarch of the Indian tradition. Moreover, as this claim was first made only in the 11th century A. D. by a staunch supporter of the Zen School in China, viz., Ch'i Sung, it can hardly convince us. We know that the motive behind this claim was to enhance the prestige of the said School.

### *III. The date of Bodhidharma's arrival in China*

The popular tradition<sup>4</sup> recorded in the literature of the Zen School tells us that Bodhidharma reached Canton in 527 A. D. (or 520 A.D. in another version) in the reign of Emperor Wu Ti of the Liang Dynasty (502-549 A.D.). It is stated in the same source that he met the Emperor. As this Emperor chiefly devoted his attention towards the building of monasteries, giving alms to the monks and so forth, he could not understand the mystical teachings of Bodhidharma and, therefore, the latter left him without being appreciated. However, other earlier and more reliable sources present us with quite a different picture. The following cases may be cited:—

1. Tao Hsuan (595-667 A.D.), author of the second series of Buddhist Biographies gives us a life-sketch of Bodhidharma where he says: 'He first reached the territory of the Sung Dynasty (420-479 A.D.) and then proceeded towards the North'. This Sung Dynasty came to an end in 479 A.D. Moreover, he does not mention anything about his interview with the Emperor of the Liang Dynasty. If we accept this version, we may safely place the date of his arrival somewhere between 420-479 A.D.

2. One of the chief disciples of Bodhidharma was Sheng Fu who met the Master sometime about 480 A.D. when he was about 17 years of age. Sheng Fu passed away in 524 A.D. at the age of 61 years.

4 See Nanjo Nos 1528, 1529 and 1524.

3. Hui Sheng,<sup>5</sup> another pupil of Bodhidharma learnt all the meditational methods from him and observed strictly the ascetic practices. He enjoyed the mature age of 70 years and died sometime between 502-519 A.D.

All the foregoing evidence leads us to the same conclusion, that is, that Bodhidharma reached China sometime round 480 A.D. If that is so, then the popular tradition about his arrival in 527 A.D. and about his meeting in the same year the Emperor of the Liang Dynasty, falls to the ground.

#### *IV. His teaching and relation with the later Zen Buddhism*

According to the general belief, it is said that the way of teaching adopted by Bodhidharma differed substantially from that of all the Buddhist missionaries who found their way into China. He seemed to have been a bad linguist because he never translated any Sanskrit text into Chinese, nor did he compose any literary piece. What was worse, judging by conventional standards, was that he preached an ultra-modern doctrine which seemed to harbour a profound hatred towards the traditional Buddhism as contained in the books. We quote below an outline of the fundamental principles of Zen Buddhism:—

“A special tradition outside the Scriptures;  
Not to depend on books or letters;  
To point direct to the heart of man;  
To see (one’s own) nature and become Buddha.”

These lines tell us of the Dhyāna School of the developed form. We believe they have been strictly observed by most of the Zen followers in the Far East. However, to have a glimpse of its early simple teachings and practices, we have to go back to the sayings and the mode of life of Bodhidharma and his immediate disciples.

In his short life-sketch we find that he used to instruct Hui K’ē, later on known as the Second Patriarch, the following twofold doctrine: One is ‘reasoning’ or the basic principle, and the other ‘practice’. As regards ‘reasoning’ he says:—

“I firmly believe that all living beings possess the same Real Nature (Svabhāva). But in most cases it has been covered

5 See Nanjio No. 1493. Ch. 6.

by the external dust of obstruction. I now ask them to give up falsehood and return to reality by gazing at the wall and meditating. They should not try to make any distinction between the self and others, between the saintly and the profane, but to stand firmly on these foundations and not to follow any other teachings. This, indeed, will be in concordance with the 'Tao' which is silent and devoid of activities".

Among the 'practices' there are four in number:—

**1. The attitude towards one's enemy—**

"During the course of religious training, calamity may fall on the practitioner. Under such circumstances, he should think that in the previous Kalpas he had been led astray and had many ties of attachment and hatred. In the present life he might have been freed from them, but the suffering should be regarded as the effect of the deeds performed in one's former births. Therefore, one should willingly face all the sorrows and should not harbour any enmity towards the wrong-doer..... When this occurs in one's mind, it is in accordance with the 'Tao', because trying to understand what is the nature of enmity is to enter into the path of 'Tao'.

**2. To be content with one's lot—**

"There is no *Ātmā* (soul) in living beings. Happiness and misery should be received calmly as they came. Even if one is treated with honour, it is due to his previous deeds; when their effect is over, it would not come again. Therefore there is no occasion for rejoicing. In the case of gain or loss, there should not be any difference in the tranquillity of the mind. If the Wind is calm and gentle with regard to success or failure, then, it is said to be in fitting accordance with the Dharma".

**3. The avoidance of hankering—**

"The ordinary folk have for a long time lost themselves in greed—that means hankering. A seeker after the Truth should be different from them. He ought to rest his mind on inactivities and let him face squarely whatever is his lot. Indeed, all the Three Worlds are full of sufferings and

nobody is secure. The Sūtra says:

‘Whatever you hanker after,  
The sequel is suffering.  
There will be happiness  
When one is devoid of greed.’

#### 4. To be in accordance with the Dharma—

This is meant that the Svabhāva or Real Nature is inherently pure.

. As Bodhidharma never composed anything himself, this sums up the total output of his teachings. In addition to this, we are told that he recommended to his disciples the study of the Lankāvatāra-sūtra. This is the only Mahāyāna text which had some connection with the Dhyāna School in its early stages.

Judging by the rather curt outlines of his teaching and the ascetic way of life of his immediate disciples, it appears to us that theoretically he had more or less based his philosophy on the interpretation of Buddha-nature in sentient beings as found in the Nirvāṇa Sūtra. Therefore, he regarded the saintly and the profane as on the same level, because intrinsically there would not be any difference between them. However, there is not the slightest hint of the theory of ‘Sudden Enlightenment’ here, though it is very prominent in the teachings of the later patriarchs and their disciples. Moreover, the apparently eccentric ways of teaching, such as giving a blow, a kick or a tweak of the nose, drawing a circle in the air, saying paradoxical things, answering questions with incoherency and all kinds of absurdities—adopted by the patriarchs after Hui Neng, the 6th Patriarch (639-713 A.D.) cannot be said to have originated with Bodhidharma, because he had nothing to do with them. On the contrary, the emphasis laid on austerity, self-contentment, self-mortification, the curb of desire, the belief in the effect of Karma, the insistence on concentration of mind by gazing at the blank wall, and other ascetic trends appear more akin to the early ‘Arhat’ ideal than the Mahāyāna Dhyāna practices seen after the 7th century A.D. To substantiate our statement, we cite a few examples in order to show what kind of austere life Bodhidharma’s disciples used to lead:—

(i) Hui K’ē, his chief disciple and in later generations known as the Second Patriarch, used to practise the teachings of Bodhidharma

very strictly. During the period of persecution of Buddhism started by Emperor Wu Ti of the Northern Chow Dynasty (561-578 A.D.) one of his arms was cut off by an assassin. As he took it calmly by adhering to his master's instructions, he did not feel any pain. To stop bleeding, he cauterized the wound with fire and bandaged it with a piece of cloth. He went on begging his alms as if nothing had happened.

(ii) Na Ch'an-shih, or Na, the Dhyāna master, was a disciple of Hui K'e. Before his renunciation he was a renowned Confucian scholar. From the time of his becoming a monk, he gave up reading non-Buddhist literature and never touched a pen. Regarding his personal possessions, he had only a robe, and a begging bowl. He ate only one meal a day and observed the practice of 'Dhūta' very strictly.

(iii) Hui Man, a disciple of Na Ch'an-shih and a great-grand-disciple of Bodhidharma, devoted himself to the practice of non-attachment. He had only a robe and ate once a day. There was no other property belonging to him except two needles. He needed them for mending his rug in the winter, but would discard them during the summer. Once he was meditating in an open ground which was covered by snow over five feet deep. Some one saw him and offered him free board and temporary lodging. He refused that kind offer and said :

"I would accept your invitation only when no one else in the whole world is alive!"

Besides, the lives led by his other immediate disciples like Sheng Fu (who died in 524 A. D.) and Hui Sheng (who died during 502-519 A. D.) are more or less like the ones described above. If we compare their spirit of self-mortification and quiet contemplation with the boisterous daring of burning a wooden image of the Buddha (by Tan Hsia) and the killing of a cat (by Nan Chuan) and other strange acts performed by later Dhyāna masters—supposed to contain the mystery of Dhyāna ideals—we would come to the conclusion that there is hardly any common ground between them. Thus, it would appear to be an irony of Fate that Bodhidharma was placed as the First Patriarch of the Zen School.

From the foregoing evidence we are led to believe firstly, that historically speaking Bodhidharma was very sober, simple-living and

comparatively less known than most of his contemporaries. The story of his meeting with the Emperor of the Liang Dynasty and other fabulous tales associated with his life cannot stand critical enquiry. Secondly, Bodhidharma's theories and practices concerning Dhyāna differed a good deal from those of the later patriarchs and their numerous disciples. If that is so, why was he regarded as the First Patriarch of the Zen School? Thirdly, the list of the six Patriarchs,

- 1. Bodhidharma
- 2. Hui K'e
- 3. Sheng Tsan
- 4. Tao Hsin
- 5. Hung Jen
- 6. Hui Neng (or Shen<sup>6</sup> Hsiu)

popularly known from the beginning of the 8th century A. D. and later on recorded in the Dhyāna literature written by Ch'i Sung in the 11th century A. D. was not found in early Buddhist historical records. Sheng Tsan, the Third Patriarch in our list, was not known to any author of the Buddhist Biographies (The second series completed in 645 A. D. and the third series in 988 A. D.). Tao Hsuan mentioned very briefly in his 'Biographies' the names of Tao Hsin and Hung Jen as teacher and pupil, but he did not say anything about their being the 4th and the 5th Patriarchs in the Bodhidharma line. Naturally, he could not, because he had already recorded the life-sketch of Hui Man, the great-grand-disciple of Bodhidharma.

On the face of all this, we would suggest that it is high time to correct wrong but popular traditions and beliefs concerning Bodhidharma and the patriarchs.

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<sup>6</sup> Shen Hsiu died in 706 A. D. The inscription on his tomb contains the above-mentioned list. It is claimed that he was the 6th Patriarch.

## The Buddhist View re. Eternity of the Vedas

Sāntarakṣita in his *Tattvasaṃgraha* has refuted the ‘nityatva’ (permanence) of the *Vedas*, which are regarded as eternal by the Mīmāṃsakas, according to whom words, meanings and their relationship are all eternal. The *Vedas* are without any condition before their existence nor have they any condition after them—they are authorless and eternal. The Mīmāṃsakas urge that the *Vedas* have unquestionable authority<sup>1</sup> as they are not human creations. As the five kinds of proof fail to establish the author of the *Vedas*, it is by the sixth proof i.e. proof of absence, the contention is established. Further, the *Vedas* being eternal are neither produced nor destroyed.<sup>2</sup>

Sāntarakṣita argues that the authority of the *Vedas* cannot be recognised in view of the fact that as the *Vedas* have got no author whose excellent qualifications would make him say the truth, knowledge derived from them is bound to be invalid. Again if the eternity of the *Vedas* is established on the ground of the absence of proof then the sky-flower should also be held as eternal.<sup>3</sup>

The Mīmāṃsakas argue that knowledge derived from the *Vedas* cannot be proved as invalid by inference, because inference is much inferior in authority to the proof of the revealed literature.<sup>4</sup> The Buddhists reply that inference is certainly of a superior authority to the *Vedas* which are nothing but sounds. If the sounds however are taken as proved by perception, then there is no justification as to why the words uttered by human beings should not be regarded so.

Again when Mīmāṃsakas argue that sound is eternal and omnipresent, because it is always and everywhere known like the Sun, the Buddhists reply that sound should not be accepted as omni-

1 सा हि प्रमाणं सर्वेषां नराकृततया स्थिता ।

वैतर्थ्यं प्रतिपद्यन्ते पोरुषेण्यो गिरो यतः ॥ *Tattvasaṃgraha*, sl. 2086

2 अकृतत्वाविनाशाभ्यां नित्यत्वं हि विवक्षितम् ।

तौ चाभावात्मकत्वेन नापेक्षेते स्वसाधनम् ॥ *Ibid.*, sl. 2105

3 Vide *Tattvasaṃgraha* sl. 2432: अतो गगनराजीव नित्यता इति न वास्तवी

4 प्रत्यक्षपक्षनिक्षिप्तं शास्त्रमेव यतः स्थितम् ।

बलवत्तरमित्येतदनुमानस्य बाधकम् ॥ *Ibid.*, sl. 2108

present for the reason that sounds are produced in different places and at different times. The Sun on the other hand is seen at all places by all persons. Experience (*pratyabhijñā*) not being a valid proof like perception cannot establish the eternity of sounds. Experience expresses—‘same as that’ and hence cannot represent perception which is free from reflection (*kalpanāpodbhām*).<sup>5</sup>

The words, according to the Mīmāṃsakas, are treated as eternal inasmuch as they express their meanings. In the *Sabdārthaparikṣā* it has been shown that there is no relation between the word and its meaning.<sup>6</sup>

Again it has been contended that words and letters being eternal, the sentences should also be accepted as eternal. Though some sentences and words like *guna*, *vriddhi* etc. may be used to express the wishes of their authors, yet that does not go against the eternity of the Vedas for they have got no authors and again for the reason that things described in the Vedas are beyond the power of human beings to witness.<sup>7</sup> The Buddhists in this connection argue that eternity of sentences need not be proved in the light of the fact that there is no connection between the objects and the sentences. If the sentences are merely combination of words, then the letters so combined have no meanings to express. If the letters arranged one after another are to be considered as a sentence then how can eternal letters have arrangement as they are for ever existent and omnipresent ?

Thus the Buddhists conclude by stating that the Vedas cannot be regarded as eternal and divine for the reason that they contain many unpleasant things as *kāma*, *mithyā*, *prāṇihimsā* etc.<sup>8</sup> Inasmuch as the theory of momentariness is established by Śugata the question of eternity of the Vedas should be dropped by all means.<sup>9</sup> Therefore

5 प्रत्यक्षप्रत्यभिज्ञा तु प्रागेव विनिवारिता ।

भ्रान्ते: सकलपनत्वाच्च नातो नित्यत्वनिश्चयः ॥ Ibid., sl. 2448

6 वस्तुतस्तु न सम्बन्धः शब्दस्थाथेन विद्यते । Ibid., 2470

7 न हेवं वैदिके शब्दे स स्वयम्प्रत्ययो यतः । Ibid., sl. 2775

8 सम्भाव्यते च वेदस्य विस्पष्टं पौरुषेयता ।

काममिथ्याकियाप्राणिहिं साऽसत्याभिधा तथा ॥ Ibid., sl. 2787

9 ततश्चापौरुषे येषु सत्याशा लज्यतामियम् । Ibid., sl. 2795

as the Vedas have no authority on points of Dharma,<sup>10</sup> one should try to learn it from a person who is pure and who possesses pure knowledge of the universe in order to obtain truth and emancipation.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> धर्मं प्रति न सिद्धाऽतश्चोदनानां प्रमाणता । Ibid., sl. 2809

<sup>11</sup> ज्ञानालोकव्यपास्तान्तस्तमोराशः पुमानतः ।

श्रुत्यर्थानां विविक्षानामुपदेशकृदिष्यताम् ॥ Ibid., 2810

## Pāṭaliputra : Its Importance in the History of Buddhism

*Name and Location*—Pāṭaliputra, the later capital of the Magadhan empire, was recognised as one of the six great cities of ancient India. The various forms of the name Pāṭaliputra are Pāṭaliputta (Pāli); Pāḍaliputta (Prakrit), Palibothra<sup>1</sup> or Palimbothra;<sup>2</sup> Pa-lien-fu (Chinese).<sup>3</sup> The city was otherwise known as Puṣpapura or Kuśumapura.<sup>4</sup>

All the sources of information about the city of Pāṭaliputra suggest its location to the southern bank of the Ganges near the ancient site of modern Patna. The village Pāṭaligāma (earlier name of the place) lay opposite to Koṭigāma on the northern bank of the Ganges which formed the boundary between Magadha and the territory of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Jaina *Vividha-tīrthakalpa* the city was built on the bank of the Ganges near the confluence of the great rivers of Mid-India, the Ganges, the Sone and the Gandak. Patañjali locates the city just on the bank of the Sone (*anuśonam Pāṭaliputram*)<sup>6</sup> while in *Mudrārākṣasa* (IV. 16) Malayaketu is said to have crossed the river Sone to reach Pāṭaliputra. These accounts indicate that formerly the river Sone met the Ganges at the ancient site of Pāṭaliputra but later receded westwards.

Fa-Hien coming from Vaiśālī crossed the river Ganges and walked southwards for a *yojana* along the river and reached Pāṭaliputra.<sup>7</sup> Prolonged excavations carried out by the Archaeological Department have led to the exact location of the city of Pāṭaliputra,

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p.65.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (N.G. Mazumdar edition), p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Beal, *Records of the Western World*, I, iv.

<sup>4</sup> *Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta* (C.I.I.); *Mahāvarīsa*, ch. 18, 5; *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> *Digha Nikāya*, II, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> *Mahābhāṣya*, 2. 1. 2. p. 510.

<sup>7</sup> Legge, p. 77, *Northern India According to the Shui-Ching-Chu* by L. Petech, p. 42.

the remains of which have been found in the villages of Kumrāhār, Bulandi-Bāgh and other outskirts of the city of Patna.<sup>8</sup>

### *Buddhist Heritages of the City*

*Pre-Maurya Period:* At the time of Buddha, Pāṭaliputra was merely a village named Pāṭaligama (*op. cit.*). During his last visit to the village while he was passing from Rājagṛha to Vaiśālī, shortly before his death, Buddha prophesied about the future greatness of the village and its ultimate destruction by fire, inundation and internal dissensions. At this time King Ajātaśatru employed two brāhmaṇ ministers Vassakāra and Sunīdha to build a fortress at Pāṭaligāma as a precaution against the Vajjian attack. In honour of Buddha the people of Pāṭaliputra called the gate, Gotamadvāra, through which he left the city and the ferry ghat, Gotamatittha, at which he crossed the Ganges.<sup>9</sup>

The *Udāna*<sup>10</sup> relates that a large hall was constructed in the middle of the village of Pāṭali for the officers of Ajātaśatru. At the request of the villagers, Buddha passed a night in the hall. On the following day, he delivered a sermon to the people on the five kinds of reward of observance of precepts and the five kinds of disadvantages of an evil doer.<sup>11</sup> At a later date a brāhmaṇ householder of Aṅga built an assembly hall for the Saṅgha of Pāṭaliputra.<sup>12</sup>

After the demise of Buddha, the waterpot and the girdle used by him were deposited in the city of Pāṭaliputra.<sup>13</sup>

According to the Buddhist traditions Ajātaśatru in his later life became an earnest and enthusiastic devotee of Buddha. After Ajātasātru, his son, Udāyībhadra reigned for 16 years. Udāyībhadra was succeeded by Anuruddha and then by Muṇḍa. Muṇḍa, it seems, had leanings towards Buddhism, because, just after the death of his queen Bhadrā he approached Bhikkhu Nārada at Pāṭaliputra and listened to a discourse on the impermanence of worldly objects.<sup>14</sup>

8 *Annual Reports (A.S.I.)* 1912-13, pp. 54-59.

9 *Vinaya*, I, pp. 226-230; *Dīgha*, II, 86 ff.

10 *Udāna*, VIII, 6; *Ud. A.*, 407 ff.

11 *Dīgha*, II, pp. 85-86.

12 *Majjhima*, II, 57 ff.

13 *Buddhavarāṇsa*, ch. XXVIII.

14 *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, pp. 57 ff.

One hundred years after the demise of Buddha, the Second Buddhist Council was held for the purpose of settling disputes over certain Vinaya rules. Due to the difference of opinions, the Buddhist Church was split into two and afterwards into more than eighteen schools. The seceders were known as the Mahāsāṅghikas and the orthodox party as the Theravādins.

According to Hiuen Tsang, Khujjasobhita, a prominent member of the Second Council belonged to Pāṭaliputra.<sup>15</sup>

The Mahāsāṅghikas had great influence at Pāṭaliputra and though the Theravādins lived side by side with the other school they could not live with the Mahāsāṅghikas and finally receded westwards.<sup>16</sup>

After Kālāśoka and his descendants another new dynasty headed by Nanda came to the throne of Magadha. According to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, a Sanskrit Buddhist text, Nanda was a great patron of Buddhism. King Nanda, at the advice of his spiritual teacher, offered several gifts to the Caityas which were built on the deposited relics of Buddha.<sup>17</sup> Mahāpadma Nanda, son and successor of Nanda, was also devoted to Buddhism and provided the monks at Kusumapura with all their requisites.<sup>18</sup>

Bu-ston quotes from the *Mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarīka* Buddha's prediction of a list of successive guardians of his doctrine after his death and cites the names of two monks Aśvagupta and Uttara, both of whom belonged to Pāṭaliputra.<sup>19</sup>

All the facts stated above show that within a century after Buddha's demise the main centre of Buddhism along with the capital of Magadha was shifted from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra, which also became the stronghold of the Mahāsāṅghikas.<sup>20</sup>

*Maurya Period* : Pāṭaliputra attained pre-eminence during the rule of the Mauryas. The first two emperors of this dynasty Candragupta and Bindusāra, were not so much in favour of Buddhism as were

15 Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. II, p. 28,

16 *Buddhist Sects* by N. Dutt, in B. C. Law Volume I, pp. 285-286.

17 *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, pp. 611-612.

18 Tāraṇātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus* by Scheitner, p. 55.

19 Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*, vol. 2, p. 109.

20 *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. II, p. 30.

their remote ancestors, the Moriyas of Pippalivana, who took a share of the relics of Buddha and erected a stūpa over them.<sup>21</sup>

Āśoka surpassed all of his ancestors by his outstanding system of administration and by his broad religious outlook. Though Āśoka showed sympathy and favour to all religious creeds, there are clear evidences which reveal his strong faith and leanings towards the doctrine of Buddha and his Order.

As the accounts of the Chinese travellers testify, Pāṭaliputra was the first place where Āśoka commenced his activities for the benefit of Buddhism. He took out the relics preserved in the seven stūpas (vide *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*), distributed them all over his dominion and erected on them stūpas of which the very first was constructed at Pāṭaliputra.<sup>22</sup> Āśoka it is said did this pious act at the advice of Upagupta, the spiritual teacher of the emperor.<sup>23</sup>

Huen Tsang furnishes us with the information that there was a miraculous stone with Buddha's foot-print, placed in a temple near the relic tope at Pāṭaliputra. Buddha stood on this stone before his departure from Magadha towards Kuśinagara.<sup>24</sup> Near that temple there was an Āśokan pillar, more than thirty feet in height with an inscription recording Āśoka's deep faith and his offer of the whole of Jambudvīpa (his empire) to the Buddhist Saṅgha.<sup>25</sup>

About two hundred yards north from the stūpa Āśoka built a new palace called Ne-le and erected another stone pillar known by the same name with a lion capital on the top of it and an inscription.

Both Dr. Spooner and Col. Waddell, who carried on excavations at the ancient site of Pāṭaliputra, support the statements of the Chinese travellers that Āśoka erected two pillars, some fragments of polished sandstone of which were traced by Col. Waddell.<sup>26</sup>

During the excavations at the site, a well, known as Agam Kuāñ (unfathomable well) was discovered. It was a large circular well

<sup>21</sup> *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya*.

<sup>22</sup> Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, p. 91; Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, p. 70; *Samantu-pāśādikā*, Introduction; *Sumāngalavilāsini*.

<sup>23</sup> Wattēs, vol. II, p. 91.

<sup>24</sup> Watters, II p. 92, Legge p. 79.

<sup>25</sup> Watters, II, p. 93, Legge p. 79.

<sup>26</sup> *Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa*, by H. Quereshi, A.S.I., 1931, p. 102. Henceforth shortened as *Ancient Monuments*.

(20 feet and 2 inches in diameter), the walls of which were raised about 10 feet above the ground level and had eight windows. Huen Tsang perhaps witnessed this well and identified it with Aśoka's Prison. He is supported by Waddell. The tradition about the prison is as follows:<sup>27</sup> Aśoka, when he was very cruel (before his conversion to Buddhism) constructed a prison called 'Hell' which accommodated one thousand inhabitants within a walled city in order to punish the unruly citizens. But one day the king was overwhelmed at the sight of the magical power of a Buddhist Śramaṇa who was thrown into the Prison, and since then he destroyed the 'Prison' and made the penal code liberal.<sup>28</sup>

Among other objects noticed by Huen Tsang, there are, (i) a large stone vessel, which Aśoka said to have kept to hold the food for monks;<sup>29</sup> (ii) a large cave excavated at the instance of Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra for the use of Mahendra who joined the Buddhist order and attained the state of Arhathood;<sup>30</sup> (iii) caves for the use of Upagupta and other Arhats on a small hill to the south west of the city. By the hill side there were stone foundations of an old terrace and holy tanks<sup>31</sup> and (iv) five stupas to the south-west of this very hill in a dilapidated condition. In later period some other smaller stupas were built upon this main stupa.

Col. Waddell identified the above cave-dwelling of Upagupta with the Chota-Pahari site of Pañch Pahari now known as Bara Pahari in the village of Nirandanpur Kharuma. The Panch Pahari was a group of five mounds containing five stupas constructed by Aśoka. The Bara Pahari mound was the largest and highest of all in the area. Dr. Spooner discovered a few fragments of Chunar stone probably of the Mauryan period and remains of two brick stupas. Dr. Spooner supposes that all the five stupas which Aśoka built were in this single mound. In one of the stupas Dr. Spooner found an empty relic chamber and a small very early type of a Tritatna symbol.<sup>32</sup>

27 *Ancient Monuments*, p. 96.

28 Watters, vol. II, p. 88.

29 Watters, vol. II, p. 93.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

31 *Ancient Monuments*, p. 96.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

*The Monastery of Kukkuṭārāma*

Kukkuṭārāma was a park at Pāṭaliputra. The Kukkuṭārāma vihāra was situated in a garden named Upakanṭhakārāma on the right bank of the Ganges<sup>33</sup>. Originally the monastery was built by Kukkuṭasetṭhi<sup>34</sup>. It became an āvāsa of monks and a favourite resort of Ānanda<sup>35</sup>. A monk named Bhadda, also a resident of the monastery, had conversation with Ānanda on the subjects of true religion, objects of recollection etc<sup>36</sup>. The Elders Nitavāsi, Sānavāsi, Gopaka, Bhagu, Phalikasandana lived here<sup>37</sup>. At a later date here resided Bhikkhu Nārada who delivered a discourse to king Muṇḍa<sup>38</sup>. Soṇaka, the preceptor of Siggava, Thera Caṇḍavajji, the teacher of Moggaliputta Tissa lived in this monastery<sup>39</sup>. Upagupta also resided in this monastery<sup>40</sup>.

According to Tāranātha and *Divyāvadāna*, Puṣyamitra made an attempt to destroy the monastery but was obstructed, as the legend goes, by the roar of a lion which appeared miraculously.<sup>41</sup>

Huen Tsang located the Kukkuṭārāma to the south-east of the old city of Pāṭaliputra. Perhaps the old shrine of Kukkuṭārāma fell into decay before Aśoka. Asoka built another monastery over the ruins of the old one which at a later date was known as Aśokārāma. Tissa, the younger brother of Aśoka, was ordained in this monastery and he lived here.

In the Pāli commentaries and Ceylonese Chronicles it is stated that the Third Buddhist Council of the Theravada School was convened in this monastery under the patronage of Aśoka. Huen Tsang also mentioned an assembly of one thousand Buddhist monks in this monas-

33 *Aśokāvadāna* in R. L. Mitra's *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, 6f. vide, N. L. De's *Dictionary*, p. 152.

34 *Majjhima Aṭṭhakathā*, II, 571; *Āṅguttara Aṭṭhakathā*, II, 866.

35 *Āṅguttara*, v. 342; *Majjhima*, i. 349.

36 *Samyutta*, v. pp. 15-16; 171-172.

37 *Vinaya*, I. 300, vide, Malalasekara's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. I, p. 615

38 *op cit.*

39 *Mahavamsa*, v. 122; *Dictionary of Pali Proper Name*, by G. P. Malalasekara, I, p. 615.

40 *Svayambhū Purāṇa*, ch. I.

41 *Divya*., pp. 381 ff; 430 ff.

tery.<sup>42</sup> In the *Divyāvadāna* the number of monks is given 30000 but they did not come to hold a council but only to attend Aśoka's first 'quinquennial festival of the holy priesthood.' The senior among them was the great Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja who had seen the Buddha.<sup>43</sup>

Aśoka used to provide daily food for all monks residing at the Aśokārāma.<sup>44</sup> A large number of monks from Aśokārāma headed by *Mittihina* went to Anurādhapura of Ceylon to celebrate the foundations of the Mahāthūpa.<sup>45</sup> From this monastery Mahinda set out on his mission to Ceylon.<sup>46</sup>

Thera Dhammarakkhita, teacher of Nāgasena, lived in this monastery.<sup>47</sup> Indagutta Thera (date unknown) was appointed by the king of the country to superintend the building of the Vihāra of Aśokārāma.<sup>48</sup>

### *The Āmalaka and the Gong Tope*

Huen Tsang found a large tope called Āmalaka stūpa just by the side of Kukkuṭārāma. He records that when Samprati ascended the throne after Aśoka's retirement he stopped the Aśoka's largesses to the Buddhist church and reduced gradually his allowance which was given away by him to the Sangha. At last Samprati gave him half an āmalaka fruit in an earthen pot. Aśoka sent even this half to the bhikkhus of Kukkuṭārāma. Yaśa, the abbot of the monastery, had the fruit cooked "to keep the kernal and have a tope raised" over it.<sup>49</sup> This mound was situated to the east of modern Ranipura within the Kukkuṭārāma.<sup>50</sup>

Huen Tsang witnessed another tope called Gong-Call Tope in an old monastery to the north-west of the Āmalaka Tope. He narrates the legend of the foundation of this tope also. Formerly there were in the city about one hundred monasteries with the "Brethren of high

42 Watters, vol. II, p. 98.

43 *Divyā.*, p. 398 ff. v. 80; 163, 174, 234, 276.

44 *Mahavarīsa*,

45 *Ibid.*, xxix, 36.

46 *Samantapāśādikā*, I. 69.

47 *Milinda*, pp. 16-18.

48 *Samantapāśādikā*, i. pp. 48-49.

49 Watters, vol. II, pp. 99-100; *Divya.*, p. 430.

50 N. L. De, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 152.

character and the Tīrthikas (heretics) were silenced. The Buddhist clergy gradually died and there was a great falling off in their successors.” The Tīrthikas assembled in the city and defeated the Buddhists in discussion and as a result occupied the Buddhist monastery and gained royal favour. After twelve years Deva Pusa (Āryadeva) a disciple of Nāgārjuna (Pusa Bodhisattva) of South India came to Pāṭaliputra and defeated them in an open meeting. “The king and his minister’s were greatly pleased and raised this sacred structure as a memorial”. But according to Fang-Chih it was not Āryadeva but Nāgārjuna himself who defeated the Tīrthikas<sup>51</sup>.

### *After Aśoka*

The successors of Aśoka were not in favour of Buddhism and so the traditions are silent on the condition of Buddhism in Pāṭaliputra during their reigns. But there is no doubt that Pāṭaliputra still continued to be a centre of Buddhist learning for several centuries.

Though Puṣyamitra Suṅga, the usurper of the Maurya throne was an adherent of Brahmanism, he was not so antagonistic towards Buddhist monks as stated in the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Aśokāvadāna*<sup>52</sup>. According to these texts, Puṣyamitra attempted to destroy the monastery of Pāṭaliputra<sup>53</sup> and declared the reward of one hundred dinaras to one who would bring the head of a Buddhist monk. Buddhism however was in flourishing condition within the boundary of the Magadhan empire under the Suṅgas. Besides the massive construction of the Sānchi Stūpa, archaeological antiquities of this period have been traced from Pāṭaliputra<sup>54</sup>.

According to the *Petavatthu commentary* (pp.244 ff) the general of King Piṅgala of Saurāṣṭra came to Pāṭaliputra and embraced Buddhism. King Pañdu of Pāṭaliputra (date not mentioned), his vassal Guhasiva and his subordinate King Cittāyana were converted to Buddhism<sup>55</sup>. Two Brahmins of Pāṭaliputra set out for Ceylon to meet Mahānāga Thera, a famous monk of the Island<sup>56</sup>.

51 Watters, vol. II, pp. 100-102.

52 *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. 2, p. 256.

53 *Op. cit.*

54 A beautiful Triratna slab of high artistic value of the Suṅga period was found in Pāṭaliputra.—Annual Reports of 1912-13, A.S. I (1916), p. 77.

55 *Dāthāvamsa*, by B.C. Law, pp. XII-XIV.

56 *Ānguttara Nikāya Atthakathā*, i. 384.

Tāraṇātha relates that during the reign of Kanīṣka, a brahmin named Vidu was making one thousand copies of the sacred Buddhist texts at Pāṭaliputra, while Huen Tsang states that the great Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa lived in a house at Pāṭaliputra<sup>57</sup>.

As archaeological evidence of the presence of Buddhism, a large Bodhisattva image of Mathurā school of the Kuṣāṇa period, was found at the site of Pāṭaliputra<sup>58</sup>.

#### *Period of the Guptas and Kanauj King Harṣavardhana*

- Fa-Hien (or Fa-hsien) visited the city during the reign of Candragupta II. At the time of his visit there resided in the city a great learned Brāhmaṇa named Rādhasvāmi, a professor of Mahāyāna doctrine. The king of the country honoured and showed reverence to him. He might be more than fifty years old and all the kingdom looked up to him as a great teacher<sup>59</sup>.

According to the traveller<sup>60</sup>, the cities and towns of Magadha were the greatest of all in the Middle Kingdom (Central India). The inhabitants were rich and prosperous and vied with each other in the practice of benevolence and religious ceremonies. Every year on the eighth day of the second month they used to take out a procession of images.

By the side of the tope of Aśoka there was a Mahāyāna monastary, a very grand and beautiful structure and there was also a Hinayāna one, two together containing six or seven hundred monks. A brāhmaṇ teacher, Mañjuśrī of the greatest virtue to whom the Samaṇas and the Mahāyāna Bhiksus in the country showed honour, lived in this monastery.

A Bodhisattva image brought from Mathurā of early Gupta period was found in the ruins of a building at Pāṭaliputra.<sup>61</sup>

Dr. Spooner discovered a maze of ruined brick walls of the late Gupta period extending over the entire area of excavations.

Numerous clay sealings of which one or two were old but the majority belonged to the Gupta period had been found at the site.<sup>62</sup>

57 Watters, vol. 2, p. 102, p. 107.

58 *Ancient Monuments*.

59 Legge, p. 78.

60 *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

61 *Annual Reports*, op cit, p. 26.

62 *Ancient Monuments*, p. 102.

Buddhism had already begun to decline before the visit of Huen Tsang who travelled over this country for 16 years during the reign of Kanauj King Harṣavardhana. Huen Tsang witnessed Buddhism in a gradually decaying condition in many places of India. In the places like Malava, Mahārāṣṭra, Kanauj and Jalandhara where once Buddhism overshadowed all other religions, the traveller found Buddhists and non-Buddhists in equal number. But still in Pāṭaliputra along with Ayodhyā and Sind, Buddhist establishments and the monks of both the Vehicles were of far greater number in comparison to the Devas and the Heretics.<sup>63</sup> In the view of the traveller there were fifty monasteries with ten thousands monks but only ten Deva temples in Pāṭaliputra.<sup>64</sup>

Ou-Kong, who came after Huen Tsang, found Buddhism in a flourishing condition in Magadha. He stayed in a monastery of the Chinese which was probably situated at Pāṭaliputra. This was a rich monastery frequented by the monks and their disciples.<sup>65</sup>

Our history of Buddhism in Pāṭaliputra ends here on account of the final destruction of the city. Though the exact causes and the time of destruction are hitherto unknown to us yet the discovery of burnt wooden structures and the masses of alluvial soil over the site suggest that the first two of the three dangers if not the third one predicted by Buddha were the main catastrophes and it occurred long before the rise of the Pālas of Bengal. But the fame of Pāṭaliputra lasted even at the time of Alberuni in the tenth or at the commencement of the eleventh century A.D.<sup>66</sup>

#### *Archeological finds*

Archaeological finds which were discovered during the prolonged excavations testify that Pāṭaliputra was a great centre of Buddhism for more than one thousand years. Interesting discoveries bearing

63 Vide *Decline of Buddhism in India*, by R. C. Mitra, p. 3.

64 Watters, II, pp. 86, 165.

65 *Decline of Buddhism*, p. 18.

66 Alberuni's *India*, vol. I, p. 200. Vide N. L. De's *Dictionary of Geography of Ancient India*, p. 151.

Buddhist antiquities (besides those which are mentioned above) found out by the Archaeological Survey of India are as follows:<sup>67</sup>

1. Fragment of sandstone polished on both sides and with one face decorated with very narrow flutings (Mauryan).
2. A smooth slab of stone bearing in low incision an admirable figure of the Triratna symbol, the conventional trident representing the Buddhist Trinity with the Wheel of Law underneath.
3. Inscribed stone fragment possibly from the Triratna slab (Maurya or Sunga period).
4. A matrix bearing a trio of a very archaic symbols probably of 3rd century B.C.
5. Oval terracotta plaque bearing apparently, a picture of Bodh-Gayā temple in the centre with a figure of Buddha seated inside.
6. Head of a small Buddha figure in terracotta (probably from the plaque).
7. Matrix of baked clay bearing the legend ("seal of Buddha-rakṣita) in Brahmi character of the most primitive form.
8. Seal bearing the Buddhist creed in the lower half of a complete stūpa containing a figure of Buddha and flanked by two Bodhisattvas above.
9. A hoard of 52 Kuṣāṇa copper coins, containing coins of Kadphises II, Kaniska and Huviṣka.
10. Two gold coins of Kuṣāṇa type.

BINAYENDRANATH CHAUDHURI

## An early Buddha Statue from Yünnan

The statue reproduced on plates 1-3 hails from Yünnan province. In another paper<sup>1</sup> it is described as follows:

Bronze-statue of Kuan-yin P'u-sa. Originally gilded. Height about seven inches including pedestal. This is considerably damaged, the lower and some of the upper part having broken away. The remainder of the halo and three pegs which fixed it to the body are still visible on plate 3. The Bodhisattva whose Chinese name corresponds to Sanskrit Avalokiteśvara, is standing upright, the left hand carrying an alms-bowl, the right hand a willow-wisp.

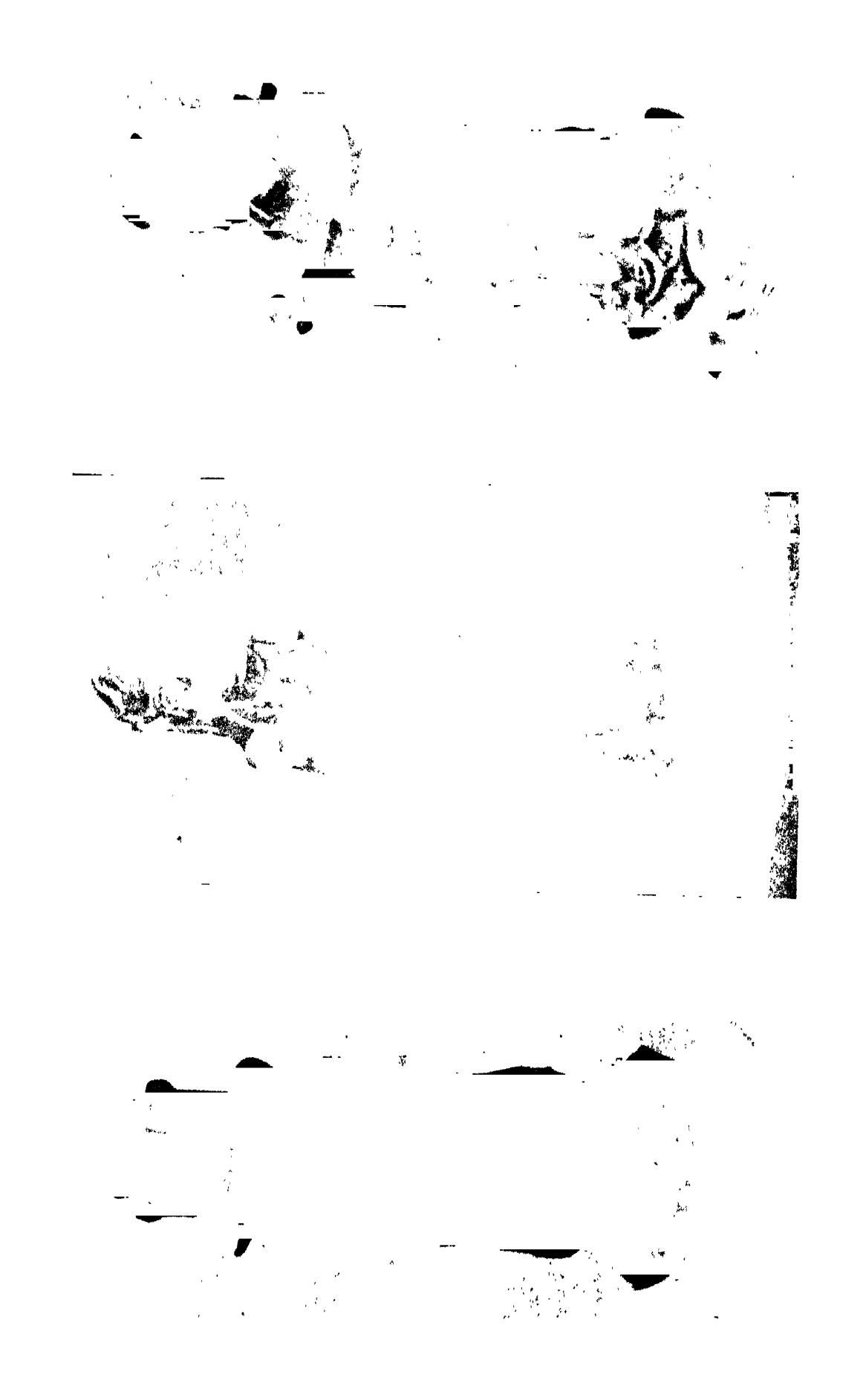
The following story went with the statue. Originally it had been in the *garbha* of the great pagoda of Ch'ung-sheng Ssu near Tali city<sup>2</sup> but had dropped down during an earthquake. The military, stationed in the monastery, found it and sold it. Thus it got into the market. As Chinese curio-dealers usually collect all possible knowledge with regard to the origin of their curios in the interest of their foreign customers this legend might be true though it is unverifiable. The heavy damage which the precious piece has suffered is otherwise unexplainable.

The Chinese origin of the statue cannot be doubted. But it is not impossible that it was cast by Chinese artisans in Yünnan. As much as we know now, the first bronze figures were cast there in the year 810 A.D. The style of the statue suggests rather an earlier date. During the period of the T'ang Dynasty (618-907) the folds of garments began to come off from the body and float freely while on our sample they drop stiffly and perpendicularly. Early Chinese Buddhist bronzes were copies from stone-Buddhas and follow the rules valid for stone sculpture. Besides, the halo seems to have been pointed.

If the statue was not cast in Yünnan, it might have got there with an embassy. Embassies plied between Ch'ang-an, the Chinese

<sup>1</sup> *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. V. 1 (1955) p. 67 n.4.

<sup>2</sup> *Monumenta Serica*, XII (1947) pp. 6-16.





capital, and Tali, the capital of the Tali Kingdom, since the middle of the seventh century, but the intercourse was interrupted between 751 and 788. As the pagoda was begun in A.D. 833, the statue might have been brought to Tali between 788 and 833 A.D.

Whatever that may be, it is one of the most charming Chinese Buddhas I know of and deserves well to be published for the first time in this volume in honour of Lord Buddha.

WALTER LIEBENTHAL

## A Note on the *Āryadharmaḍhātugarbhavivarāṇa*

The *Āryadharmaḍhātugarbhavivarāṇa*, ‘Discussion on the root of Dharmaḍhātu’ (phags pa chos kyi dbyiñs kyi sñiñ po’i rnam par ’grel), which is not available in Sanskrit and Chinese sources, is preserved in its Tibetan version in the Bstan ’gyur collection (mdo, nu, pp. 244b:7 -245b:4). It is mainly an interpretation of the famous verse

*ye dharmāḥ betuprabhavāḥ hetum teṣāṁ Tathāgato hyavadat /  
teṣāṁ ca yo nirodha evamvādī Mahāśramaṇah //<sup>1</sup>*

The author attempts to comment upon the technical terms, such as, *dharma*, *hetuprabhava*, *Tathāgata* and *Mahāśramaṇa*. He classifies *dharmas* into seven *nidānas*: *Vijñāna* (consciousness), *nāma-rūpa* (mental and physical elements), *saḍāyatana* (six senses), *sparśa* (touch), *vedanā* (feeling), *jāti* (birth) and *jarāmarana* (old age and death). These seven *dharmas* originate from the five *hetus* (causal factors), so they are *hetuprabhava*. The five *hetus* are: *Avidyā* (ignorance), *trṣṇā* (thirst), *upādāna* (grasping), *saṃskāra* (impulses) and *bhava* (becoming). The cessation of the above-mentioned *dharmas* and of the five *hetus* is itself *Nirvāṇa* or *Vimukti* (freedom).

According to the author, *Tathāgata* is one, who teaches others the true nature of things without any error. He fares in the same way which reveals truth to others. He speaks what he sees (lit. hears), so he is *evamvādī*. Then the author explains the meaning of the term *mahā* (in *mahāśramaṇa*) by referring to various synonyms, such as: *pāṇḍita* (wise), *śūra* (brave), *tāpasa* (recluse) etc. *Tathāgata* is spoken of as *pāṇḍita*, because he knows everything knowable; *Tathāgata* is *śūra*, because he destroys all sufferings; *Tathāgata* is *tāpasa*, because he practises *śīla* (moral conduct) strictly.

The attributes of a *Brāhmaṇa* and those of a *Sramaṇa* are then compared to illustrate greater abilities of the latter. While a *Brāhmaṇa* becomes free from vices, a *Sramaṇa* totally removes the fetters of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mahāvastu* (Senart’s edn.), III, p. 62; *Vinayapiṭaka Mahāvagga*, I p. 146.

sufferings, so he possesses no vice. He is ordained (*pravrajita*) for he has removed all his defilements.

At the end of the text, the author opens a short discussion on the Four Noble Truths. He adds that, while suffering, its causal factors, and the cessation of those causal factors are explicitly mentioned in this verse '*ye dharmāḥ* etc', the *mārgasatya* (the way to cessation) is also necessarily implied here, though not explicitly stated. By the *anuloma* order the *betus* (i.e. *avidyā* and others) lead to the effects (*jarāmaraya* etc). On the other hand, reversely, the cessation of *avidyā* and others will lead to the cessation of the *jarāmaraya* etc. by the *pratiloma* order. If there be no *avidyā* there will be no *saṃskāra* and so on.

Regarding the critical estimation of the small text, it may be said that, the text shows the attempt made by Mahāyāna thinkers to comment on the above-mentioned verse, which has been explained by the Pali commentators. The Pali commentary, *Samantapāśādikā*<sup>2</sup>, interprets the verse more briefly. It mentions *hetuppabbava* is the five *khandhas* (the constituent elements), but it does not attempt to explain the meaning of '*dhamma*'.

Nāgārjuna has his own method of interpreting the *Pratītyasamutpāda* doctrine. For example, in the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* (iten ciñ 'brel par byuñ ba'i sñiñ po'i tshigs le'ur byas pa) preserved in Tibetan and Chinese sources (Tai-So No. 1654) of Nāgārjuna, he divides the twelve *nidānas* into three groups<sup>3</sup>, such as, *kleśa* (defilement), *karma* (action) and *duḥkha* (pain). *Avidyā*, *trṣṇā* and *upādāna* belong to *kleśa* group; *saṃskāra* and *bhava* belong to *karma* group, and, the rest are of *duḥkha* group. But in our text, Nāgārjuna takes *avidyā*, *trṣṇā* and *upādāna*—which make up the *kleśa* group, and.

2 Mahākhandakavāṇī, p. 728 (Colombo Hewavitarana edn.)

3 Yan lag bye brag 'bcu gñis gañ/  
thub pas iten 'byuñ gsuñs te dag/  
ñon moñs las dañ sdug bsñal dañ/  
gsum po dag tu zad par 'dus//  
dañ po brgyad dañ dgu ñon moñs/  
gñis dañ bcu pa las yin te/  
lhag ma bdun du sdug bsñal yin/  
bcu gñis chos ni gsum du 'dus//, (mdo, tsa, fol. 158—Bstan 'gyur)

Cf. Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sāstra (Chinese Version) Tai So edn. 1509 f. 100b

*samskara* and *bhava* which make up the *karma* group of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-hṛdaya* together, and puts all the five under *hetu*. The remaining seven are together placed under *dharma*<sup>4</sup>.

Secondly, it is to be noted that the acceptance of the *mārgasatya* as implied in this verse is found also in the Pali Commentary<sup>5</sup> as well as in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sāstra* (Chinese version)<sup>6</sup> of Nāgārjuna. Nāgārjuna quotes the verse ‘ye dharmāḥ etc’ in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sāstra* with reference to the discussion on *anuloma* and *pratiloma* orders of Buddha’s teaching. He says “It is evident that, when the first three out of the Four Noble Truths are mentioned, necessarily the fourth one, Noble Eightfold Path, i.e. *mārgasatya*, is also implied”.

As regards the authorship of the *Āryadharma-dhātugarbhavivarāṇa*; the Dkar chag (of Siār than edition Bstan’gyur) and the Colophon of the Tibetan version of the text mention the name of *klu grub* i. e. *Nāgārjuna* as the author. But, the Dkar chag also mentions the title of *Dharmadhātugarbhavivarāṇa* (chos kyi dbyiis kyi sñiin po’i rnam par ’grel) as the work of Dul ba’i go cha or *Vinitavarman*<sup>7</sup> without giving any corresponding text.

However, from the internal evidences, it may be inferred that Nāgārjuna, the author of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-hṛdaya* as well as of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*, in all probability wrote the commentary on the verse “ye dharmāḥ etc” in order to explain the dharmadhātu (the essential nature of the dharmas and their causal factors), which constitute the theme of the doctrine of *Pratītyasamutpāda*. It may be that Vinayavarma (Vinitavarman) made another commentary,

4 See Compendium of Philosophy (by Aung) p. 259-264 for different divisions of *nidānas*.

Cp. Nāgārjuna on the Buddhist theory of Causation by N. Aiyaswami Sastri (K. V. Rangaswami Aiyanger Commemoration Volume)

5 .....Maggasaccam panittha sarūpato adassitamapi/ nayato dassitam hoti/nirodhe hi utte tassa sampāpako maggo utta va hoti/ ..... ... (Saman-tapāsādikā p. 728 Colombo edn.)

6 Nanjio 1169; Tai-so edn. vol. 25, 1509 192b

7 Catalogue (vol. II, p 399), mdo ’grel LXXII : 2, 3, does not give the page number of the text. Tohoku Imperial University Catalogue mentions only the text of Nāgārjuna (No. 4101)

*Dharmadhātugarbha-vivaraṇi*, which was evidently translated into Tibetan but the translation has not come down to us.

आर्यधर्मधातुगर्भविवरणं नाम ॥

रन्नत्याय नमः ॥

ये धर्मा हेतु प्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतो शब्दत् ।

तेषां च यो निरोध एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥ इत्युक्तम् ।

तत्र 'ये धर्मा' इति सप्तविधा ज्ञेयाः । विज्ञानं नामस्त्वं षड्यायतनं स्पर्शो वेदना जाति-  
जरामरणं च । ते धर्माः पवधामसुत्पत्ता इति 'हेतुप्रभवा' । पवहेतवः कतमे? अविद्या  
तृष्णोपादानं संस्कारो भवत्त्वेति ते पवहेतवः । ये च सप्तविधा धर्मास्तेषां ये च पवहेतव-  
स्तेषां च यो निरावः<sup>8</sup> । म एव उच्यते उपशमां विमुक्तिर्निवाणम् । म तथागतस्य  
देशितो भावितः स्वाह्यातोऽर्थः ।

यथार्थस्तिष्ठति तथाव<sup>9</sup>गच्छतीति तथागतो शब्दत् । यो इ भावान् यथावद्ब्रान्तेनान्येषां  
तथावद्वगमयतीति<sup>10</sup> म तथागतः । यथामार्गप्रवगमयति स्वयमेव तथा चरतीति । यथा  
श्रुतं तथैव वदतीति 'एवंवादी' ।

'महान्' इति प्रधानः थेषुः परम उत्तमोऽर्थः । तस्य वादी । यः परिडतः शूरस्तापसो  
मझेत्साहो वीर्यवान् अद्वृतसमुदाचारः म हि महान् । हे यमरोषं वेतीति परिडतः ।  
मर्वान् क्लेशान् हन्तीति शूरः । शोलं सम्यग्भावयतीति तापसः । न गुणादिषु निर्विद्यते  
मझेत्साहः । शीर्षेषाणां वेऽभिना लग्न इव वीर्यवान् । अद्वृतं धर्मप्रभिमुखं करोतीति  
अद्वृतसमुदाचारः । एवं हि 'महान्' ।

'अमण' इति पापके शोपशमयतीति अमणः । सर्वेषामविमुक्त इति ब्राह्मणाः । [ सर्वे ]  
मङ्केशजटाविमुक्तः अमणः । आत्ममलनिराकरणात् प्रत्रजित इति । अदृशगुणयुक्तो  
भगवान् एवंवदतीति योज्यम् ।

तथा दुःखं समुदयो निरोधश्च । मार्गसत्यमपि संग्रहीतव्यम् । तत्र अविद्याहेतोः  
संस्कारादि जरामरणान्तं कर्तारं विना प्रवर्तमानोऽतुज्ञोमः । अविद्यादि हेतुनां निरोधो  
श्वस्य प्रतिलोमः । अविद्या-वैपरीत्येन संस्कारादयो न नवनित । एवंवादी महाश्रमण इति ॥

इत्यार्थनागार्जुनकृतमार्यधर्मधातुगर्भविवरणं नाम ।

SUNITIKUMAR PATHAK

8 Tib. 'rgyu dañ' seems redundant

9 Tib. rtogs pas na

10 Tib. ston pa

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# **DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM IN UTTAR PRADESH**

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—o—

उत्तर प्रदेश मे

## **बौद्धधर्म**

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## The Essence of Vaiṣṇavism

"The object of religion" says Hegel "as a philosophy is the eternal truth in its very objectivity—God and nothing but God—and the explication of God. Philosophy is not a wisdom of the world, but cognition of the non-worldly, not a cognition of the external mass of empirical existence and life, but cognition of what is eternal, what is God, and what flows from His nature—for this nature must reveal and develop itself. Hence philosophy explicates itself only when it explicates religion". From this statement follows the fact that a philosophy of religion is a prime need despite the objections raised by the materialists. The primary task of the philosophy of religion is to ascertain and exhibit the nature of religion viewed in its entirety ; and in so doing it conduces to the thorough revelation of the nature of devotion to the Absolute Being, which the term religion or *dharma* necessarily implies.

Religion or *dharma* presupposes faith in God or the Absolute Being. This faith is related to a subject, that is an individual soul, who worships and strives after God. For this worship there must be some media or processes through which a relation between the worshipped and the worshipper is evolved. Then there is the end which is to be attained by following these processes. Vaiṣṇavism is a philosophy of all combined into one. It is the cult of devotion which consists of faith in, and devotional worship of Viṣṇu, the incarnate God of harmonious activity as is clear from the meaning of its derivative root *Viṣ* "be active" or "pervade". Viṣṇu then equates with *dharma* "one that holds or sustains", while the word *dharman* means 'eternal law' or 'justice'.

The philosophy of Vaiṣṇavism is based upon the *Śrutis*, and from which the *Vedāntasūtras* also seek to derive a number of related

cults prevailing in the country to-day. According to the majority of these cults, ignorance is the root cause of our bondage ; and ignorance means that the soul, which is materially distinct from the mind, the senses, and the body, somehow identifies itself with them. The Vaiṣṇava system states that from beginningless time the soul or *jīva* deviates from its proper function of contiguity to Bhagavān through the magic of the *māyāsakti* of Bhagavān and identifies itself with the mind and the senses and the body, which themselves are products of His *māyā*. The word *māyā* derivatively means “that, which damages” (*mī* ‘damage’) ; and it is the magic of Bhagavān Himself which damages or strays away the soul from its proper self or function. From this identification follows the pleasure and pain of the soul, out of which evolves a chain of desires leading to the endless cycle of birth and rebirth.

Closely bound up with *māyā* are our threefold actions: *samcita*, *kriyamāna* and *prārabdha*. According to Vaiṣṇavism emancipation from them is attained through right perception of Viṣṇu, which can be obtained through wholesale submission to Him alone.

The Absolute Being, according to Vaiṣṇavism, is Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa—immortal, uncreate, invisible, self-blazing, and hidden in the inaccessible depths of his own essence. He is the sensible manifestation of Divinity, the very embodiment of balanced thought and activity, one who has preached the Gospel of “balance” in his *Bhagavad-gītā*. The only way to share in Him is sincere *bhakti*. What ultimately flows from His *bhakti* is the *premānanda*, which is the *summum bonum* or the highest end of the human life.

Various Hindu cults seek to derive from the Śruti and the Vedāntasūtras ; and the originators of these cults have interpreted these to suit their own pre-conceived notions. Thus have arisen the cults of Nimbārka, Madhvācārya, Sāṃkara, Rāmānuja and others, who have alike appealed to the Śruti and the Sūtras in favour of their own systems. Besides the Śruti and the Sūtras the Vaiṣṇava system seeks support from the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, whose first śloka reads :—

Vadanti tat tattvavidas tattvam yaj jñānam advayam/  
brahmēti paramātmeti bhagavān iti śabdyate//

The first half describes the ultimate Principle as “advaya-jñāna-tattva,” while the second half defines the three gradations of this

Principle as Brahma, Paramātmā and Bhagavān. This advaya-jñānatattva is the core of Vaiṣṇavism. To begin with : the word ‘advaya’, as has been shown by Jīva Gosvāmin, means “that which has got no second”, and again, “that equal to which there is no other being”. Such a being must be *svayam-siddha* or self-existent. It is the one source for the existence of all other beings ; and nothing whatever is required for its existence. In other words the potency for existence and subsistence lies within the ultimate Essence itself. Secondly, this Essence is such that there is no other thing of the same class or of a different class, which is self-existent at the same time. The concept of ‘advaya’ implies that though the ultimate Reality is an embodied substance, yet there is no difference between the Essence and the body, the ingredient being one and the same. The question may now arise whether the Absolute is a formless substance—as the non-dualistic Saṃkara holds—or it is an embodied substance in which inhere endless auspicious potencies. Vaiṣṇavism accepts the second view, according to which the Absolute Being has knowledge and bliss as his body. This can be supported by the ŚrutiS which qualify Him as Vijñāna-ghana and Ānanda-ghana, where the word ‘ghana’ can mean ‘mūrti’ which equates with ‘body’. This is supported by the following verse of the *Brahma-Saṃhitā* :—

Īvaraḥ paramaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ Saccidānandavigrahaḥ /  
anādir ādir govindaḥ Sarvakāraṇakāraṇam //

The word ‘vigraha’ here can mean ghana (=mūrti), and the Absolute Divinity, charged with dominating power, is described as one whose body consists of existence, knowledge, and bliss. Kṛṣṇa is said to be the highest Lord, having existence, knowledge and bliss as his body. He has no beginning and He is the beginning of all. In his evolved form He can be experienced by means of senses ; for that indeed is the meaning of the word go-vinda (=go=indriya ; vid.=find).

Jñāna is explained by Jīva-Gosvāmin, as cid-ekarūpam “that of which ‘cīt’ is the only rūpa” the word rūpa meaning “that by which a thing shines beautifully”, as is implied in :—

taśmāt prakāśā evāyam cītraśaktisunirbharaḥ /  
Svayam vicitrarūpeṇa bhāti viśvatra viśvataḥ //

And thus the highest unity of existence, *cit*, and bliss is here styled as Kṛṣṇa, the perfect equilibrium of all the attributes or potencies, while in full action. So long as there remains the slightest disturbance or break in the harmony of the potencies Kṛṣṇa is not revealed to man. Hence it is that a man must attain perfect equilibrium under all circumstances through ceaselessly practising balanced thought and action; which is so neatly epitomized in the Gītā as: *Samatvam yoga ucyate*. This balance, this perfect harmony is alone truly existent. Here alone reside true knowledge, and bliss, which is the ultimate goal of human life.

The fact that perfect harmony tends to beatitude is aptly typified by the word 'Siva' which means 'one who sleeps' as is clear from the meaning of its root *Si* 'sleep'. This Si-va, the ultimate Being in 'sleep' symbolizes the Lord in perfect equilibrium, in Viśrānti, His natural state of Being, free from disturbed activity or creation, He, in sleep in His own infinite self. This is Si-va, the great God of 'pralaya' i.e. withdrawal of creation into His own self; and He, as such, is the embodiment of beatitude; and, as such, He was originally worshipped by the Saivas and as 'Seb'—he was the goal of the ancient Egyptians. Harmony obtained in sleep or Pralaya characterizes Si-va while, harmony attained in Kṛṣṇa characterizes Śrī-Kṛṣṇa; both ways it is the harmony that counts, that constitutes true existence and real happiness, Aristotle glorified it; and Kālidāsa, the worshipper of Siva and Viṣṇu took it as the supreme reality of life.

And what is Rādhā, that fairest emblem of Vaiṣṇavism, the splendid pivot round which the entire Vaiṣṇava ceremonial revolves? She is Śrī Kṛṣṇa's integrated sensuous potency, his female counterpart, with whom and through whom He carries on His eternal pastime—amorous, benign, and beneficial, tending to harmony of parts into whole. The root 'rādh' 'to succeed' from which derives the word 'rādhā' or 'rādhikā' is suggestive; and may be that Rādhā or Rādhikā symbolizes that process of evolution by and through which Śrī-Kṛṣṇa extends Himself into the world and the supreme generator is turned into supreme generation. Rādhā is the Divine mother, the Aditi of the Veda, the virgin Mother of the later times, who carries fecundity and abundance into all parts of the world, love being productive only in such manner as it is harmonious. She is thus the personification of general harmony of the world which exists and endures by the

harmonious concourse of all its parts into the whole. And thus the most vital feminine emanation of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is called Rādhā, while minor feminine emanations of His are ‘gopīs’ of the Vṛndāvana, “the forest where Vṛndas i.e. clusters or pairs of lovers roam about, which is none else than this lovely blooming wide world. And it is for this reason that Śrī Caitanya considers Rādhā as Kāyavyūha in the following verse :—

ākāra svabhāva bheda braja devīgaṇa /

• Kāyavyūharūpa tāñc raser Kāraṇa //

In the highest stage of devotion, viz. the state of ecstatic love, the closest relationship of conjugal tie is brought about whereby Kṛṣṇa is loved with an unparalleled, all-pervading, all-absorbing, astounding passion by Rādhā and her associate gopīs. Rādhā by dint of her height of ecstatic joy shines resplendent with an all-surpassing halo of lustre, and is inseparably connected with the beatific sport of Kṛṣṇa. It is by reason of this ecstasy known as mahābhāva that Rādhā is described in the Bṛhad-Gautamīya Tantra as :—

devī Kṛṣṇamayī proktā rādhikā paradevatā /

Sarvalakṣmīmayī Sarva-Kāntilī Sāmyotthitā parā //

This clears the complex—for it emphasizes that Rādhā is the very essence of Kṛṣṇa, as she is his success (=rādhikā), the highest divinity, the most vital potency, embracing all that is auspicious, and possessing all that shines. She evolves out of balance of knowledge and action, as has been so often emphasized by the Lord in His Gītā.

Nothing can be more incomplete than a note on Vaiṣṇavism without due mention of the Gaurāṅga cult of Bengal. Lord Gaurāṅga or Caitanya Mahāprabhu came down from the supersensuous heaven with the object of healing the afflicted mankind through the nectar of his soulful devotion that had been lying unused for centuries. His art itself was of divine inspiration ; and the true artist stood as the mediator between the lower and the upper worlds, capable of descending into the realm of unredeemed afflicted mankind and of enduring what he found there with divine assuage. And he revitalized the instrument of *bhakti* and reinforced it with the wholesale surrender to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the highest Lord of living beings. The beatific sparks of Śrī Kṛṣṇa are infinite and eternal. They fly into two streams

which are the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā and the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa-Gaurāṅga. The simultaneity of the two *līlās* is expounded in the Caritāmṛta text as follows :—

Sei premār Śrī Rādhikā param āśtaya /  
Sei premār āmī hai Kevala viṣaya //  
ei premadvāre nitya Rādhikā ekali /  
āmār mādhuryāmṛta āsvāda Sakali // -

The realization of this simultaneity of the two *līlās* alone leads a man to the correct apprehension of Reality, or balanced thought and action, that ultimately comes to beatitude and freedom from bondage. "Live as Kṛṣṇa lived in his Rādhikā (=success), expand yourself as He expanded Himself into infinity through His Rādhikā ; shine into your infinite self, as He shone—this was what this tiny soul of Bengal preached to the distracted mankind ; and he gave them new life while he worked among them with Śrī Kṛṣṇa as his sole companion and guide.

The cult of *bhakti* is the essence of Vaiṣṇavism. There are classifications of *Bhakti* into which we may not enter here ; suffice to say that it is *bhakti* or partaking of or sharing in the Lord through which and by which alone the devotee attains the Bliss in the Lord—this *bhakti* has reached its highest pitch in Caitanya's love-laden hymns, the topmost anguished cry of the lover for his beloved. This is Vaiṣṇavism par excellence, the cult of beatitude through perfect balance of knowledge, action, and love leading to the ideal equilibrium of *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ananda*, that is Viṣṇu the Highest Lord of mankind.

What emerges from a close scrutiny of the Indian literature is that Indian civilization has a consistency that underlies its most diverse ramifications and expresses, from age to age, certain recurrent attitudes of mind, the most typical of which is its unique preoccupation with its approach to God our father, our individual personality, and a corresponding moral consciousness. From Vedic times we have ever been occupied with it and we have reached heights in this that have nowhere been surpassed by man upon this globe. Vaiṣṇavism is the climax of this national attitude of Indian mind.

Today we live in an age obsessed by superstitious reverence for the "here-and-now", an age which has lost the sense of the invisible,

a predominantly irreligious age, ineffective and unfruitful and destructive, a peaceless age, because we have no peace in our hearts, in our human environments, in our national life, nor in our relations with God, our Holy father. We, as a nation, have lost all thought of Kṛṣṇa, the God of Balance, Rādhā, the Aditi of the Veda, the virgin Mother of the later outside world, the one source of love and peace upon this globe. A world so deeply and terribly distracted as ours cannot be restored merely by negotiations and treaties. Before we can make peace with men, we must make peace with God and be true to Him and through Him to the world at large.

SURYA KANTA

## *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* of Vasubandhu

Among the writings of Ācārya Vasubandhu there are three little compositions viz. *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, *Trimśikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* and *Vimśatikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* aiming at introducing the students of philosophy into the system of the school of *Vijñānavāda* otherwise called *Yogacāra*. The latter two works have come down to us in original Sanskrit and for the first time were made known to the world of scholars by the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi three decades back in the form of a printed book (Paris 1925). The former work, *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, though lost in its original Sanskrit version, is found in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Yaśomitra in his commentary called *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (p. 127) quoted the work in wording as *tathā by anenācāryeṇa pañcaskandhake likhitam* ‘the same teacher wrote in Pañcaskandhaka’ and thus identified its author with the author of *Abhidharmakośa* as well as its *Bhāṣya*. Louis de la Vallée Poussin gave a few references of the work in foot-notes of the translations of *Abhidharmakośabhbāṣya*. A portion regarding *Asamkskr-tadharma* of the work has been referred to by André Bareau in his thesis entitled *L’Absolu en Philosophie Bouddhique* (p. 225). A general survey of the work has been done by Dr. V. V. Gokhale in his article “*The Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa of Vasubandhu and its commentary by Sthiramati*” published in the Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Vol. XVIII, Part 3 (Poona 1937). Nevertheless no attempt has been made to bring the work into light as a whole.

I myself began to read the work simply to know its details regarding the *Caittadharmas*. Doing this I have discovered that the text of *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* about *caittadharmas* is related with 3-14 verses of *Trimśikā* and its commentary by Sthiramati more or less verbally. And it appears at first glance that Sthiramati has quoted entire *lakṣaṇagrantha* of *caitta* from *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, here and there, with very slight modifications though the fact might be otherwise. The same verbal resemblance has already been discovered by Sri Prablad Pradhan between *Trimśikābhāṣya* and *Abhidharma-samuccaya* text on the topic of *caitta*. Thus the text about *caittas* in these works is found very similar though not identical everywhere.

Besides there are many sentences in *Tridharma-pariccheda* of *Abhidharmasamuccaya* to be compared with the sentences of *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*. These textual similarities indicate that there was an ākara-grantha 'source-book' from which *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* and *Trimśikā* etc. borrowed their subject-matter and Sthiramati from the same source takes the matter to explain them. That source-book most probably was *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* together with its commentaries, for Sthiramati himself said that Ācārya wrote *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* "to provide the busy householders, who have neither the leisure, nor the patience to apply themselves to . . . voluminous works, like *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* and its commentaries, with a philosophical hand-book, that would develop their powers of concentration and would prepare them for answering confidently all questions on the principles of Buddhist philosophy ('dharma-lakṣaṇa')". (Cf. Dr. Gokhale's article mentioned above).

But the work, *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, in itself is not competent to propound the philosophy of the school of *Vijñānavāda* or *Yogācāra*; for it says nothing about the unreality of external world. The work is identical with the *Abhidharma*-treatises of the realistic school of Sarvāstivādins save only one point that it takes into account that *Vijñāna* is twofold, namely, *ālaya* and *manas*. Besides, it mentions sixfold *Pravṛttivijñāna*, identical in every school of *Abhidharmikas*. The work, therefore, is wanting in treatment and exposition of the topics of *ālaya*, *manas* and unreality of external world and this has been supplemented by *Trimśikā* and *Vimśatikā* by the same teacher. The first fifteen verses of *Trimśikā* are devoted to propound *Vijñāna* and its types, namely, *ālaya*, *manas* and *pravṛtti* together with their *caittadharmas*. The remaining sixteen verses state the unreality of all the modes of this world and the world that is hereafter with an exception of *Vijñāna*. The entire *Vimśatikā* is devoted to refute the theories of the realists.

The three works, therefore, seem related. They together form a complete treatise on the system of *Vijñānavāda*. The first work, with which one has to start his studies about the system, is *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*. It aims at bringing home the fact that there is no single unit called *ātman* being *vedaka* 'enjoyer' and *kāraka* 'doer', and for this purpose it analyses *ātman* into *dharmas*. Thus from one *ātman* of non-Buddhists through analytical method of *Abhidharma*

one comes to many *dharmas* held by the Buddhists having realistic as well as pluralistic views. The second work *Trimśikā* will supply further matter for studies after one has grasped the analysis of *Pāñcaskandhabaprakarana*. According to *Trimśikā*, both the *ātmān* of *tīrthikas* or Non-Buddhists, and the *dharmas* of Buddhists belonging to the realistic school are unreal. Both are *parināma* ‘evolution’ of *vijñāna* which is the only reality. Now by surveying the two works one may see that both of them propound their subject-matter without entering into any controversy. But there are many points in realistic philosophy like *pratyakṣa* ‘perception’, *paramāṇuvāda* ‘the doctrine of atoms’ and *arthakriyā* ‘purposive action’ etc. proving the external world to be refuted in order to bring home the main thesis of *Vijñānavāda* in accordance with reasoning. This thing has been done by the third work *Vimśatikā*. Thus the three works are not only interrelated, but they form together a complete treatise on the philosophy of *Vijñānavāda*.

This discovery has helped the reconstruction of the text of *Pāñcaskandhabaprakarana* into Sanskrit from its Tibetan version which is very literal. This is clear from the comparison with a few sentences of the work quoted in *Sphuṭārthā*. It is also a very correct version save the three places (which have been noted below in the footnotes 2, 3, 8 on the *Sūtras* 15, 18 and 28). The reconstructed text has been analysed in 167 *sūtras* or *sūtra*-like sentences in order to put every *uddeśagrantha* or *lakṣaṇagrantha* into a unit of the related sentences.

The first as well as the major portion of the text consisting of first 119 *sūtras* give an analysis of five *Skandhas* after which the treatise is called *Pāñcaskandhabaprakarana* as recorded in the Tibetan version or simply *Pāñcaskandhaka* as Yaśomitra mentions in *Sphuṭārthā* (pp. 64, 127, 309 in U. Wogihara’s edition). Among the five *skandhas*, the first category is called *rūpa* ‘form’ which consists of the four *mahābhūtas* ‘primary material elements’; namely, earth, water, fire and air characterized by hardness, flowing, heat and motion respectively and *upādāyarūpa* ‘conditioned material elements’, namely, five sense-organs called eye, ear, nose, tongue and body being *rūpaprasāda* ‘sensitive in form’ with regard to *rūpa* ‘form’ or *varṇa* ‘colour’, word, smell, taste and *spraṣṭvayaikeśa* ‘one aspect of the tangibles’ respectively called five sense-objects and *avijñapti* ‘unexpressed form’. These eleven categories are called *rūpaskandha*. (*Sūtras* 2-19).

The second *skandha* called *Vedanā* ‘feeling’ and third *skandha* called *samijñā* ‘perception’ (sūtras 20-25) are two *caittadhbarmas* included in the fourth *skandha* called *saṃskara*. They, therefore, have no independent value. The *Saṃskaras* are analysed into two main classes called *caitta* or *caitasikadbarmas* ‘mental states’ and *cittaviprayuktadbarmas* ‘non-mental states’. They are as follows:—

*Caittadhbarmas ‘Mental States’ (Sūtras 28-92).*

Five *Sarvatra-gadhbarmas*

1.	Sparśa	‘Contact’
2.	Manaskāra	‘Attention’
3.	Vedanā	‘Sensation’
4.	Saṃjñā	‘Conception’
5.	Cetanā (manaskarman)	‘Volition’ (‘exercise of the will’)

Five *Pratiniyata-Viṣaya*°

1.	Chanda	‘Conation’
2.	Adhimokṣa	‘Determination’
3.	Smṛti	‘Memory’
4.	Samādhi	‘Concentration’
5.	Prajñā	‘Intellect’

Eleven *Kuśala*°

1.	Śraddhā	‘faith’
2.	Hri	‘pudency’
3.	Apatrapā	‘shame’
4.	Alobha	‘freedom from covetousness’
5.	Adveṣa	‘freedom from hatred’
6.	Amoha	‘freedom from ignorance’
7.	Virya	‘diligence’
8.	Prasrabdhī	‘activity or freedom from dullness’
9.	Apramāda	‘carefulness’
10.	Upenkṣā	‘indifference’
11.	Avihimsā	‘non-violence’

Six *Kleśa*°

1.	Rāga	‘affection or attachment’
2.	Pratigha	‘repulsion with anger’

3.	Māna	'conceit' having seven types :—
	(i) Māna	'self-estimation'
	(ii) Atimāna	'undue self-estimation'
	(iii) Mānātimāna	'over-estimation'
	(iv) Asmimāna	'egoistic estimation'
	(v) Abhimāna	'hypocritical estimation'
	(vi) Ünamāna	'under-estimation'
	(vii) Mithyāmāna	'false estimation'
4.	Avidyā	'ignorance'
5.	Dṛṣṭi	'wrong view' having five types :—
	(i) Satkāyadṛṣṭi	'wrong view consisting in eternal ego'
	(ii) Antagrāhadṛṣṭi	'wrong view leaning towards Eternalism or Nihilism'
	(iii) Mithyādṛṣṭi	'wrong view regarding cause and effect'
	(iv) Dṛṣṭiparāmarśa	'attachment to wrong views'
	(v) Śilavrataparāmarśa	'attachment to śila and vrata i.e., self-mortification and superstitious rites.'
6.	Vicikitsā	'doubt'.

Twenty *Upaklesa*.

1. Krodha 'anger'
2. Upanāha 'enmity'
3. Mrakṣa 'hypocrisy'
4. Pradāśa 'anguish'
5. Īrṣyā 'jealousy'
6. Mātsarya 'miserliness'
7. Māyā 'flattery'
8. Sāthya 'trickery'
9. Mada 'arrogance'
10. Vihiṇīsā 'violence'
11. Āhrikyā 'lack of conscientiousness'
12. Anapatrāpya 'shamelessness for another'
13. Styāna 'sloth'

• 14.	Auddhatya	'distraction'
15.	Aśrāddhya	'absence of faith'
16.	Kausīdya	'indolence'
17.	Pramāda	'carelessness'
18.	Muṣitā smṛti	'absence of memory'
19.	Vikṣepa	'eccentricity'
20.	Asaṃprajanya	'wrong judgment'

Four *Aniyata*

1.	Kaukṛtya	'repentance'
2.	Middha	'torpor'
3.	Vitarka	'discussion in mind or pondering in the state of superfluity'
4.	Vicāra	'discussion in mind or pondering in the state of depth'

Fourteen *Cittaviprayuktadharma*s 'non-mental states' (*sūtras* 93-111)

1.	Prāpti	'attainment'
2.	Asaṃjñisamāpatti	'a state of meditation having no <i>Samjñā</i> of <i>citta</i> and <i>caittas</i> '
3.	Nirodhasamāpatti	'a state of meditation having cessation of <i>citta</i> and <i>caitta</i> '
4.	Āsaṃjñika	'a divine world where no one has <i>Samjñā</i> of <i>citta</i> and <i>caittas</i> '.
5.	Jīvitendriya	'life vitality'
6.	Nikāyasabhāgatā	'common character in every category of beings'.
7.	Jāti	'origination'
8.	Jarā	'decay'
9.	Sthiti	'continuance'
10.	Anityatā	'impermanence'
11.	Nāmakāya	'words'
12.	Padakāya	'sentences'
13.	Vyañjanakāya	'letters'
14.	Pr̥thagjanatva	'common place character', 'ignobility'.

The treatment of the first four *skandhas* is generally the same in every school of *Abhidharma* save *Sthaviras*, but this is not the case for the fifth *skandha* called *vijñāna*. *Ālaya* and *manas* are the two main types of *vijñāna*. The former is the seed of all *samskāras* and considered a real as well as independent entity by the *Yogacāras* only. The latter is viewed as a mode of the former by them. Besides there is a third type of *vijñāna* called *pravṛtti* which is six-fold and is included among the *dhātus* (*Sūtras* 112-118; 133).

The second portion of the text enumerates and defines *āyatanas* or means by which *vijñānas* arise. They are five sense-organs and their five objects as well as *manas* and its manifold objects called *dharmas*. By the term *dharma* one has to understand here three *skandhas*, (viz., *vedanā*, *saṃjñā* and *samskāra*), *avijñapti*, unexpressed form caused by *vijñapti* expression, bodily or vocal, and four *asamśkṛta* *dharmas*, viz., *ākasa*, *apratisamkhyā nirodha*, *pratisamkhyā-nirodha* and *tathatā*. (*Sūtras* 120-132).

The third and last portion of the text (*Sūtras* 133-167) is on the topic of *dhātu* which is eighteenfold consisting of 6 sense-organs including *manas*, 6 objects including *dharmas* and 6 *vijñānas* called *pravṛtti vijñānas*.

First *skandhas*, then *āyatanas* and lastly *dhātus* are the three doctrines propounded here in order to remove three notions regarding *ātman*, namely, that *ātman* is one, that *ātman* is *vedaka* ‘enjoyer’ and that *ātman* is *kāraka* ‘doer’:—

किमर्थं स्कन्धादिकमेण देशना । त्रिविधात्मग्राहप्रतिपक्षेणायं कमः ॥१४२॥

आत्मप्राहस्त्रिविधः । एकात्मग्राहः, वेदकात्मग्राहः, कारकात्मग्राहश्च ॥१४३॥

आचार्यवसुवन्धुकृतिः पञ्चस्कन्धकापरपर्याया

## पञ्चस्कन्धप्रकरणम्

[ भोदभाषान्तरात् चीनानुवचनोपकृतान् संस्कृते शान्तिभिक्षुणा पुनरुद्धृतम् ।

### प्रथमाधिकारः

#### स्कन्धोद्देशनिर्देशकः

##### पञ्चस्कन्धाः

पञ्चस्कन्धाः । रूपस्कन्धः, वेदनास्कन्धः, संज्ञास्कन्धः, मंस्कारस्कन्धः, निजानस्कन्धश्च ॥१॥  
रूपस्य द्वौ भेदौ

रूपं कतमत् । यत् किं चिद् रूपं सर्वं तच्च चत्वारि महाभूतानि, चत्वारि च महाभूतान्युपादाय ॥२॥

##### महाभूतनामानि

कतमानि चत्वारि महाभूतानि । पृथिवीधातुः, अब्धातुः, तेजोधातुः, वायुधातुश्च ॥३॥

##### महाभूतलक्षणानि

तत्र पृथिवीधातुः कतमः । कठिनता ॥४॥

अब्धातुः कतमः । निष्यन्दता ॥५॥

तेजोधातुः कतमः । उषणता ॥६॥

वायुधातुः कतमः । पौनःपुन्यकम्पनता ॥७॥

##### उपादायरूपनामानि

उपादायरूपं कतमत् । चक्षुरिन्द्रियं, श्रोतेरेन्द्रियं, ग्राहेन्द्रियं जिह्वेन्द्रियं, कायेन्द्रियं, रूपं, शब्दः, गन्धः, रसः, स्पृश्यव्यक्तेशः ; अविज्ञप्तिश्च च ॥८॥

##### उपादायरूपलक्षणानि

चक्षुरिन्द्रियं कतमत् । वर्णविषयो रूपप्रसादः ॥९॥

श्रोतेरेन्द्रियं कतमत् । शब्दविषयो रूपप्रसादः ॥१०॥

ग्राहेन्द्रियं कतमत् । गन्धविषयो रूपप्रसादः ॥११॥

जिह्वेन्द्रियं कतमत् । रसविषयो रूपप्रसादः ॥१२॥

कायेन्द्रियं कतमत् । स्पृश्यविषयो रूपप्रसादः ॥१३॥

हृपं कतमत् । चक्षुर्गोचरः । वर्णः संस्थानं विज्ञसित्र ॥१४॥

शब्दः कतमः । श्रोत्रगोचरः । <sup>१</sup>निष्पत्रः, अनिष्पत्रः, उभयः<sup>१</sup> । उपात्तचतुर्महा-  
भूतहेतुकः, [ अनुपात्तचतुर्महाभूतहेतुकः उभयन्तुर्महाभूतहेतुकश्च ] <sup>२</sup> ॥१५॥

गन्धः कतमः । ग्राणगोचरः । सुरभिः, असुरभिः, तदन्यथ ॥१६॥

रसः कतमः । जिह्वागोचरः । मधुरः, अम्लः, लवणः, कटुः, तिक्तः, कषायथ ॥१७॥

स्प्रष्टवैकदेशः कतमः । कायगोचरः । महाभूतान्युपादाय अद्व्यात्वं कर्कशत्वं, गुरुत्वं,  
लघुत्वं, शीतत्वं, [जिघत्सा]<sup>३</sup>, पिपासा च ॥१८॥

अविज्ञसित्पृष्ठं कतमत् । विज्ञसित्पृष्ठम् भूतं रूपम् अनिदर्शनम् अप्रतिघम् ॥१९॥

[हृपस्कन्धः सोहेशनिर्देशः परिनिष्ठितः ॥]

### वेदना तद्भेदाः सलक्षणाः

वेदना कतमा । विविधोऽनुभवः । सुखः, दुःखः, अदुःखा सुखथ ॥२०॥

सुखो यस्मिन् निरुद्धे संयागेच्छा [जायते] ॥२१॥

दुःखो यस्मिन् उत्पन्ने वियागेच्छा [जायते] ॥२२॥

अदुःखासुखो यस्मिन् उत्पन्ने नोभयेच्छा जायते ॥२३॥

[ वेदनास्कन्धः सोहेशनिर्देशः परिनिष्ठितः । ]

### संज्ञा सलक्षप्रभेदा

संज्ञा कतमा । विषयनिमित्तोद्भवणम् ॥२४॥

सा त्रिविधा । परित्ता, महदूता, अप्रमाणा च ॥२५॥<sup>४</sup>

[ भंजास्कन्धः सोहेशनिर्देशः परिनिष्ठितः ॥ ]

### संस्काराणां द्वौ भेदौ

संस्काराः कतमे । वेदनासंज्ञाभ्याम् अन्ये चैत्ताः, चित्तविप्रयुक्ताश्च ॥२६॥

### चैत्तलक्षणम्

तत्र चैत्तधर्माः कतमे । ये धर्माश्च चित्तेन संप्रयुक्ताः ॥२७॥

### चैत्तपरिसंख्यानम्

ते कतमे । स्पर्शः, मनस्कारः, <sup>५</sup>वेदना, संज्ञा<sup>६</sup>, चेतना<sup>७</sup>; छन्दः, अधिमोक्षः, स्मृतिः.

समाधिः, प्रज्ञा<sup>८</sup>, थद्वा, हीः, अपतपा, अलोभः कुशलमूलं, अद्रेषः कुशलमूलं, अमोहः

१...१ These three types are omitted in Chinese version.

२, ३ Omitted in Tibetan version.

४ Omitted in Chinese version.

५...५ Cf. अभिधर्मकोश १. २२

६ These five dharmas (from *sparśa* up to *cetanā*) are called *sarvatraga*

७ These five dharmas (from *chanda* up to *prajñā*) are called *pratiniyaviviṣaya*.

कुशलमूलैः, वीर्यैः, प्रथमिभैः, अप्रमादैः, उपेक्षा, अविहिंसा<sup>10</sup>; रागैः, प्रतिघैः, मानैः, अविद्या, दृष्टिः, विचिकित्सा<sup>11</sup>; कोधैः, उपनाहैः, म्रज्जैः, प्रदाशैः, इर्ष्या, मात्सर्यैः, माया, शाङ्कैः, मदैः, विहिंसा, आहोक्यैः, अनपत्वाप्यं, स्त्यग्रानैः, आङ्गद्यैः, आथद्यैः, कौसीशैः, प्रमादैः, मुषिता स्मृतिः, विक्षेपैः, असंप्रजन्यैः<sup>12</sup>; कोक्ख्यैः, मिद्दैः, वितर्कैः, विचारथै<sup>13</sup> ॥२५॥

एतेषां<sup>14</sup> पञ्च सर्वत्रगाः। पञ्च प्रतिनियतविषयाः। एकादश कुशलाः। षट्  
क्लेशाः। शिष्टाः<sup>15</sup> उपक्लेशाः। चत्वारो<sup>16</sup> अन्यत्रापि भवन्ति [इत्यनियताः]<sup>17</sup> ॥२६॥

### चैत्तलक्षणानि

स्पर्शैः कतमः। तिक्तमनिपाते [इन्द्रियविकार]१८ परिच्छ्रेदः ॥३०॥

मनस्कारैः कतमः। चेतस आभोगः<sup>19</sup> ॥३१॥

• चेतना कतमा। गुणदोषानुभयेषु<sup>20</sup> चित्ताभिसंस्कारो मनस्कर्म ॥३२॥

<sup>21</sup>च्छ्रन्दः कतमः। अभिप्रेते वस्तुन्यभिलाषः<sup>21</sup> ॥३३॥

<sup>22</sup>अधिमोक्षैः कतमः। निश्चिते वस्तुनि तथैवावधारणम्<sup>22</sup> ॥३४॥

<sup>23</sup>स्मृतिः कतमा। संस्तुते वस्तुन्यसंप्रमोषः<sup>23</sup> ॥३५॥

<sup>24</sup>समाधिः कतमः। उपपरीक्ष्ये वस्तुनि चित्तस्यैकाग्रता<sup>24</sup> ॥३६॥

8 Omitted in Tibetan version.

9 Tib. bag yod pa 'having attention, care or caution'.

10 These eleven *dharmas* (from śraddhā up to avibhīṣā) are called *kuśala*.

11 These six (from rāgi up to vicikitsā) are called *kleśa*.

12 These twenty (from krodha up to asamprajanya) are called *upakleśa*.

13 These four (from kaukṛtya upto vicāra) are called *aniyata* for they become *upakleśa* only when they are *klīṣṭa*.

14 de rnams las Lit. तेभ्यः:

15 By the word शिष्टाः here twentyfour *dharmas* (from krodha upto vicāra are to be taken).

16 चत्वारः 'four' are कोक्ख्य, मिद्द, वितर्क and विचार।

17 Thus there are fiftyone *caittā-dharmas* :—5 *sarvatra*, 5 *pratiniyata-visaya* 11 *kuśala*, 6 *kleśa* and 24 *upakleśa* including four *aniyata*.

18 added here from *Trimśikā-bhāṣya*. See under verse 3.

19 'Jug pa 'अवतार, प्रवृत्ति, आभोग'।

20 *Abhidharmasamuccaya* has कुशलाकुशलाव्याकृतेषु (Page 6).

21...21 Quoted in *Sphuṭārtha* (Unrai Wogihara's edition) page 127, line 21; page 309, lines 8-9.

22...22 Quoted in ib, Page 127, lines 21-22; page 309, lines 9-10.

23...23 Quoted in ib, page 309, lines 10-11.

24...24 Quoted in ib, page 309, lines 11-12.

<sup>25</sup>प्रज्ञा कतमा । तथैव प्रविचयो योगायोगविहितोऽन्यथा च<sup>25</sup> ॥३७॥

अद्वा कतमा । कर्मकलमत्यरत्नेष्वभिसंप्रययः । चेतसोऽभिलाषः । चेतसः प्रसादः ॥३८॥

ह्लाः कतमा । आत्मानं धमं वाधिपतिं कृत्वा [स्वयम्] अवद्यन लज्जा ॥३९॥

अपवपा कतमा । लोकमधिपतिं कृत्वा परतोऽवद्यन लज्जा ॥४०॥

अलाभः कतमः । लाभप्रतिपक्षः । चेतसो दानकेतापरिग्रहः ॥४१॥

अद्वेषः कतमः । द्वेषप्रतिपक्षः । मैत्री ॥४२॥

अमोहः कतमः । माहप्रतिपक्षः । यथाभूतसंप्रतिपत्तिः ॥४३॥

वीर्यं कतमत् । कोमायप्रतिपक्षः । कुशले चेतसोऽभ्युत्साहः ॥४४॥

प्रथचिधः कतमा । दौष्टुल्यप्रतिपक्षः । कायचित्कर्मण्यता ॥४५॥

अप्रमादः कतमः । प्रमाद<sup>26</sup>प्रतिपक्षः । अलोभादीन् वार्यान्तान् निश्चित्य अकुशलानां धर्माणां प्रहाणां । तन्प्रतिपक्षाणां कुशलानां धर्माणां भावना ॥४६॥

उपेक्षा कतमा । अलोभादीन् वार्यान्तान् निश्चित्य चित्तसमता । चित्तप्रशठता<sup>27</sup> । चिनानाभागता । यया क्लियधर्मानवकाशेन<sup>28</sup> अक्लिष्टेषु स्थितिः ॥४७॥

अविदिंसा कतमा । विहिंमाप्रतिपक्षः । करुणा ॥४८॥

रागः कतम । उपादानस्कन्धेष्वस्यर्थ्यना । अध्यवमानं ॥४९॥

प्रतिघः कतमः । भर्त्येष्वाधातचित्तता ॥५०॥

मानः कतमः । मानः सप्तविधः । मानः, अतिमानः<sup>29</sup>, मानातिमानः, अस्मिमानः, ऊनमानः मिथ्यामानश्च ॥५१॥

मानः कतमः । होनात् श्रेयान् अहम् अस्मि, सद्शेन वा सदशोऽस्मीति चिन्तयतो या चित्तस्योन्नतिः ॥५२॥

अतिमानः कतमः । सदशात् श्रेयान् अहम् अस्मि, श्रेयमा वा सदशोऽस्मीति चिन्तयतो या चित्तस्योन्नतिः ॥५३॥

मानातिमानः कतमः । श्रेयसाऽहमेव श्रेयान् इति चिन्तयतो या चित्तस्योन्नतिः ॥५४॥

अस्मिमानः कतमः । पञ्चसूपादनस्कन्धेषु आत्मानम् आत्मीयं वा पश्यतो या चित्तस्योन्नतिः ॥५५॥

25...25 Quoted in ib. page 309, line 12.

26 Tib. bag med 'having no attention, care or caution'.

27 Tib. sems rnal du 'dug pa' 'चित्तप्रकृतिनिष्ठता' is an equivalent for प्रशठता a word to be treated an *apabhrāmī* explained in *Trimśikā-bhāṣya* under verse 11 a-b as अप्रयत्नेन समाहितचेतसो यथायोगं समस्यैव या प्रवृत्तिः सा चित्तप्रशठता ।

28 Tib. *rnam basal* n.i.s 'having removed'; Tib. root *sel ba* 'remove'.

29 Otherwise called अधिमान ।

अभिमानः कतमः । अप्राप्त उत्तरे विशेषाधिगमे प्राप्तो मर्येति चिन्तयतो या चित्तस्योन्नतिः ॥५६॥

ऊनमानः कतमः । वहन्तरविशिष्टाद अल्पान्तरहीनोऽस्मीति चिन्तयतो या चित्तस्योन्नतिः ॥५७॥

मिथ्यामानः कतमः । अगुणवतो गुणवान् अस्मीति चिन्तयतो या चित्तस्योन्नतिः ॥५८॥

अविद्या कतमा । कर्मफलसत्यरबानाम् अज्ञानं । सा पुनः सहजा, परिकल्पिता च ॥५९॥

रागचरितस्य रागप्रतिघयोः, रागचरितस्याविद्यायाश्रेत्यकुशलानां दाणि मूलानि । लोभो [ऽकुशलमूलं], द्रेषो[ऽकुशलमूलं], मोहोऽकुशलमूलं च ॥६०॥

दृष्टिः कतमा । पञ्च दृष्टयः । सत्कायदृष्टिः, अन्तग्राहदृष्टिः, मिथ्यादृष्टिः, दृष्टिपरामर्शः, शीलवत्परामर्शश्च ॥६१॥

सत्कायदृष्टिः कतमा । पञ्चोपादानस्कन्धान् आत्मगत आत्मीयतो वा पश्यतो या क्लिष्टा प्रज्ञा ॥६२॥

अन्तग्राहदृष्टिः कतमा । तान् एवाधिपति<sup>३०</sup> कृत्वा शाश्रतत उच्छ्रेदतो वा पश्यतो या क्लिष्टा प्रज्ञा ॥६३॥

मिथ्यादृष्टिः कतमा । हेतुं वा फलं वा क्रियां वापवदतः सद्वा वस्तु विनाशयतो या क्लिष्टा प्रज्ञा ॥६४॥

दृष्टिपरामर्शः कतमः । ता एव नियो दृष्टीस्तदाश्रयांश्च स्कन्धान् श्रेष्ठतः परमतथ पश्यतो वा क्लिष्टा प्रज्ञा ॥६५॥

शीलवत्परामर्शः कतमः । शीलं व्रतं तदाश्रयांश्च स्कन्धान् शुद्धिनो मुक्तिनो नैर्याणिकतश्च पश्यतो या क्लिष्टा प्रज्ञा ॥६६॥

विचिकित्सा कतमा । सत्यादिषु या द्विकोटिका मति:<sup>३१</sup> ॥६७॥

एतेषां<sup>३२</sup> क्लेशानां पश्चिमास्तिकां दृष्टयः, विचिकित्सा च परिकल्पिताः । शिष्टाः महजाः परिकल्पिताश्च ॥६८॥

क्रोधः कतमः । वर्तमानमपकारमागम्य या चेतस आघातचेतना<sup>३३</sup> ॥६९॥

उपनाह कतमः । वैरानुबन्धः<sup>३४</sup> ७०॥

म्रक्षः कतमः । आत्मनोऽवयवच्छादना ॥७१॥

प्रदाशः कतमः । चंडवचोदाशिता ॥७२॥

<sup>३०</sup> Otherwise called विमति ।

<sup>३१</sup> Tib. de dag las ‘तेभ्यः’ ।

<sup>३२</sup> Tib. sems kyi kun nas mnaor sems pa.

<sup>३३</sup> Tib. mdun par dsinpa ‘प्रबन्धेन बन्धः, अनुबन्धः’ ।

ईष्या कतमा । परमंपत्तौ चेतसो व्यारोपः ॥७३॥  
 मात्मये कतमत् । दानविरोधा चेतस आग्रहः ॥७४॥  
 माया कतमा । परवंचनाभूताश्रेमदर्शनता ॥७५॥  
 शाश्वत कतमत् । स्वदोषप्रच्छादनोपायमंगृहातं चेतसः कोटिलयं ॥७६॥  
 मदः कतमः । स्वसंपत्तौ रक्षयोद्धरेः । चेतसः पर्यादानम् ॥७७॥  
 विद्विभा कतमा । मत्त्वेषु विहेठना ॥७८॥  
 आहोक्यं कतमत् । अवदेन स्वयम् अलज्जा ॥७९॥  
 अनपत्तार्थं कतमत् । अवदेन परतोऽलज्जा ॥८०॥  
 स्त्यानं कतमत् । चित्ताकर्मण्यता । स्तैमित्यं ॥८१॥  
 आङ्गदत्यं कतमत् । चित्तस्याव्युपशमः ॥८२॥  
 आथद्रुयं कतमत् । कर्मफलस्त्वरब्देष्वनभिसंप्रत्ययः । ध्रद्वाविपक्षश्चेतमोऽप्रमादः ॥८३॥  
 कोसीयं कतमत् । कुशले चेतसोऽनभ्युत्साहो वार्यविपक्षः ॥८४॥  
 प्रमादः कतमः । या लोभद्रेष्मोहकोसीयैश्चित्तस्यानारक्षाकुशलस्याभावना ॥८५॥  
 मुषिता स्मृतिः कतमा । हिष्टा स्मृतिः । कुशलाप्रतिपक्षिः ॥८६॥  
 विक्षेपः कतमः । रागद्रेष्मोहांशिकः पञ्च कामगुणेषु चित्तस्य विसारः ॥८७॥  
 असंप्रजन्यं कतमत् । क्लेशसंप्रयुक्ता प्रज्ञा, तया कायवाक् चित्तचर्या असंविदितेव  
 प्रवर्तते ॥८८॥

कोकृत्यं कतमत् । चेतसो विप्रतिसारः<sup>३४</sup> ॥८९॥

मिद्दं कतमत् । अस्वतंलवृत्तिचेतसोऽभिसंक्षेपः ॥९०॥

<sup>३५</sup>वितर्कः कतमः । पर्येषको मनोजल्पः, चेतनाप्रज्ञाविशेषः, या चित्तस्थादारिकता<sup>३५</sup> ॥९१॥

<sup>३६</sup>विचारः कतमः । पर्येषको मनोजल्पः, तथैव या चित्तस्य सद्दमता<sup>३६</sup> ॥९२॥

### चित्तविप्रयुक्तपरिसंख्यानम्

चित्तविप्रयुक्तसंस्काराः कतमे । ये ह्यचित्तचैत्ताधिकारे प्रज्ञपाः । त एवान्यत<sup>३७</sup>  
 अप्रज्ञपाः ॥९३॥

ते कतमे । प्राप्तिः अमंडिसमापत्तिः, निरोधसमापत्तिः, आमंडिकं, जीवितेन्द्रियं,

३४ विलेख, विप्रतिसार and पश्चात्ताप are the synonymous words.

३५...३५ Quoted in *Sphuṭārtha*, page 64, lines 26-27.

३६...३६ Quoted in ib, page 64, lines 27-28.

३७ अन्यत=चित्तचैत्ताधिकाराद् अन्यत ।

३८ cf. द्विविद्या हि प्राप्तिः । अप्राप्तविहीनस्य च प्रतिलिंभः । प्रतिलिंभेन च समन्वागमः । [कोशभाष्यवचनमिदम्]...प्रतिलिंभे समन्वागमे च प्राप्तिशब्दो वर्तते । अमेदविवक्षाया तु प्राप्तिः प्रतिलिंभः समन्वागम इत्येक एवार्थः । *Sphuṭārtha*, page 143.

निकायसभागता, जातिः, जरा, स्थितिः, अनित्यता, नामकायः, पदकायः, व्यंजनकायः, पृथग्जनत्वम् इत्येवमादिमेदसमादानाः ॥६४॥

### चित्तविप्रयुक्तलक्षणानि

तत्र प्राप्तिः कतमा । प्रतिलिंभः समन्वागमश्च<sup>३७</sup> । बोजं, वशिता, अभिमुखीभावश्च यथायोगं ॥६५॥

आसंज्ञिसमापत्तिः कतमा । शुभकृत्ववीतरागस्योपर्यवीतरागस्य निःसरणमंज्ञापूर्वकेण मनसिकारेणास्थावरणां चित्तचैत्तधर्माणां यो निरोधः । ६६॥

निरोधसमापत्तिः कतमा । आकिंचन्यायतनवीतरागस्य भवाग्राद् उच्चलितस्य शान्तविहारसंज्ञापूर्वकेण मनसिकारेणास्थावरणां चित्तचैत्तधर्माणां तदेकेत्यानां च स्थावरणां यो निरोधः ॥६७॥

\* आसंज्ञिकं कतमत् । असंज्ञिमत्त्वनिकायदेवेष्टप्रपत्नस्यास्थावरणां चित्तचैत्तधर्माणां निरोधः ॥६८॥

जीवितेन्द्रियं कतमत् । निकायसभागेषु पूर्वकर्मानुबिद्धेषु यः संस्कारणां स्थितिकालनियमः ॥६९॥

निकायसभागः कतमः । या सत्त्वानामात्मभावसहशता ॥१००॥

जातिः कतमा । निकायसभागे संस्काराणाम् अभूत्वा यो भावः ॥१०१॥

जरा कतमा । तथा तेषां प्रबन्धान्यथात्वं ॥१०२॥

स्थितिः कतमा । तथा तेषां प्रबन्धान्वयः ॥१०३॥

अनित्यता कतमा । तथा तेषां प्रबन्धविनाशः ॥१०४॥

नामकायः कतमः । धर्माणां स्वभावादिवचनं ॥१०५॥

पदकायः कतमः । धर्माणां विशेषाधिवचनं ॥१०६॥

व्यंजनकायः कतमः । अक्षराणि । तदुभयाभिव्यञ्जनतामुपादाय ॥१०७॥

वाक्यमपि तानि । नामपदाश्रयेणार्थवचनतामुपादाय ॥१०८॥

अक्षरं पुनः पर्यायाक्षरणतामुपादाय ॥१०९॥

पृथग्जनत्वं कतमत् । आर्यधर्माणामप्रतिलिंभः ॥११०॥

इति संस्कारस्कन्धो नाम ॥१११॥

[ संस्कारस्कन्धः सोहेशनिर्देशः परिनिष्ठितः ॥ ]

### विज्ञानलक्षणम्

विज्ञानं कतमत् । आलंबनविज्ञसिः ॥११२॥

चित्तमनसी विज्ञानपर्यायौ सनिर्वचनौ

तच् चित्तं मनोऽपि । विक्रीकारतां<sup>३८</sup> मनोनिभ्रतां [च] उपादाय ॥११३॥

### सलक्षणचित्तनिर्देशः

मूर्लिनम् आलयविज्ञानं । तद्यथेद् सर्वेसंस्काराणां संचितं बीजं ॥११४॥

तत्पुनर् आलंबनम् अव्युपच्छिङ्गनम् एकमन्तानवर्ति । यथा । निरोधसमापत्यसंज्ञिस-  
मापयामगंजिकम्भ्या व्युत्थितस्यास्माद् विषयविज्ञसिकं नाम प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानं जायते । आलंबन-  
प्रत्ययमपेदय गित्ताकारेषु वृत्तितां, उच्चित्रं पुनर् जाततां, संसारे प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तितां [च] उपादाय  
[ तद् आलंबनं नाम विज्ञानं ] ॥११५॥

आलयविज्ञानं हि सर्वबीजालयताम् आत्मभावालगहेतुताम् आत्मगावे स्थितितां [च]  
उपादाय ॥११६॥

आदानविज्ञानमपि तत् । आत्मभावादानतामुपादाय ॥११७॥

### सलक्षणमनोनिर्देशः

मूलमन आलयविज्ञानमात्रिल नित्यम् आत्ममोहात्मदृष्टात्ममानात्ममन्ते हैः भंप्रयुक्तं विज्ञानम्  
एकज्ञातीयगमन्तानवर्ति अर्हत्त्वार्थमार्गनिरोधममापत्तिकाले व्यावर्तते ॥११८॥

[ विज्ञानस्कन्धः सोहे शनिर्देशः परिनिष्ठितः ]

### स्कन्धनिर्वचनं

क्रिमर्थः स्कन्धः । राशयर्थः । कालगोवाकारगतिविषयभिज्ञानां रूपादीनामभिमंक्षेपताम्  
उपादाय ॥११६॥

[ स्कन्धोहे शनिर्देशकः प्रथमाधिकारः परिनिष्ठितः ॥०॥ ]

### द्वितीयाधिकारः

#### आयतनोहे शनिर्देशकः

##### आयतननामानि

द्रादशायतनानि । चक्षुरायतनं, रूपायतनं ; श्रोत्रायतनं, शब्दायतनं ; प्राणायतनं,  
गन्धायतनं ; जिह्वायतनं, रसायतनं ; कायायतनं, स्प्रष्टव्यायतनं ; मन आयतनं, धर्मा-  
यतनं च ॥१२०॥

##### आयतनानां सलक्षणप्रपञ्चः

चक्षुरादीनि<sup>40</sup> रूपशब्दगन्धरसायतनानि<sup>41</sup> यथोक्तपूर्वाणि ॥१२१॥

स्प्रष्टव्यायतनं चत्वारि महाभूतानि<sup>42</sup> । उक्तश्च यः स्प्रष्टव्यैकदेशः<sup>43</sup> ॥१२२

40 See *sūtras* 9-13.

41 See *sūtras* 14-17.

42 See *sūtra* 3.

43 See *sūtra* 18.

मून आयतनं यो विज्ञानस्कन्धः<sup>44</sup> ॥१२३॥

धर्मायतनं वेदना<sup>45</sup>, संज्ञा<sup>46</sup>, संस्काराः<sup>47</sup>, अविज्ञप्तिः<sup>48</sup>, असंस्कृताश्च ॥१२४॥

### असंस्कृताः सलक्षणप्रभेदाः

असंस्कृताः कतमे । आकाशं, अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधः, प्रतिसंख्यानिरोधः, तथता च ॥१२५॥

तत्त्वाकाशं कतमत् । रूपावकाशः ॥१२६॥

अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधः कतमः । यो निरोधो न विसंयोगः ॥१२७॥

स क्लेशाप्रतिपक्षेण स्कन्धानामात्यन्तिको निरोधः ॥१२८॥

प्रतिसंख्यानिरोधः कतमः । यो निरोधो विमर्शेणः ॥१२९॥

यत्म क्लेशप्रतिपक्षेण स्कन्धानामात्यन्तिको निरोधः ॥१३०॥

तयता कतमा । या धर्माणां धर्मता । धर्मनैरात्मयं ॥१३१॥

### आयतननिर्वचनं

किमुपादायायतनमिति । विज्ञानोत्पादद्वारतामुपादाय ॥१३२॥

[ आयतनोद्देशनिर्देशको द्वितीयाधिकारः परिनिष्ठितः ॥०॥ ]

### तृतीयाधिकारः

### धातूद्देशनिर्देशकः

#### धातुनामानि

अष्टादश धातवः । चक्षुधातुः, रूपधातुः, चक्षुविज्ञानधातुः, शब्दधातुः, शब्दधातुः, श्रोतविज्ञानधातुः; ग्राणधातुः, ग्राणविज्ञानधातुः; जिह्वाधातुः, रमधातुः, जिह्वाविज्ञानधातुः; कायधातुः, स्प्रष्टव्यधातुः, कायविज्ञानधातुः; मनोधातुः, धर्मधातुः, मनोविज्ञानधातुश्च ॥१३३॥

#### धातुप्रपञ्चः

चक्षुरादयो धातवो रूपादयो धातवश्च यथायतनानि ॥१३४॥

षड् विज्ञानधातवश् चक्षुरादयाथया रूपाद्यालंबना विज्ञप्तयः ॥१३५॥

मनोधातुस्तेषाभेदे समनन्तरनिरुद्धं पद्मविज्ञानदेशनाथयतामुपादाय ॥१३६॥

44 See *sūtras* 112-118.

45 See *sūtras* 20-23.

46 See *sūtras* 24, 25.

47 See *sūtras* 28, 94.

48 See *sūtra* 19.

### धातुव्यवस्थानम्

एवमग्रादशधातुव्यवस्थानं यो रूपस्कन्धः, तानि दशायतनधातवः ॥०३७॥

धर्मायतनं धर्मधात्वेकदेशः ॥१३६॥

यो विज्ञानस्कन्धः, तद् मन आयतनं, सप्त मनोधातवश्च ॥१३६॥

अन्ये ये त्रयः स्कन्धा रूपधात्वेकदेशश्च तेऽमंस्कृतैः सहिता धर्मायतनं धर्मधातुश्च ॥१४०॥

### धातुनिर्वचनम्

किमुपादाय धातव इति । अकारकात्मलक्षणधारणात्मामुपादाय ॥१४१॥

### स्कन्धायतनधातुकमेण धर्मदेशनायाः प्रयोजनम्

किमर्थं स्कन्धादि [कमेण] देशना । त्रिविधात्मग्राहप्रतिपक्षेणायं कमः ॥१४२॥

आत्मग्राहनिविधिः । एकात्मग्राहः, वेदकात्मग्राहः, कारकात्मग्राहश्च ॥१४३॥

### अष्टादशधातुविकल्पाः

अष्टादशधातुषु कति रूपिणः । ये रूपस्कन्धस्वभावाः ॥१४४॥

कत्यरूपिणः शिष्टाः ॥१४५॥

कति सनिदर्शनाः । रूपधातुरेकः सनिदर्शनविषयः ॥१४६॥

कत्यनिदर्शनाः । शिष्टाः ॥१४७॥

कति सप्रतिघाः । दश रूपिणः । यत्र यत्प्रतिघातः [तत् तत् सप्रतिघं] ॥१४८॥

कत्यप्रतिघाः । शिष्टाः ॥१४९॥

कति सास्थवाः । पञ्चदश, पश्चिमानां त्रयाणामेकदेशश्च । ते क्लेशोत्पादप्रत्यक्षचर्याविषयतामुपादाय ॥१५०॥

कत्यनास्थवाः । पश्चिमानां त्रयाणामेकदेशः ॥१५१॥

कति कामप्रतिसंयुक्ताः । सर्वे ॥१५२॥

कति रूपप्रतिसंयुक्ताः । चतुर्दश । स्थापयित्वा गन्धरसप्राणजिह्वाविज्ञानधातून् ॥१५३॥

कत्यरूप्यसंप्रयुक्ताः । पश्चिमास्थयः ॥१५४॥

कत्यप्रतिमंयुक्ताः । त्रयाणामेकदेशः ॥१५५॥

कति स्कन्धसंगृहीताः । असंस्कृतान् स्थापयित्वा ॥१५६॥

कत्युपादानस्कन्धसंगृहीताः । ये सास्थवाः ॥१५७॥

कति कुशलाकुशलाव्याकृताः । दश त्रिविधाः । सप्त मनोधातवः, रूपशब्दधर्मधातवश्च । शिष्टाः अव्याकृताः ॥१५८॥

कत्याध्यात्मिकाः । द्वादश । स्थापयित्वा रूपशब्दगन्धरसस्पष्टव्यधर्मधातून् ॥१५९॥

कति बास्याः । षट् । ये स्थापिताः ॥१६०॥

कति सालंबनाः । सप्त चित्तधातवः. धर्म[धात्व] एकदेशोऽपि यथैतः ॥१६१॥

कथ्यनालंबनाः । शिष्टा दश, धर्मधात्वेकदेशश्च ॥१६२॥  
 कति सवितर्काः । मनोधातुः, मनोविज्ञानधातुः, धर्मधात्वेकदेशश्च ॥१६३॥  
 कति निष्पन्नाः । पञ्चाध्यात्मिकाः, चतुर्णामेकदेशः [तयथा] रूपगन्धरसस्पष्टव्यानां ॥१६४॥  
 कत्यनिष्पन्नाः । शिष्टा दश, चतुर्णामेकदेशश्च ॥१६५॥  
 कति सभागाः । अध्यात्मिका पञ्च रूपिणः । स्वविज्ञानसहितनिषयसद्वशातामुपादाय ॥१६६॥  
 कति तत्सभागाः । त एव स्वविज्ञानविरहितस्वान्वयमद्वशातामुपादाय ॥१६७॥  
 [ धातृहेशनिर्देशकस्तृतीयाधिकारः परिनिष्ठितः ॥०॥ ]

पञ्चस्कन्धप्रकरणम् ॥

कृतिरियमाचार्यवसुबन्धोः ॥

पञ्चस्कन्धप्रकरणं शास्त्रिणा शान्तिभिकुणा ।

भोटानुवादमागम्य संस्कृते पुनरुद्धृतम् ॥१॥

यदत् सुकृतं सर्वे तदाचार्यस्य धीमतः ।

यत् कुकृतं तदागो मे ज्ञनतव्यं साधुसरिभिः ॥२॥

शुभम् ॥ बुद्धाव्दाः २४६६॥

SHANTI BHIKSHU SHASTRI

## Sambandha-Cintāmaṇi

( ascribed to Vācaspati Miśra )

Prof. P. V. Kane, in the list of works on Dharmasāstra, appended to his *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. I, does not mention any work bearing the title "Sambandha-cintāmaṇi." Nor do we find this title in the list of works of the 'cintāmaṇi' group under Vācaspati Miśra (Sec. 98). The writer of the present paper chanced upon a MS. of this title in the possession of a Sanskrit scholar of East Bengal. It was with his permission that a transcript of the same was prepared. The text, presented in the following pages, is based upon this transcript. Portions of the aforesaid MS. are corrupt. It has been considered better to indicate the corrupt portions by dotted lines than hazarding readings.

The work is ascribed to Vācaspati in the opening verse, and to Vācaspati Miśra in the colophon. Many writers on *Dharmasāstra* bear the name 'Vācaspati,' as a glance at Prof. Kane's list of authors reveals. There was but one author of the name 'Vācaspati Miśra'. It is difficult for us to say whether the author of the present work was Vācaspati or Vācaspati Miśra. If the latter was his name, is he to be identified with the reputed Maithila author of this name who is supposed to have flourished in the latter half of the 15th century A. D.? The word 'cintāmaṇi' in the title, of course, leads one to think that this was perhaps another work of the 'cintāmaṇi' group attributed to Vācaspati Miśra besides those mentioned in the *History of Dharmasāstra* referred to above. Although no definite assertion on the authorship of this work is possible, the work appears to be fairly old in view of the fact that it mentions none of the great Nibandhakāras of any school after the celebrated Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa of Bengal who is believed to have flourished in the eleventh-twelfth century A. D.

The *Sambandha-cintāmaṇi* starts with the well-known verse of Manu laying down the types of relationship which do not constitute a bar to the choice of a girl for marriage. After explaining this verse, the author, on diverse authorities, mentions the degrees of relationship permitted or prohibited for the purpose of marriage as well as the penalties prescribed for violating these rules. These degrees of relation-

ship are not merely with respect to one's father and mother, but also to one's *pitr-bandhus* and *mātr-bandhus*—terms which are defined on good authority. The following are some of the qualifications of the girl that can be married :—

- (1) Not married previously
- (2) Junior in age to the proposed bridegroom
- (3) Healthy
- (4) Possessed of a brother

Next are given some of the procedural rules in connexion with the ceremony of marriage. Of these, the first is regarding the facing of the seats to be occupied by the offerer of a girl in marriage and the offeree. Then we find the question of the guardianship of the girl for the matrimonial purpose. In this connexion, what is interesting is the insistence on the marriage of a girl before her attaining puberty. The girl, who starts getting her monthly impurities before marriage, casts her father into grave sin, and the man who marries her is debarred from social intercourse.

Great sin is incurred by the younger brother marrying before the elder does, unless the latter is a mendicant, great sinner, impotent, leprous or is living abroad. One marrying the younger sister while the elder is yet unmarried, has to perform the expiatory rite called *prājāpatya* besides forsaking the wife. It should be noted that, even thus forsaken, the wife must be maintained with food and raiment.

Of the eight forms of marriage, mentioned by Manu, the first four (Viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya) are recommended for Brāhmaṇas; Rākṣasa is for Kṣatriyas and Āsura for Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The author points out that this injunction of Manu is merely recommendatory, and, as such, the members of the regenerate classes do not incur any sin by resorting to the forms of marriage starting from Āsura (i.e., Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa, Paiśāca).

## सम्बन्धचिन्तामणिः

[ वाचस्पतिमिथविरचितः ]

प्रणम्य परमात्मानं निबन्धानवलोक्य च ।  
श्रीवाचस्पतिधीरेण सम्बन्धचिन्तामणिहृच्यते ॥<sup>१</sup>

तत्र मनुः—

असपिगडा च या मातुरसगोत्रा च या पितुः ।  
मा प्रशस्ता द्विजातीनां दारकर्मणि मैथुने ॥

अथार्थः—

या मातुः सपिगडा च न भवति, या मातुः सगोत्रा च न भवति, या पितुः सपिगडा च न भवति, या पितुः सगोत्रा च न भवति, सा द्विजातीनां दारकर्मणि दारत्वमंपादके कर्मणि विवाहे, मैथुने मिशुनसाध्ये आधाने पुलोत्पत्तौ च प्रशस्तेति सम्बन्धः । मातुरित्यत्र मातृपदेन मातामहे लक्षणा, मानुर्विवाहे ततपितृकुले सपिगडतानिवृत्तेः । चकारान्मातुरसगोत्रा-पदेन मातामहादिपञ्चानां सन्ततिः प्रत्येकेन निविध्यते । तथा च पैठीनसिः—

असमानार्थेयो भार्या॑ विन्देत  
आर्पः प्रवरः । पितृस्वगोत्रास्वप्रवराविवाहे प्रायश्चित्तमाह—  
परिणोय सगोत्रां च समानप्रवरां तथा ।  
ल्याग॑ कृत्वा ततस्तथास्तश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥

अथान्येतु—

सगोत्रां समानप्रवरां विवाह्योपगम्य च ।  
तस्यामुतपाद्य चार्डालं व्राद्येण्यादेव हीयते ॥  
इति । असगोत्रो यदि वाँजी स्यात्तदा पाञ्चपौरुषी, सगोत्रो यदि वाँजी स्यात्तदा-मासपौरुषी । तथा च शङ्खलिखितौ—

सपिगडता तु सर्वेषां गोत्रतः सासपौरुषी ।  
पिगडं चोदकदानं च शौचाशौचं तदानुगम् ॥  
सपिगडताऽसगोत्रेतु स्मृता वै पाञ्चपौरुषी ।  
सपिगडता तु गोत्रैक्ये भवेत् सासपौरुषी ॥

गोत्रतो गोत्रैक्ये, भिन्नगोत्रे तु पिगडसम्बन्धेन पाञ्चपौरुषी सपिगडता ।  
सपिगडता तु पुरुषे सप्तमे विनिवर्तते ।  
समानोदकभावस्तु जन्मनान्नोरवेदने ॥

अस्यार्थः—

यं प्रतियोगिनं कृत्वा निरूप्त्यते तस्य पितृप्रभृतयः षट्पुरुषाः सपिण्डाः सप्तमोऽसपिण्ड इत्येवं मातामहादयस्त्वयः स्वयं च । सपिण्डत्वमेकशरीरत्वं, समान एकः पिण्डो यस्येति व्युत्पत्त्या तत्सम्बन्धात् परंपरया च एकजातत्वादेव भवति ।

मातृतः पञ्चमीं हित्वा पितृपञ्चाच्च सप्तमीम् ।

उद्घोते द्विजो भार्या॑ न्यायेन विधिना तृप् ॥

इत्यतापि पितृतो मातृत इति वरापेक्षया पितृमातृप्रहणं, न कन्यापेक्षया इत्युक्त्वा.....  
मातृपितृसम्बन्धात् मनुनापि “सा प्रसास्ता द्विजातीनामि”त्युक्त्वात् । पञ्चमसप्तमत्वं कन्या-  
पेक्षया, सर्वत्र पञ्चमी॑ सप्तमीमिति स्तोलिङ्गनिर्देशात् । सप्तमीपञ्चमीविवाहे तु नारदः—

सप्तमे पञ्चमे वापि येषां वैवाहिकी किया ।

• ते च सन्तानिनः सर्वे पतिताः शूद्रतां गताः ॥

यत् पैठीनसिवचनं—

असमानार्थयी॑ कन्यां विवहेत् पञ्च मातृतः परिहरेत् सप्त पितृतत्त्वीणि मातृतः पञ्च  
पितृतो वेति तदासुरादिविवाहविषयम् । मातृसप्तत्रीभ्रातृसन्ततिरपि न विवाह्या, यदाह  
सुमन्तुः—

सर्वाः पितृपत्न्यो मातरस्तासां भ्रातरो मातुताः तत्सुता भगिन्यस्तदपत्यानि भागिनेण्यः  
धर्मतथाविवाह्या भवन्ति ।.....केचित् मातामहसमानोदकां तत्सगोत्रां विवाहयन्ति  
यथा व्यासः—

सगोत्रां मातुरप्येके नेच्छन्त्युद्वाहकर्मणि ।

जन्मनाप्नोरविज्ञानेऽप्युद्वहेदविशङ्कितः ॥

इति मातामहसगोत्राविवाहे दोषाभावात् समानोदकापि विवाह्या, अन्यथा उद्घोतेदित्यस्य,  
वैयर्थ्यापत्तोः । याङ्गवल्क्यवचने पुनरसमानार्थगोत्रजामिति पितृसगोत्रायाः समानप्रवरायाश्च  
वर्जनान्मातामहसमानोदकापि विवाह्या इत्युक्तमिति । तथा चाह याङ्गवल्क्यः—

अनन्यपूर्विकां भार्यामिसपिण्डां यवीयसीम् ।

अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमानार्थगोत्रजाम् ॥

सप्तमात् पञ्चमादृद्ध॑ मातृतः पितृतत्वथा ।

असपिण्डमिति पितृमातुश्चेति विशेषः । असमानार्थगोत्रजामिति पितृसगोत्राया  
वर्जनादेव तत्सपिण्डाया अपि निषेधसिद्धौ असपिण्डमिति सपिण्डसन्ततेः सप्तमीपर्यन्तायाः  
निषेधार्थम् । असपिण्डा च या मातृरिति मातामहसन्ततेः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ताया निषेधार्थम् ।  
यवीयसी॑ कनिष्ठां भ्रातृविद्यमानामित्यर्थकम् । अतएव मनुः—

यस्यास्तु न भवेद् भ्राता न विज्ञायेत वा पिता ।

नोपयच्छेत तां प्राज्ञः पुत्रिकाधर्मशङ्क्या ॥

आर्पः प्रवरः । असमानार्पगोत्र जामसमानप्रवरामिति च ब्राह्मणादिवर्णतयविषयम्, मर्वक्वेव सापिगडथादिसम्भवात् । यजमानस्यार्थेयान् प्रवृण्णीतेत्युक्ता पौरोहित्यान् राजन्यविशां प्रवृण्णार्थेति आश्रलायनः । मातृतः पितृतस्थेति मातृबन्धुपितृबन्धुतस्थेति । यद्यपि—

उद्वहेत् पितृमात्रोस्तु सप्तमी' पञ्चमी' तथा

इति मार्कंगडेयपुराणेकवाक्यतया पितृमातृशब्दाभ्यां पितृमातृसम्बन्धवेन पितृबन्धुपितृमपिगडमातृबन्धुमातृसप्तिं निषेधः सिद्ध्यति, तथापि असपिगडमिति पृथगुक्तं तत्पितृमपिगडसन्ततेः सप्तम्या अर्वाग्जातायाञ्चिगोत्रान्तरिताया अपि विवाहार्थं तथा मातामहसपिगडसन्ततेः पञ्चम्या अर्वाग्जातायाञ्चिगोत्रान्तरिताया अपि विवाहार्थम् ।

असम्बन्धा भवेद्यातु पिरण्डेनैवोदकेन वा ।

मा विवाह्या द्विजातानां विगावान्तरिता च या ॥

इति वृहन्मनुवचनम् । यच्च गत्रिकर्मेऽपि कर्तव्यं विगावान्तरिता यदीति पठन्ति तदप्येतद् विषयमिति प्रतीयते । अता मातृपितृशब्दाभ्यां मातृपितृबन्धुनामपि ग्रहणम् । पितृबन्धवाः मातृबन्धवाश्च—

पितुः पितुः स्वसुः पुत्राः पितुर्मातुः स्वसुः सुताः ।

पितुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृबन्धवाः ॥

मातुर्मातुः स्वसुः पुत्रा मातुर्मातुः स्वसुः सुताः ।

मातुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबन्धवाः ॥ इति ।

तेन पितामहभगिनीपुत्रात् पितामहीभगिनीपुत्रात् पितामहीभ्रातृपुत्राच्च तमादायोपरितन-सप्तमपुरुषादृढ़ौ विवाहः, न तदर्वाग्जातायाः कन्यायाः । तथा मातामहभगिनीपुत्रात् मातामही-भगिनीपुत्रात् मातामहीभ्रातृपुत्राच्च तमादायोपरितनपञ्चमपुरुषादृढ़ौ विवाहः, न तदर्वाग्जातायाः कन्यायाः कन्यायाः इति । यद्यपि पितृबन्धनो चोपरितनानां सप्तमपञ्चमजातानां चिरातीतत्वेन पुरुषादिना पुरुषान्तराणां विवाहप्रसङ्गां नास्ति, तथापि सन्ततिपरंपराया जातायाः कन्यायाः पर्यन्तायाश्च विवाहात्वम् । प्रतियोगिनमादाय सप्तमादृढ़ौ कन्याया विवाहात्वमसञ्चिहित-त्वात् । सप्तमात् पञ्चमादृढ़ौ कन्याविवाहप्रयोजनं न सम्भवति, प्रायेण तस्यास्तत्कालानवस्थायित्वात् इति सम्बन्धात्तथा यद्यपि वरस्य पितृबन्धनां मातृबन्धनां चाधस्तनसप्तमपुरुषादृढ़ौ कालानवस्थायित्वात्, तथापि पितृबन्धुभ्यश्चाधस्तनसप्तमीपर्यन्तायाः पञ्चमी-पर्यन्तायाश्च तत्सन्ततेर्विवाहाभावप्रतिपादनार्थं वचनम् । एतेनैतदुक्तं भवति, पितामही-भगिनीपुत्रस्य मातामहप्रमातामहदृढप्रमातामहानां च पुत्रपरंपरया वा प्रतियोगिनमदाय सप्तमोपर्यन्ताया अविवाहात्वम् । यद्यपि पितामहस्य पितामहप्रमृति ये ऊर्ढृतनाः पञ्च-

पुरुषात्मैव पितामहोभगिनोपुत्रस्य गतामहायात्र्यः पुरुषाः, एतदुभयोरन्यत्र पितृबन्धु-  
संज्ञयैव तत्प्रतियोगितया विधिनिषेभः सिद्धः ।

कन्यां वरयमाणानमेष धर्मो विधोयते ।

प्रत्यण्डमुखा वरयन्ति प्रतिगृह्णन्ति प्राङ्मुखाः ॥

वरयमाणानामिति दातृणामित्यर्थः ।

वरयन्ति गोत्रप्रवराभिधानपूर्वकं ददति प्रतिगृह्णन्तीति श्रवणात् । तथा—

सर्वत्र प्राङ्मुखो दाता ग्रहीता चोदण्डमुखः ।

एष एव विधिर्दर्शने विवाहे च व्यतिक्रमः ॥

प्राङ्मुखायाभिष्पाय वराय शुचिसन्निधौ ।

दयात् प्रत्यण्डमुखः कन्यां ज्ञाणे लक्षणसंयुताम् ॥

इति भवदेवमट्टवचनाच्च ।

वरगोत्रं समुच्चार्य प्रपितामहपूर्वकम् ।

नाम भक्तीर्त्येद्वीमान् कन्यायात्मैवभेव हि ॥

नान्दोमुखे विवाहे च प्रपितामहपूर्वकम् ।

वाक्यमुच्चारयेद्वीमानन्यत्र पितृपूर्वकम् ॥

इति ।

पिता पितामहो भ्राता सकुल्यो जननी तथा ।

कन्याप्रदः पूर्वनाशो प्रकृतिस्थः परः परः ॥

पितुर्गे है च या कन्या रजः पश्यत्यसंस्कृता ।

भ्रूग्राहत्या पितुस्तस्याः सा कन्या वृषली स्मृता ॥

यस्तां विवाहयेत् कन्यां लोभान्मोहाच्च मानवः ।

अप्राद्येयमपांक्लेयं तं विद्याद् वृषलीपतिम् ।

विवाहकाले रजोदर्शने यन् कर्तव्यं तदेवाह—

विवाहे वितते तन्वे होमकाले उपस्थिते ।

कन्याया ऋतुरागच्छेत् कथं कुर्वन्ति याहिकाः ॥

स्नापयित्वा तु तां कन्यामर्चयित्वा यथाविधि ।

अञ्जलिमाहुतिं कृत्वा ततस्तन्त्रं प्रवर्तयेत् ॥

एकमातृक्योर्मध्ये पुत्रयोर्मुनिसत्तम् ।

अकृतोद्वद्वने ज्येष्ठे कनिष्ठः न विवाहयेत् ॥

परिवित्तिस्तु स ज्यायान् कनीयान् परिवेदनः ।

परिवित्तिः परिवेत्ता………च परिविद्यते ।

ते सर्वे नरकं यान्ति दातृयाचकपञ्चमाः ॥

मन्यासिनि महारोगयुक्ते दूरप्रवासिनि ।

झोवे महापातकिनि न दोषः परिवेदने ॥

तथा—

एकमात् क्योर्मध्ये कन्ययोर्मुनिमत्तम् ।

अनूढायांतु ज्येष्ठायां कनिष्ठां न विवाहयेत् ॥

परिणीय तु तां कन्यां प्राजापत्यं समाचरेत् ।

परिलक्षा तु सा पोष्या भोजनाच्छ्रादनेन च ॥

विवाहादौ तु संरेणैव वाक्यम्—

आचिदके पितृकृत्ये च मामधान्दममःस्मृतः ।

विवाहादी स्मृतः सौरो यज्ञादौ सावनो मतः ।

नारः सूर्यमंकान्तः । यत्—

चतुरो ब्राह्मणस्यादान् प्रशस्तान् कवयो विदुः ।

रात्रसं क्षतियस्यैकमासुरं वेश्यशूद्रयोः ॥

इति मनुवचनं, तत् प्राशस्त्यपरम् । एतेन द्विजातोनामासुरादिविवाहे न दोषः ।

इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीमद्वाचस्पतिमिश्रविरचितः सम्बन्धचिन्तामणिः समाप्तः ।

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

## R̥gvedic Ballads

1. A critical examination of the R̥gvedic ballads will reveal some of the literary qualities which the Vedic poets demanded of a ballad. To begin with the ballads of mythology, we find that the poets aimed at making poetry out of religion and past history; for it is an admitted fact that a good deal of what is mythology today was originally historical. A study of the epithets given to the Gods reveals that the concrete matter of-fact is viewed through the poetic glass. The empirical fact passed through the winnowing poetic imagination and was transmitted to the world at large as a poetic fact. Some of the epithets given to Agni like Ghṛtakēśa, Śociṣkeśa, Hiranya-keśa, Harikeśa, Tigmaśrṅga, Ayo dāmṣṭra, Ghṛta Cakṣus, reveal how the poetic vision has transformed the matter of fact. It is such a poetic experience that winnows the ritualistic and legendary narratives in R̥gveda.

The kindling of the fire with the help of the two Aranis and ten fingers is interpreted as Agni being the child of ten Virgins, often mothers, of ten s̥sters (1,95.2 ; 2.35). The myth of the celestial Agni is there. The ballad of Apām Napāt (2. 35) makes romance out of the empirical.

The Ballad Cycle of Indra is rich and varied in content. These ballads are a series of chronicles and, hence, constitute a good biography of the martial hero. In a ballad cycle repetition is inevitable; and a good number of the hymns have the same contents expressed in a different way. The Indra-ballad 1.32 has the characteristic opening of a ballad and proceeds on the lines of simple and unassuming narration. The burthen in the ballad, 2.12, "Sa janāsa Indrah" throws light on the part played by dance in the evolution of the ballad.

Again incident after incident swell in the ballad; and instead of poetising in a descriptive and suggestive way, the ballad-poet loves to pile up the sweeping ideas as in the beautiful hymn 3.31, where especially the fourth ṛk is significant. Here it partakes of the dramatic action.

The ballad generally opens in an abrupt manner taking a parti-

cular incident which compels the poet to carry on the thread only after recounting the past. Thereby the opening verse comes to present the main ideas in a nutshell as in the case of Vamra's hymn 10.99.

The ballads of Viṣṇu are concerned mainly with his three strides. The ballads of the Maruts and the Aśvins are only chronicles of events; and consequently they form part of history, not of religion nor of poetry. But the descriptions of the Maruts and of the exploits of the Aśvins have a romantic touch and a weird magic. The familiarity and yet the vagueness of the ballad is found in Indra's destroying the chariot of Uṣas (2.15; 4.30; 10.138); in Indra's stealing the Chariot of the Sun (1.61; 2.19; 4.30; 1.121; 5.29, 31), in the Syena (4.26.27), and in many more.

The Ballad-Cycles of Sunahṣepa (1.240 ff) and Syāvāśva (5.61 ff) reveal the familiarity with which a poet handles his subject matter. This familiarity lends weight to the total eclipse of the main theme. As a result we are left with the narration of certain events which become intelligible only when we supply the main story to which they allude.

The famous ballad of Sūryā, 10.85, which is popularly known as the marriage hymn, represents an important stage in the evolution of the Ballad. It is loosely knit and is made up of a variety of incidents. It is only her marriage that brings about the unity of effect. At the same time this hymn reveals that the ballad is the product of a society; and as such it is to be considered in its social setting. This ballad aims at a rich criticism of life.

That the ballad is a social product is further proved by the ballads of superstition in Rgveda. The most important one is Vasiṣṭha's Hymn of the Frogs (7.103), which is comparable to "the Frogs" of Aristophanes. It is the creation of the progressing social consciousness. It is the medium through which the objective dreams and aspirations, struggles and achievements, of the cultural organism are voiced forth. Vasiṣṭha's hymn of the Frogs speaks of a critical and sceptical society, a society that is not to tolerate a formal cult or a rigid technique. It is the social consciousness demanding freedom of enterprise and freedom of thought that is manifested here through the apparent garb of ridiculing the priests and their sacrifices. And it is with the social ballad that we enter a new phase in the evolution

of the ballad. As it begins to stand for the life and thought of a society it becomes organic and coherent and, therefore, literary.

2. The Riddle Ballads are speculative and philosophical in character. They are metaphysical and mystical. Here the poets pass from the social consciousness to the relation between the social consciousness and the individual consciousness. Consequently the emphasis is on the understanding of the nature of existence, of the nature of experience. The ballad becomes an instrument of mysticism and it allies itself with the parable. As such from the criticism of life, it passes into an interpretation of life. But since this interpretation is to be universal and effective, it takes the role of a parable and, therefore, becomes symbolic. In this symbolic character lies its value as mystic poetry.

The magnificent hymn of Dirghatamas, 1.164, is the greatest, but not the best, riddle ballad. It is a combination of many heterogenous units. It achieves the unity of effect by its sceptical analysis of life, thought and knowledge, by its critical examination of the universe, and by the synthesis it postulates in the multiplicity. The dependence of matter on mind, and the supremacy of the spiritual knowledge over the empirical are given in a beautiful way as in the case of the Suparna triplet (1.164 20-22).

The hymn 10.71 takes up the same problem of knowledge, while the next attempts to explain the creative will of God. The relation between the Absolute and the universe is taken up again in 10.81, 82, where the empirical reality is treated as Appearance. We take it to be real because of Māyā or Nihāra (10.82.7). Reality as transcendent and immanent is the theme of 10. 90, 121, 129 also. The Puruṣa Sūkta (10.90) in particular attempts a representation of this truth in terms of a symbolic ballad. The need for philosophic discipline is symbolically given to us in the ballad of the Keśins (10.136), where we are told that they drank poison from the cup along with Rudra to attain the higher or the spiritual knowledge.

3. With the martial ballads we are once again back on the *terra firma*. The spirit of the age (*zeit-geist*) reveals itself here in its political setting. A close examination of these hymns reveals the nature of the state and of the political machinery belonging to the Rgvedic age. The occidental Pandits and their followers proceeded on the assumption that Rgveda represents the beginnings of Indian

culture; and consequently they could not find any consistent political theory in the Vedic times. On the other hand, they have even denied the existence of the progressive political institutions during this epoch.

The life and thought of R̄gveda cannot represent the beginnings of a culture. On the other hand, R̄gveda marks the close of a great civilization and culture. To take a single instance, we know that during the age of classical Sanskrit the various independent "countries" in this sub-continent did not have their representative flags. There were flags or banners only for the individual warriors. The many heroes had many flags though they fought on the same side, because the flag in those days was the emblem of the individual and not of the nation.

But R̄gveda implies and at times reveals plainly that the flag is the emblem of the nation as a whole. "The heroes come together with their banner raised" (7.83.2), while the dawns raise their banner and spread abroad their shining light (l. 92). Uṣas is said to be the ensign or banner of Immortality (3.62). Besides these we hear of kings and their flags. These clearly prove that the R̄gveda belonged to a very advanced state of civilization, and that the compilation of the Samhitā marks the end of that golden age, of that glorious culture.

The R̄gvedic people with all their love of freedom were bent upon preserving law and order at any cost. Consequently they allied themselves even with non-Aryans as the eighth book reveals. They were preferably the Dravidians with whom they had much in common. Nationalism and patriotism were too dear to them. But the strength of the nation did not lie merely in the physical equipment. It was also spiritual. As Viśvāmitra observes :

"Viśvāmitrasya rakṣati brahmaedam bhāratam janam." (3.53) The independence of the nation (Janam) is preserved and strengthened by the spiritual values (Brahma). So did Vasiṣṭha add the spiritual integrity to the militant nationalism of Sudāsi (7. 18, 33, 83).

The last four ṣiks of 10.103 form part of an exhortation to the soldiers infusing courage into them, and making them realise the value of independence, the sanctity of patriotism, and the sense of responsibility. These stanzas can be happily compared to Henry V's famous exhortation to his troops on the eve of the battle of Agincourt, as given by Shakespeare.

The Ballad of war in the sixth manḍala, 6.75, has a great charm and is permeated by exquisite poetic beauty. War is no longer imagined as calling forth the matter of fact and the rugged realities. Even war is treated as a kind of romance in this ballad. Hegel said, "a nation that knows no war has scarce depth in it". But a nation that pursues war for the sake of war has scarce feeling in it. To the Rgvedic soldier and citizen, war seemed to be a beautiful romance, an aesthetic fact. The bowstring is a lady and her lover is the arrow; and they exchange messages of love as the string is drawn to the ear (6.75.3). The two ends of the bow are the lover and his beloved, who have their child in the arrow (6.75.4). The ballad of Dadhikrā, 4.38 emphasises the part played by cavalry in those days.

In all these martial ballads we find that the ballad content is closer to life, and that the political state of the country was very well advanced. Those were the days when wars too were poetised by virtue of the fact that a king's power lay both in his army and in the spiritual integrity of his dominion. As a result, the tender sentiments began to creep into the field of war. Thus even in war, the Vedic poet saw and felt the poetic spirit.

4. Then there remain the ballads of human association and love. In these ballads we find the content 'Human, all too Human'. The poetic thought has its roots in the daily life of the individual. It arises from the skein of life and rises to a lofty exposition and interpretation of human life. Consequently a lyrical expression is given to a lofty thought. This gives rise to the epic grandeur and sublimity of the Rgvedic ballad.

The stories of Juhū (10.109) and Ghosā (10.39,40) have a value in that the situations selected are dramatic. This dramatic nature is one of the chief qualities of a highly developed ballad. The song of Apālā (8.80) opens in the ballad manner; the situation is not introduced as it began. We open the ballad in the middle of the situation. It has an abrupt suddenness and a quick narration of events. The action proceeds briskly:

"Down to the stream a maiden came,  
and found the Soma by the way.  
Bearing it to her home she said;

'For Indra will I press thee out,  
For Šakra will I press thee out;'

The famous ballad of "Trita and the Well" (1.105), is a fine masterpiece. It is a "lyrical tragedy", the tragedy of the Well. It is the origin for the stories of Devayāni and Upamanyu. It occurs in the Kutsa group of songs (1.94-98; 1.101-115). The author is said to be Kutsa or Trita. It has the Kutsa-refrain.

Kutsa the younger, who speaks the last three verses, refashioned this song of the Well, as it happens in the case of ancient ballads.<sup>1</sup> The diction is select and the imagery is highly poetical here. It has also a refrain at the end of every ṛk. It opens with a fascinating account of what has happened and what Trita was experiencing.

The ballad of Mudgalānī (10. 102) can be best described as the triumph of Mudgalānī over her co-wives. Mudgala had many wives, but since one wife named Indrasenā (10.102.2) was barren (pativr̥ktā 10.102.11), he did not care for her. So though he was not old enough, yet as far as Mudgalānī was concerned he was a eunuch (vadhri 10.102.12). When his cattle were stolen, he engaged himself in a fighting contest, in which he was greatly helped by Indras nā, i.e. Mudgalānī, who was his charioteer too. Because of her he was able to come out successful. Here the contest is only a smoke screen ; for the main purpose is to show how the discarded and unfavoured Mudgalānī won the love of her husband.<sup>2</sup> As such this ballad exhibits great art. The main purpose is hidden and is only suggested; suggestion is the chief virtue of great poetry. It is here that the Rgvedic Ballad becomes poetry of a very high order.

P. S. SASTRI

<sup>1</sup> See Geldner: *Rig Veda*, Volume I (1923); *Vedische Studien*. III  
108-178

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Vedische Studien* II 1-16.

## Yajvapāla. Gopāla

A number of stone inscriptions of the Yajvapāla or Jajapella king Asalla (or Āsala), his son Gopāla and grandson Gaṇapati, all of whom had their headquarters at the hill-fort of Nalapura (modern Narwar in the Shivapuri District of Madhya Bhārat), are known to scholars, although none of them has been properly edited. The suggestion<sup>1</sup> that the name of the family was Cāhamāna is clearly wrong. The family name was really Jajapella which was Sanskritised as Yajvapāla and associated with a mythical progenitor named Jajapella or Jayapāla. Some of the records of this family were noticed by M. B. Garde, formerly Superintendent of Archaeology in the old Gwalior State, in a small article published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 242ff. They have also been enlisted in D. R. Bhandarkar's *Inscriptions of Northern India* as Nos. 562, 576, 597, 603, 628, 636 and 642. Bhandarkar's No. 562 (from Bhīmpur in the Shivapuri District, dated V. S. 1319 = 1262 A. D.) and No. 576 (from Rāī in the same District, dated V. S. 1327 = 1270 A. D.) belong to Asalla, son of Nṛvarman, grandson of Cāhaḍa and great-grandson of Paramādi. His No. 597 (from Baṛaudī in the same District), dated V. S. 1336 (1279 A.D.) and No. 603 (from Narwar), dated V. S. 1339, Jyeṣṭha-sudi 8, Wednesday (5th May 1283 A.D.), belong to the reign of Gopāla. The second of these two records speaks of Jayapāla, who was the legendary founder of the dynasty and was popularly known as Jajapella, and of Cāpaḍa (Cāhaḍa) who was an ancestor of Gopāla and was responsible for the capture of Nalagiri (i.e. Nalapura durga or the hill-fort of Narwar). No. 628 of Bhandarkar's list, dated V. S. 1348, Caitra-sudi 8, Thursday (27th March 1292 A.D.) comes from Surwaya (Shivapuri District) and belongs to the reign of Gaṇapati, while No. 636 (in the Gwalior Museum) is dated V.S. 1350 (1293 A.D.) falling in the reign of Gaṇapati and refers to Rāṇā Cācigadeva (wrongly read as *Adbigadeva*) who was a feudatory of Gopāla. Bhandarkar's No. 642 (from Narwar) is dated V. S. 1355, Kārttika-vadi 5, Friday (26th September 1298 A.D.) and represents king Gaṇapati as the

<sup>1</sup> Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. II, pp. 834, 1003-04.

son of Gopāla, grandson of Asalla, great-grandson of Nṛavarman (Naravarman) and great-great-grandson of Cāhaḍa.

Some other records bearing dates in the later years of Gopāla's reign have been noticed in the *Annual Administration Reports of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State* (some of which were not printed) as well as in H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abbilekh* (Hindi), Gwalior, 1947. These are Dvivedi's No. 149 (from Narwar, dated V. S. 1341 = 1284 A.D.), No. 152 (from Balārpur in the Shivapuri District, dated V. S. 1342, Jyeṣṭha-vadi 3, Monday = 9th April 1285 A.D.) and No. 154 (from Pachrai in the same District, dated V.S. 1345, Vaiśākha-vadi 2, Saturday = 23rd April 1289 A. D.). See also his No. 140 from Narwar and No. 158 from Baṛhotar in the same District.

Similarly Dvivedi's No. 175 (from Balārpur, dated V. S. 1356 = 1299 A.D.) and No. 177 (from the same place, dated V. S. 1357 = 1300 A.D.) belong to the later years of Gaṇapati.

The above records will show that Gopāla's dates range between V.S. 1336 (1279 A.D.) and V.S. 1345 (1289 A.D.) while Gaṇapati's dates fall between V. S. 1348 (1292 A.D.) and V. S. 1357 (1300 A.D.). A number of coins issued by Cāhaḍa and Asalla were discovered by Cunningham.<sup>2</sup> The dates on the coins of the two kings range between V.S. 1294 (?) and 1311 (i. e. 1237-54 A. D.) and between V. S. 1311 and 1336 (i. e. 1254-79 A. D.) respectively. Cāhaḍa is no doubt the same as Jāhir Deo of Firishta and Chāhar-i-Ajār of Minhājud-dīn.<sup>3</sup> He was a contemporary of Sultān Nāṣiruddīn (1246-66 A.D.) of Delhi and has been described by Minhājud-dīn as 'the greatest of all the Raes' in the tract comprising 'Gwāliūr, Chandīrī, Nurwur and Mālwah' and as having 5000 horsemen and 200,000 footmen under his command. In A. H. 649 (1251 A. D.) he is stated to have been defeated by Ghīyāṣuddīn Balban on behalf of the Sultān and the fortress (at Nurwur according to Firishta) which was constructed by him among defiles and passes, was taken and plundered.' But the said subjugation of Cāhaḍa of Narvar was apparently nominal as Cāhaḍa and his son Asalla could not have issued

<sup>2</sup> *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 92 f.; Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1103.

<sup>3</sup> *Tārikh-Firuzshāhī*, Briggs' trans., vol. I, p. 239; *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, Raverty's trans., vol. II, pp. 690-91 and note.

coins of their own if they were really subordinates of the Sultān. It is well known that the Muslims considered the issue of coins to be a monopoly of independent monarchs. No coins of Asalla's son Gopāla and grandson Gaṇapati have, however, been discovered so far and this fact may suggest that they were feudatories of the Khaljī Sultāns of Delhi, although the Muslim chronicles do not throw any light on this point. After Gaṇapati nothing is known about the Yajvapāla dynasty which may have been overthrown by Sultān 'Alāuddin Khaljī (1296-1316 A. D.). On this point also we have no information in the Muslim chronicles. The statement that Cāhaḍa was the builder of the fortress of Narwar seems to be wrong. We have a copper-plate grant<sup>4</sup> issued from Nalapura-mahādurga in V. S. 1177 (1120 A. D.) by an independent Kacchapaghāta king named Vitasiinha who flourished about a century before Cāhaḍa of the Yajvapāla dynasty. We have also seen how Cāhaḍa claimed only to have captured Nalagiri (i. e. the hill-fort of Narwar).

About the beginning of 1955, I camped for a few days at Shiva-puri, headquarters of the District of that name in Madhya Bhārat, and copied a number of inscriptions of the reign of king Gopāla in the said area, one at Sesai and fifteen at Baṅglā. These records were found on stone pillars commemorating warriors killed in battle. They often bear representations of footmen, horsemen and elephant-riders engaged in battle and of fallen warriors worshipping the Siva-liṅga or enjoying the company of celestial damsels in heaven. In some cases, the persons are represented as worshipping the Siva-liṅga jointly with their wives showing thereby that the ladies committed *Satī* on the funeral pyres of their husbands. Generally only one face of the pillars bears such a representation above an inscription; but in some cases all the four faces have carvings although only one of the faces bears an inscription. Many of the pillars have their head, fluted and crowned with a pinnacle.

The inscriptions exhibit considerable carelessness of the scribes. In point of calligraphy, these epigraphs cannot be compared with the beautifully engraved Yajvapāla *prāśastis* preserved in the Gwalior Museum. The writing on many of the pillars is more or less damaged. The language of the records is corrupt Sanskrit. As indicated above,

<sup>4</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 206.

all the pillars bearing inscriptions were raised to perpetuate the memory of certain warriors who died in battle. This kind of death was extolled in ancient India as highly meritorious.<sup>5</sup> It is also apparent that the wives of some of the warriors committed *Sati* on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands. Unfortunately the language of the records is generally defective and does not bring out the intended meaning quite clearly. This characteristic of leaving the meaning intended by the scribe in many cases to be guessed by the reader is generally noticed in the private medieval records of the Malwa-Rajasthan region and has already been referred to above in connection with the language of the Toda-Raising inscription of the time of *Pādshāh* Islām Shāh of Delhi and *Rāṇā* Udayasimha of Kumbhalmer.<sup>6</sup>

Bainglā is a small village about five miles to the east of the fort of Narwar. Near the village, there is a vast stretch of rocky waste land covered with thorny shrubs. This area extends from the border of the village to the river Barua, which is a small tributary of the Sindh and runs about a mile to the east of the village, and is studded with a number of memorial stone pillars, many of which are inscribed. A good many of these inscriptions refer to the death of certain warriors who lost their lives fighting on behalf of the Yajvapāla king Gopāla against the Candella monarch Vīravarman whose known dates range between 1261 and 1286 A.D. Some of these epigraphs were briefly noticed first in the *Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State* for V.S. 1991 (1934-35), 1938, pp. 8, 12, 25-26 (Nos. 7-13) and then in Dvivedi's List, 1947, Nos. 133-39. Although these meagre notices are not free from errors, they should have attracted the attention of scholars. Unfortunately even the author of a recently published work

5 *Mahābhārata*, XII, 98, 44-47. Cf. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, vol. XI, p. 70, note 5.

6 See vol. XXXI, pp. 274-75; *Epigraphy Indica*, vol. XXX, pp. 192-93. A word may be said here about the date of the Toda-Raising inscription quoted as V. S. 1604, Śaka 1469, Mārgaśīrṣa-vadi 2, Thursday. I have regarded it as an irregular date falling in November 1547 A.D. But, if the years are taken to be current and the month to be Amānta, the date would correspond regularly to the 9th December 1546 A.D.

on the history of the Candellas has not taken their evidence into cognizance.<sup>7</sup>

The date of the battle between the forces of Gopāla and those of Vīravarman, in which the partisans of the former lost their lives, is quoted in six of the Bañglā records as V.S. 1338, Caitra-sudi 7, Friday. It regularly corresponds to the 28th March 1281 A.D. In one case the week-day is quoted, apparently wrongly, as Caitra-sudi 2, Saturday, instead of Caitra-sudi 7, Friday, of the other records. In five cases, the year is given as V.S. 1337. It has to be noticed that V.S. 1338 could have been regarded as V.S. 1337 according to a different method of calculation. If the year is regarded as Kārtik-ādi, V.S. 1338 current was the same as V.S. 1337 expired.

In some cases, the warriors specifically claim to have obtained victory in the battle. It is clear that the army of Vīravarman invaded the kingdom of Yajvapāla Gopāla and succeeded in penetrating as far as the immediate neighbourhood of the latter's capital Nalapura (Narwar). But the Yajvapāla forces then offered battle and repulsed the invaders. The Candella king thus seems to have been defeated in his contest with the Yajvapālas after having gained some initial success. The battle referred to in the inscriptions probably lasted only for a day. A large number of soldiers on Vīravarman's side must also have lost their lives; but there is no record of that besides vague claims on behalf of the partisans of Gopāla in the records in question. The battle is stated to have been fought on the banks of the river variously called Valuvā, Volukā, Valūbā, Valūkā and Valuka which is no other than the modern Barua. The identity of the invading king Vīravarman is made clear by his mention in one record as Caṇḍilla (Candella), by another referring to his association with Jejāhuti, and by two others describing him as the lord of Jejābhukti and the king of Jejāhuti respectively. Jejāhuti and Jejābhukti are variant forms of the name applied to the Candella dominions, Jejāka-bhukti, Jejāka-deśa and Jejāka-maṇḍala being often mentioned in the records of the Candellas themselves.<sup>8</sup> The name was supposed to have been derived from that of Jayaśakti, popularly called Jejā or Jejāka. A Kalacuri inscription<sup>9</sup>

7 Sec N. Bose, *History of the Candellas*, Calcutta, 1956.

8 See Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 669-70 and notes.

9 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 35, verse 21.

mentions the Candella kingdom as *Jejābhuktika*. Al-Biruni<sup>10</sup> mentions Kajurāha (Khajuraho, the capital of the Cандellas) as the capital of *Jejāhūti*. The vernacular form of the name is *Jajāhūti* or *Jajāhotī*.<sup>11</sup> Two of the Baṅglā records further say that Vīravarman was accompanied by four other kings who were no doubt his allies or vassals. But no other details about these rulers are given.

The records from Baṅglā throw some light on the interpretation of a passage in the Dāhi copper-plate grant of Candella Vīravarman which bears the date V. S. 1337, Vaiśākha-sudi 15, Sunday.<sup>12</sup> The inscription, is now lost. It was secured by Ellis in 1848 from Dāhi near Bijāwar in Bundelkhand, and he supplied a note on its contents (based on a hopelessly inaccurate transcript) to Cunningham who succeeded in suggesting some corrections on the basis of a transcript (also erroneous) that was prepared by him from an impression of the record.<sup>13</sup> Kielhorn<sup>14</sup> equated the date with the 4th May 1281 A.D., which is just a little over one month later than the date of the Baṅglā inscriptions (viz. 28th March 1281 A.D.). It will be seen that the same year was regarded as V. S. 1338 in many of the Baṅglā inscriptions and as V. S. 1337 in the Dāhi plate as well as some of the inscriptions from Baṅglā. The reason underlying this difference has already been indicated above. According to Ellis, his copper-plate inscription records the grant of the village of Dāhi in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named 'Balbhadra Mallaya, an illustrious chief of distinguished bravery, who has conquered the Rajas of Nalpur, Gopal-Madhuban, Hatta, Har-raj, Gopagiri, Sardhi, the Turks and rulers from Kashmir.' Cunningham pointed out that the grant was made by Candella Vīravarman of Kālañjara in favour of Mallāya of the Kāsyapa gōtra, who conquered 'the lord of Narwar (*samarayugāparājītā Nalapurapati*) and the ruler of Mathura (*Gopāla Madhuvamakādhīpa*) and Harirāja of Gwalior (Gopagiri)'. Although Cunningham's transcript and interpretation are apparently defective, later writers (including the author of the most recent work on the history of the

<sup>10</sup> Sachau's trans., vol. I, p. 202.

<sup>11</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 218.

<sup>12</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 600.

<sup>13</sup> See Cunningham's Reports, vol. XXXI, pp. 74 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Kielhorn's Northern List, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, pp. 34 f., No. 240.

Candellas referred to above) have generally accepted his views.<sup>15</sup> But Bhandākar rightly suggested long ago that one of the adversaries of the Candella king Vīravarman mentioned in the Dāhi grant was the Yajvapāla king Gopāla of Nalapura.<sup>16</sup> There is little doubt that the Dāhi grant mentions *Nalapura-pati* Gopāla as one of the rulers vanquished by Mallāya who was probably a general of Vīravarman. The Candella *praśastikāra*, who composed the record, seems to have given here a partisan's reading of the results of Vīravarman's invasion against the kingdom of Gopāla.

An important fact of Yajvapāla history is revealed by the Sesai inscription and some of the Baṅglā epigraphs which mention *Mahākumāra* Jaitravarman and *Mahāpradhāna* Dejā. The *Mahāpradhāna* seems to have been the chief administrator or minister of Yajvapāla Gopāla while the *Mahākumāra* probably served as the king's deputy. There is some reason to believe that *Mahākumāra* Jaitravarman was a son of Gopāla and was regarded as the heir to the throne. But he seems to have predeceased his father since Gopāla's throne passed after his death to his other son Gaṇapati. As yet we have no proof to show that Jaitravarman ascended the throne and ruled for a short period.

The Sesai and Baṅglā inscriptions of Yajvapāla Gopāla are being published by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

D. C. SIRCAR

<sup>15</sup> See Ray, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 732-33; N. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. his List, No. 600.

## The Purāṇa Stories of Veṇa and Pṛithu and their Philosophical Significance

From the point of view of philosophical significance the early Purāṇa versions of the stories of the tyrant Veṇa and his illustrious son Pṛithu bear no comparison with their archetype in *Mahābhārata* XII. 59. The link between the earlier and the later versions is furnished by the story in the *Harivamśa*, a work going back probably to the 1st or the 2nd century A.D., which announces itself as a supplement of the *Mahābhārata* but really partakes of the characteristics of a *Purāṇa*. Introducing Veṇa as the son of the Patriarch Aṅga, the *Harivamśa* account (V. 3-30) states that on coming to the throne he established a social order contrary to *dharma* and he disregarded the *dharma* of the Vedas, while following its reverse. During his reign Vedic study as well as the performance of Vedic rites and sacrifices was stopped. Not only did he sternly forbid offerings to the sacred fire as well as sacrifices in honour of the gods, but he claimed these honours for himself. To the remonstrance of the great sages who reminded him of his agreement (*samaya*) for protection of his subjects Veṇa made an impious and arrogant reply that he was the creator of duties (*dharmas*) and the source of all creatures, whereupon he was belaboured by the angry sages. Out of his right arm churned by the sages came forth Pṛithu in full panoply. Then the gods headed by Brahmā as well as creatures mobile and immobile came to the spot and consecrated Pṛithu as the first king. He was called *rājā* as he gratified the subjects who had been alienated by his father. In the concluding portion of the story (V. 44-56; VI 1-55) the author tells us how Pṛithu at the instance of his subjects forced the Earth-goddess to yield for them the means of subsistence. The story ends with a high eulogy of Pṛithu the first king (*ādirāja*). The slight significance of the above version in contrast with its counterpart in the *Mahābhārata* is indicated by the difference in their very context. For while Bhiṣma's story forms the last and the most important act in a drama turning on the question of the origin of kingship, the story in the *Harivamśa* is narrated in the course of a series of genealogical accounts (*vamśas*) of the Patriarchs. In other words, the later version unlike the earlier makes no claim to lay down a philosophical theory.

of the origin of kingship (or more generally of the State), but on the contrary is narrated as a legendary and edifying tale of ancient times. In harmony with this difference of outlook the *Harivamśa* is completely silent about the pre-political condition of man, but on the other hand begins with a reference to the Patriarch Aṅga, father of Veṇa, who was born in the lineage of the sage Atri. The *Harivamśa*, again, while developing the narrative portions of the original story (such as the controversy between Veṇa and the sages) makes no reference to its philosophical implications such as those connected with the instrument of government and the coronation-oath imposed upon Pṛithu by the gods and sages, and the establishment of his authority by the act of God Viṣṇu. The *Harivamśa* nevertheless has preserved the memory of an agreement made by the king for the protection of his subjects (although this is attributed to Veṇa instead of Pṛithu) as well as the doctrine of Divine creation of kingship. On the other hand the swift and terrible punishment of Veṇa by the sages for his impious claim to divine honours may be taken to convey the author's sense of limitation of the principle of the subjects' obedience to their ruler.

The story of Veṇa and Pṛithu occurs in the Purāṇas in three more or less parallel versions. Veṇa, son of Patriarch Aṅga, we read in the first version, (*Vāyu Purāṇa* 62.104-193 = *Brahmānda Purāṇa* 68. 104-193) was unrighteous and self-indulgent, and he rejected the Vedas and adopted unrighteousness. "No sacrifices were to be performed and no offerings were to be made to the sacred fire", such was the fierce resolve of this doomed king: on the contrary the twice-born classes were to perform sacrifices and the offerings were to be made to the sacred fire in his own name. The great sages, wishing to undertake a long sacrificial session, addressed him a remonstrance reminding him that his act was contrary to the eternal *dharma*, and that he had formally undertaken to protect the people. To this the tyrant made the haughty and impious reply that he was the root of the whole world and specially of the sacred law, and that he excelled all others in knowledge and character as well as in might. Failing to bring him to reason the great sages wrung his right arm out of which came forth Pṛithu in full armour. The rivers and the seas brought forth from all sides jewels and water for his consecration, while Brahmā himself with the gods as well the whole moveable and

immovable world came forth to consecrate him to supreme lordship. He became known as *rājā* as he pleased his subjects who had been alienated by his father's tyranny. At the prayer of the subjects Prīthu went through the process of milching the earth so as to provide subsistence for them. As at the beginning so at the end the story gives a high praise of Prīthu. He was the first king to be consecrated to the *Rājasūya* sacrifice, and he was the first *rājan*. By his success in ruling he made himself the object of regard to all peoples.

A slightly different version of the above occurs in *Viṣṇu Purāṇi* (I.13. 11-87) in the course of its genealogical account of the sages and sage-like kings. Veṇa, son of Aṅga, we read, after his consecration by the sages issued a proclamation forbidding performance of sacrifices as well as offerings to the sacred fire and religious gifts, and claiming these honours for himself. When the sages asked his permission to worship God Viṣṇu at a long sacrificial session, the king gave the haughty and blasphemous reply that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Siva and other gods existed in the person of the king who was in fact a compound of all the deities. Obedience to his order, he declared, was the duty of the sages, "just as serving the husband is regarded as the principal duty of the wife." When Veṇa rejected their repeated prayers for the above permission, the angry sages killed him saying that the vile man who reviled the Great Deity without beginning and without end was unfit for kingship. When the country was thus left without a king, robbers flourished so extensively as to raise dust storms with their march. To end this state of things the sages decided to raise an issue to the late king by churning his limbs. When they pressed his right arm, out came Prīthu in full armour. The rivers and the seas joined in bringing offerings for Prīthu's consecration, while the gods headed by Brahmā as well as the whole creation came forth to consecrate him. Brahmā discovered Prīthu to be a portion of God Viṣṇu after seeing the sign of the discus on his right arm. When the people complained that all plants had been swallowed up by the earth in the days of anarchy and appealed to Prīthu as the divinely ordained provider of subsistence for themselves, Prīthu milched the Earth-goddess for their benefit.

The longest version of the Veṇa-Prīthu legend is found in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in a series of chapters (IV.13.16—23.39) in the course of its genealogical accounts of the sages and the kings. Introducing this story the author tells us how the sages desiring to hear the story

asked for what offence the ascetics versed in the law uttered the Brahmanical curse against Veṇa. The king even though at fault, the sages argued, must not be despised by his subjects for he carried with his own might the strength of the Regents of the Quarters. In reply the sage Maitreya first states that king Aṅga obtained a boon of a son through the favour of God Viṣṇu. This son called Veṇa grew to be such a vicious lad as to drive his father in grief to retire to the forests. When the sages found that the people in the absence of a protector were sinking to the level of beasts, they reluctantly consecrated Veṇa as ruler with the result that the robbers immediately disappeared "like rats in the presence of snakes." Filled with pride in the possession of the eight superhuman faculties (*vibhūti* in the original explained by the commentator Śrīdharaśvāmin as the high qualities of the eight Regents of the Quarters), Veṇa issued a proclamation by the beat of drum forbidding the performance of sacrifices, religious gifts and offerings to the sacred fire. The bewildered sages addressed him a remonstrance reminding him of the high reward attending the king who while collecting the taxes, protected his subjects against dishonest officials as well as robbers, and praying for the restoration of their sacrificial performances. To this the tyrant made a blasphemous reply couched in language more vulgar than in the other Purāṇic versions. In sharp words they were reminded that their devotion to the Lord of Sacrifice in place of the giver of their subsistence was like that of a bad woman to her paramour, that no bliss attended one who despised the god in the form of a king, and that all the gods capable of blessing and cursing people resided in the person of the king who was indeed a compound of all the deities. They were therefore required to perform the sacrifices and make the offerings to himself. For this offence of slighting Viṣṇu the angry sages declared him to be unfit for the throne and killed him with their indignant shouts. The vacancy in the throne became the signal for depredations of robbers on such a wide scale that they raised dust-storms with their onrush. Desiring to perpetuate the line of king Aṅga, the sages churned the dead king's limbs. When they churned his two arms, out came a human-pair, Pṛithu and his wife, who were held by them as personal manifestations of Viṣṇu and his wife. Brahmā, the Lord of the world, having come to see Pṛithu recognised him by the signs on his person to be a partial manifestation of Viṣṇu. When the Brāhmaṇas learned

in the Vedic lore consecrated him, the rivers and the seas, the hills, the earth and heaven, and all creatures brought the articles needed for the ceremony, while the gods in heaven gave him other presents. At a great sacrificial session Prithu addressing the assembly declared (IV.21.20-42) that he had been ordained by Brahmā for ruling over the people, so that he might protect them and establish them in their respective duties. The king who collects taxes from his subjects without instructing them in their religious duties, Prithu further observed, acquires their sins and loses his own greatness.

In trying to estimate the philosophical significance of the above stories, we have first to observe that they are all set forth in the context of narratives of genealogies of gods and sages, while the purpose of their narration is stated in true Purāṇic style to be the edification of the people. It is evident that they do not attempt to present us with a philosophical theory of the origin of kingship and the ruler's resulting relation with his subjects. Nevertheless it is possible to glean from them the authors' ideas relating to the two old complementary principles of the authority and obligation of the temporal ruler. Thus in the first place we are told in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and still more in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that the State of Nature without the king is synonymous with wild anarchy. The stories again tell us how after Prithu had been created as king by the act of the sages, the gods themselves joined in his consecration. To this the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* add that the physical signs on Prithu's body prove him to be a portion of Viṣṇu. It is, again, significant that even the tyrant Vena is stated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* to have been gifted with superhuman faculties. With these ideas is joined in the last-named version the conception of the subjects's obligation to honour their ruler. The extracts evidently repeat the two principles of the authority of the temporal ruler laid down so well by Manu and by Bhiṣma in the *Mahābhārata*. These are, firstly the conception of kingship as the grand safeguard of individual and collective security, and secondly, that of the king's divine ordination as well as of his divinity—in this case involving at the worst his endowment with superhuman qualities and at the best his incorporation of Viṣṇu's personality. From the above follows as a natural corollary the subjects' obligation of obedience to their ruler. In the second place it is remarkable that the sages' remonstrance reminds Vena of his general agreement for protection

of his subjects and his breach of the eternal *dharma* (*Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas) as well as of his obligation of protection in return for taxation (*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*). In the version of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, moreover, Pṛithu makes pointed reference to his divinely ordained obligation of protection as well as his duty of instructing the people in return for taxation. These statements evidently refer to the three-fold principle of the king's obligation according to the *Smṛitis*, namely the divine, the ethico-religious and the quasi-contractual, not to speak of the general *Smṛiti* principle of the supremacy of *dharma*. Finally, it is significant that the principle of the king's authority in its extreme form (involving his exclusive claim to divine honours and the subjects' obligation of unquestioned obedience to his command) is put into the mouth of the tyrant Veṇa only to justify his deposition and death at the hands of the aggrieved sages. This seems to indicate the author's sense of the limitations of the doctrines of the king's divinity and the passive obedience of the subjects.*

U. N. GHOSHAL.

## The Plot of the Mṛcchakaṭīka

Prof. R. P. Oliver says, "The *Little Clay Cart*, like the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam, enjoys abroad a celebrity which it did not have at home." The reason, he says, lies in its rather unique theme and the masterly handling of the plot.

Unlike most of the famous Sanskrit dramas the Mṛcchakaṭīkam has a main plot and at least four clearly delineated sub-plots.

In the very first act we notice Śūdraka's craftsmanship and stage sense. Here all the major characters—Śakāra, Cārudatta, and Vasantasenā—are introduced with their associates—Vita, Sthāvaraka, Radanikā, Maitreya and Vardhamānaka. The germ of future complications—Śakāra's discomfiture, his hatred of Cārudatta and his vow to prosecute him for libel—also appears here. In the same act again Vasantasenā deposits her ornaments with Cārudatta, and this leads to further complications. This act then presents the two major themes, Vasantasenā's love for Cārudatta and Śakāra's malice against the pair. Further, it introduces three major recurring motifs—those of asylum (Vasantasenā finds asylum at Cārudatta's place), pursuit (Śakāra, Vita and Cheta pursuing Vasantasenā) and mistake or confusion (Śakāra mistaking Radanika for Vasantasenā).

These motifs suggest three interacting forces in the play: the asylum motif—the force of goodness, the pursuit motif—that of evil, and the mistake motif,—that of Fate. The second act introduces the first sub-plot. Saṃvāhaka, the ruined dice-player, is pursued by Māthura. The asylum motif is repeated when Vasantasenā takes pity on him, gives him shelter and pays the ransom. This act unfolds her character as the first act unfolded Cārudatta's. Thus are the acts alternately devoted to the hero and the heroine until the fifth where their union takes place. Even the apparently unconnected Karṇapuṭaka episode reveals Cārudatta as a truly noble soul and Vasantasenā as a woman full of tender emotion: she rewards Karṇapuṭaka generously just for the touch and smell of her beloved's cloak. Here as elsewhere Śūdrakas's technique is to reveal characters through gestures rather than through words.

In the third act Cārudatta and Maitreya return after a musical evening at Rebhila's house. When the music-lover goes to sleep a

thief• breaks into the house. Poverty, which drives Samyāhaka to gambling, makes Sarvilaka a thief. But, as is common in this drama, the poor are essentially good, while the wicked are everywhere in power. Sarvilaka takes care not to kill or hurt anybody. His love for Madanikā makes him desperate and he is too poor to pay for her redemption; so he has turned into a thief. This second sub-plot repeats the major theme in a minor key, a technique which can be identified in many Shakesperean plays. When the theft is discovered we see Dhuta's magnanimity when she parts with her last jewel to save her husband's honour.

In the fourth act the second sub-plot is concluded. Sarvilaka marries Madanikā, thus anticipating the union of Cārudatta and Vasantasenā. This act also ushers in the third sub-plot, the Āryaka episode giving the play's political background.

Act V sees the lovers united. The background is ominous. There are heavy rain and frequent lightnings, all nature is full of deep forebodings of danger.

Act VI, which opens with the next morning, finds these forebodings fulfilled. The real tragic motif is introduced by Rohasena's clay cart, which symbolically suggests the running theme of the clay-gold conflict. Here appearances are deceptive. Under the gilding there is clay (Sakāra), while Cārudatta, with a heart of gold, can give his only son nothing better than a claycart for a toy. Fate seems to assist in Sakāra's designs—real complications begin at this point—and the mistake motif is repeated when Vasantasenā takes Sakāra's carriage for Cārudatta's. The issues of this episode are developed later. The cart meanwhile moves on. The pursuit motif is repeated when Candanaka and Vīraka inspect the carts for the absconding Āryaka, whose escape foreshadows the triumph of the forces of good.

In the brief seventh act the asylum motif reappears when Cārudatta hides Āryaka, thus unconsciously paying a premium for future prosperity.

In the next act the forces of evil face disruption when Vita abandons Sakāra to join the Āryaka party. Even Sthāvaraka stoutly refuses to be his master's accomplice in his plot to kill Vasantasenā, although the latter promises a rich reward. The action from now on proceeds rather tortuously towards the climax. All Sakāra's diabolic schemes come to nothing at the end, when evil is self-exposed and

convicted. And when Vasantasenā regains her consciousness with Saṃvāhaka's aid, the final victory of righteousness is assured.

In the IXth act we have the climax. Cārudatta, forsaken by Fate and betrayed by human justice, has been condemned to death. The circumstantial evidence against him is irrefragable and there seems to be no hope of escape for him. Everybody in the lawcourt, from the judge and the assessors down to Śakāra himself, has not a doubt of Cārudatta's innocence, yet the ornaments recovered from Maitreya's person are identified as the dead heroine's. Fate is against Cārudatta; even though the judges are full of probity there is going to be a grotesque mockery of justice. Cārudatta proudly refuses to defend himself and evil is apparently going to be victorious.

The lawcourt, however, does not exhaust the range of human justice, which asserts itself from an unexpected source. In the sequel all the minor characters, the Candālas, Sarvilaka, Saṃvāhaka, and even Sthāvaraka who has earlier risked his own life to save Cārudatta, do their utmost to serve him. Meanwhile the political situation (presented in the third sub-plot) undergoes a radical change. With Pālaka's death and Āryaka's accession the forces of good become more powerful. The united efforts of the minor characters bear fruit. What follows is somewhat abrupt but adequately motivated. Human effort beats Fate and there is poetic justice at the end; evil is suitably punished, the poor and the good are rewarded.

The very definition of a Prakaraṇa demands that the theme be selected from common life, while that of the Nāṭaka should be supplied by royalty and aristocracy. नाटकं ह्यातवृत्तं स्यात् ।...भवेत् प्रकरणे वृत्तं लौकिकं कविकलितम् ।...प्रद्यातवंशो राजर्षिधीरोदात्तः प्रतापवान् । दिव्योऽथ दिव्यादिव्यो वा गुणवान् नायको मतः । ( साहित्यदर्पणम् ) I, Whereas, in a Prakaraṇa—नायकस्तु विशेषमात्योऽधिका वग्निक् ।

The choice of the protagonist determines the social level on which the drama is to move and evolve. And this virtually precludes the intervention of the supernatural in a prakaraṇa. This is why Mṛcchakaṭikam is more 'realistic' than any other extant Sanskrit play, and Prof. Schroeder's warm tribute is justified: "If Kalidasa stands high in his depth, the tenderness and the excellence of his poetry, the

1 Ct. दशरूपकम् : अथ प्रकरणे वृत्तमुत्पाद्यं लोकसंश्रयम् ।  
अमात्यविप्रवणिजामेकं कुर्याच्च नायकम् ॥

Mṛcchakaṭikam must be regarded as the greatest product of the Hindus in all those attributes which properly speaking constitute the true dramatic effect and produce the true scenic effects, that is to say in the life, the vigour, the animation of the dramatic action, the sharp characterisation."

Then again, while the Nāṭaka was written primarily for the elite, the Prakaraṇa had a much more popular audience. It could therefore introduce a much greater variety of characters and situations. The king is there, at the background, but on the stage we meet people of all social grades—justices, assessors, fallen merchant, rich courtesan with her retinue, masseur, thief, gamblers; lastly, Cāṇḍālas coming from the lowest, most despised section of society.

Besides, when there are one main plot and as many as four sub-plots, the action has to be dynamic in order to be dramatically successful. That of Mṛcchakatikam is amply so. Direct or symbolic anticipatory suggestions link up earlier with later movements, which proceed in a pauseless though complex sequence. Although Professor Ryder suggests that acts II-V are too long and slow moving,<sup>1</sup> they contain nothing that is dramatically redundant. The sub-plots are neither decorative nor are they introduced to provide mere relief or diversion. They serve a profounder purpose and are carefully integrated with the main structure. No thread hangs loose, every single episode is organically connected with the broad action of the drama.

Compared with Bhāsa's Cārudatta, source of Mṛcchakaṭikam,<sup>2</sup> the latter shows a new thematic richness and much greater artistic finish. Sūdraka makes a number of vital alterations. The situations are more complicated, there are new characters, hero and heroine are given an enlarged spiritual dimension. Altogether, Sūdraka has a new conception of the play's action and significance and he owes to Bhāsa much less than is commonly supposed. His colours are very much richer, his canvas very much wider, and he gives the play a depth of significance which is absent in Bhāsa.

Sūdraka avoids many of the major defects of Sanskrit drama—the tedious intricacies of a Mudrārakṣasām, the ever-increasing tension and suffocating pressure of the macabre that repels us in a

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Ryder: Introduction: "The Little Clay Cart."

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Oliver's Introduction: "The Little Clay Cart." Kale's Introduction to his edition of Mṛcchakaṭikam.

Mālatīmādhavam, the sloppy sentimentality and blasé decadence of a Ratnāvalī, or even the naivete and oversimplification of a Cārudattam.

Sūdraka studies life profoundly. At work are three mysterious forces, those of good, evil, and Fate, operating in complicated ways, through complicated interrelations. Good ultimately triumphs. Not however through divine intervention but—and this is the fundamental realism of the play—through the steady and patient efforts of common men and women with an instinctive moral sense. Sūdraka thus has a firm faith in life, a warm humanism, along with a deep realisation of certain intangible trends, of life's spiritual foundations. The three recurrent motifs—asylum (good), pursuit (evil), and mistake (Fate) are related to these realisations, and give them a dramatic vividness. Mṛcchakatīkam's significance is inexhaustible. “The clay Toy Cart of Sūdraka is his ‘monumentum aere perennius,’ as Prof Klein says, ‘His clay monument will survive those of bronze, a brittle child's toy will be his imperishable deed.’”

SUKUMARI BHATTACHARJI

## Kaumudi-Mahotsava : Its Historical Interpretation

In 1927 Mr. Ram Krishna Kavi found a manuscript in palm leaf in British Malabar and published it in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Society*, Vols. II and III. Later he edited this work in collaboration with Pt. S. K. Ramanatha Sastri Mīmāṃsācārya in the Dakṣinbhāratī Sanskrit Series as No. 4 with the title 'Kaumudi-Mahotsava—a Historical Drama.' This drama, though not of much literary worth, has stimulated wide interest among the historians.

Almost all historical interest in the Km. centres round its historical reconstruction proposed by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.<sup>1</sup> In more than one place the learned Doctor adjudged the drama to be of great historical value, and tried to establish the following points about it:

(1) The drama Km. was written by one Kiśorikā, daughter of Kṛiṣīval.

(2) The drama appears to be a work of the Gupta period by its literary style and characteristics. It was written on the occasion of celebration of the coronation and marriage of king Kalyāṇavarman whose party had just overthrown king Caṇḍasena, and regained the ancestral kingdom of Magadha for Kalyāṇavarman.

(3) King Caṇḍasena of the Km. is identical with Candra-gupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Caṇḍa of Prākrit has been turned into Candra in Sanskrit, and the family title Gupta has replaced the name-ending, Sena.

(4) Candragupta I was a Kāraskara Jāṭa by caste.

This historical interpretation of the Km. given by Dr. Jayaswal has been accepted by some scholars<sup>2</sup>. But on the whole it has been strongly criticised. Some historians have convincingly challenged

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Review*, vol. 45; *ABORI.*, vol. XII, pp. 50 ff.; and *History of India*, 130 to 350 A. D.=JBORS., vol. XIX, pp. 113 ff..

<sup>2</sup> Dasaratha Sharma, JBORS., vol. XXI, pp. 77 ff., JBORS., vol. XXII, pp. 275 ff., IHQ., vol. X, pp. 763-6 and IHQ., vol. XI, pp. 147-8; E. A. Pires, Maukhari, pp. 25 ff.; and D. R. Mankad, ABORI., vol. XVI, p. 155 ff.

almost every bit of Dr. Jayaswal's arguments, and now it is generally accepted that these arguments have little value<sup>3</sup>.

There is no doubt that Dr. Jayaswal's opinions about the date, authorship and historical interpretation of the *Km.* have rightly been refuted. In the wake of refuting the historical reconstruction of Dr. Jayaswal, Dr. Winternitz and Pt. K. Chattopadhyaya have thrown doubt about the very historicity of the *Km.* While the former<sup>4</sup> has pointed out 'that neither Cāṇḍasena, nor Kalyāṇavarman, nor Sundaravarman, nor Kirtisena, are names known to history,' the latter has maintained that 'none of the characters of the drama are known to us from inscriptions, coins or literary references.'<sup>5</sup> The fact is no doubt true that the *Km.* does not contain any name of some great historical personality. But this does not show necessarily that the *Km.* is not historical.

There are some points about the *Km.* which suggest that it is a historical work, and these points have naturally been taken by the most of the historians in this light:

(1) The *Km.* itself says that it dramatizes the historical events which actually occurred in the life of a king of Magadha<sup>6</sup>.

(2) The *Km.* has a simple plot which might have really taken place in history. It is devoid of all supernatural events found generally in the dramas of imaginary plots. It is also not meant for showing off literary embellishments which find favour with the works written for literary purposes.

(3) The *Km.* refers to the state of Magadha with its capital at Pāṭaliputra. At one time there was actually a Licchavi state in the neighbourhood of Magadha as given in the drama. It is natural that these States should have from time to time friendly and un-friendly

3 Winternitz, *Aiyangar Comm.*, vol., pp. 359-362; A. S. Altekar, *Ind. Cult.*, vol. IX, pp. 100-101; K. Chattopadhyay, *IHQ.*, vol. XIV, pp. 582 ff.; K. Raghavacharyulu, *JAHRS.*, vol. VI, 139; Sakuntala Rao Sastri, *Ind. Cult.*, vol. X, pp. 29-30 and vol. XI, pp. 86 ff; R. C. Majumdar, *New Hist. Ind. People*, vol. VI, p. 133 f.n. 2; *Thomas Comm.*, vol., pp. 115 ff.

4 *Aiyangar Comm.*, vol., p. 362.

5 *IHQ.*, vol. XIV, p. 586.

6 *KM.*, Act I, p. 1. भवतु यत्तदस्यैव राज्ञः समतीतं चरितमधिकृत्य (विज्ञि)क्या निबद्धं नाटकम् । तदिदमप्रतः कृत्वा मगधराजान्तःपुरमवतरामि ।

relations with each other as stated in this drama. As the drama depicts, history also knows, that at one time the janapada of Śūrasena was under the rule of the Yādavas (Ābhīras?). The kings of this *janapada* might have contracted matrimonial alliances with the kings of Magadha. Vīrapuruṣa-datta, the Ikṣāku king of Andhra country, had married a princess, Rudradharabhattārikā by name, who is described as the daughter of a king of Ujjayinī<sup>7</sup>. A sister of Rudrasena, a king ruling near about Śūrasena, named Prabhudāmā is known from a seal found at Vaiśālī<sup>8</sup>. The seal describes her as a Mahādevī, and it is not unlikely that she was married to a prince of Magadha.

(4) In the Km. the king of Śūrasena is named Kīrtisena. We know Western Kṣatrapas ruling near about Śūrasena bore names which ended in Sena. Mathurā has yielded numerous coins with the legends of such names as end in Sena. Kalyāṇavarman and Sundaravarman are the kings of Magadha in the Km. Besides several kings of northern India known from coins and inscriptions, most of the kings of the Maukhari dynasty and the post-Śātavāhana Andhra dynasties have their names ending in Varman. Caṇḍasena and Mantragupta also are by no means unfamiliar names.

All these points favour the Km. being a historical drama. They, however, cannot prove in themselves that the Km. is necessarily a historical drama. Mr. F. A. Pires<sup>9</sup> has said that Sundaravarman and Kalyāṇavarman of the Km. are kings of the Maukhari dynasty. But his thesis is based only on the ground that like the kings of the Maukhari dynasty these have also their names ending in Varman. This ground is by no means convincing. Several kings of India are found with their names ending in Varman, and on its basis alone we cannot identify Sundaravarman and Kalyāṇavarman with one or the other of them. On the basis that most probably the Km. was written about 700 A.D., and that at about this time the Licchavis ruled in Nepal, Miss Sakuntala Rao

7 *EJ.*, XX, 19.

8 *ASI*, 1913-14, p. 136.

9 *The Maukaris*, pp. 25-35.

Sastri<sup>10</sup> has adjudged the Km. to have depicted the history of this land at this period. But only similarity of the Licchavi state is hardly sufficient to convince that the whole of the Km. is a historical drama. Even this is not certain that the historical background of the Km., if any, must have been taken from the history of about 700 A.D. Generally historical traditions floated for a long time in society before they were dramatized.

If the Km. has a historical background, at the time from which its history has been taken, the northern India must have been divided in many parts. There was an independent state of Magadha. It had in its neighbourhood a Licchavi state. In the land near about Mathurā there was the Sūrasena janapada of the Yādavas (Ābhīras?). There are some historical evidences to show that this political division of northern India fits in with the political geography of ancient India at about the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The coins of Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty indicate that at this time there was a Licchavi state by the side of the kingdom of Magadha. The Purāṇas<sup>11</sup> state further that at this period the western Rajputana, probably including Mathurā also, was governed by the Ābhīras who are well known to have claimed their descent from Yadu, and are sometimes identified with the Yādavas. Against the period we are assigning to the existence of these states it may be urged that these states existed in India since a pretty long time before this period. Thus, the kingdoms of Magadha and Licchavis have been referred to in the earliest Buddhist literature, and the Yadu figures not only in the *Mahābhārata* but even in the *Rgveda*. This opposition is, no doubt, relevant. We would, however, like to rely upon the evidence of strictly historical material rather than upon that of these legendary works for the period of existence of these states.

Now, if the Km. should have taken its historical elements from the ancient Indian history of about 4th century A.D., it is very difficult to trace the historical identity of its characters. We may, however, be excused to put forth just a few points about only two characters of the Km.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, vol. XI, p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 54.

**CANDASENA:** Caṇḍasena is one of the most important characters of the Km. It seems that rising from the position of an ordinary man, he became the emperor of the whole of northern India. He first comes before us as the 'adopted son' (?) of Sundaravarman, king of Magadha<sup>12</sup>. Then he enters into an alliance with the Licchavis and attacks Magadha<sup>13</sup>. It is not stated clearly that he killed the king of Magadha, and conquered his whole kingdom, but the death of the king of Magadha and other references in the drama indicate that he succeeded in doing so<sup>14</sup>. Caṇḍasena seems to have conquered the whole of Magadha and to have extended his sovereignty even much beyond it. In south his sovereignty seems to have extended upto the Vindhyaśala as his Magadhan rivals had to go for shelter direct to Kiṣkindhā at this mountain<sup>15</sup>.

Kirtisena, who has been said to be the king of Śurasena janapada<sup>16</sup>, the king of Mathurā (मथुरेश्वर) and the king of Yādavas (यदुनाथ) joined the camp of the enemies of Caṇḍasena. It shows that in the west Caṇḍasena's supremacy had penetrated upto Rajputana and the Punjab, and the kings of that part also were threatened by him. At one place he has been said to have conquered all the quarters<sup>17</sup>.

It is not unlikely that Caṇḍasena had a bright military career, and he carved out a great empire for himself. But ultimately Caṇḍasena seems to have lost his whole empire. His subjects and feudatories became fed up with his wars which must have made

12 Km., II, p. 29 पुरा किल सुन्दरवर्मणा स्वयमविदितस्वभावतया विषतरुरिव पुलीकृतश्चागडसेनहतकः ।

13 Ibid. ततः स्वयं मगधकुलव्यपदिशन्नपि मगधकुलवैरभिस्तेच्छैलिंच्छविभिः सह सम्बन्धं कृत्वा लब्धावसरः कुमुपुरमुपरुद्धवान् ।

14 Ibid. ततः सम्प्रवृत्ते संग्रामे वधपावमप्येनं पुलीकृतत्वादपहस्तयित्वा लिच्छविकुलमन्तःक्षपितवान् देवः । स हि—

स्वशक्तिः कृतसमरोत्सवो द्विषो भयादिव विदिवमितः प्रपेदिरे ।

प्रमत्सरस्तदनु च दीपिविग्रहः दिवं गतः स्वयमपि तत्र मागधः ॥

15 Ibid., I, p. 3. कुलपतिनिदेशादभितश्चरिडकायतनं पम्पासरसमीपवर्तिनि कुलक-मागतस्य सख्युः कुञ्जरस्य परिग्रहभूते व्याध किञ्चिन्दनान्नि दुर्गस्थाने प्रतापावसरप्रतीक्षया प्रच्छन्नोषितं कुमारं कल्याणवर्माणं सुखमहर्विहारं पृष्ठां प्रतिनिवृत्तोऽस्मि<sup>15</sup>

16 Ibid., p. 8. (अस्ति शूरसेनो नाम जनपदः । तेषांस्वामी विद्यातकीर्तिः कीर्तिषेणो देवः)

17 Ibid., IV, p. 29. कारक्षणेन ककुभो वशमानिनाय ।

Caṇḍasena deal harshly with them. Giving the cause of Caṇḍasena's fall the Km. has said :

बद्धंकाण कारणेन विग्रना पक्षिदिग्न चडमेणहर अस्म ? ( केन कारणेन विरक्तः प्रकृत-  
यथगद्भेदनहतकम्य ? ) आर्य-तेजेव शीलापरायेन । परथ—

कारानिरोधपरिपागदुक्पालरेखा कारानिरोधविश्वराः प्रकृतीश्वकार ।

कारक्षणे ककुभो वशमानिनाय कारस्करः म खलु सम्प्रति पाथिंचेषु ॥<sup>18</sup>

Now when Caṇḍasena's subjects were dissatisfied with him his enemies got their opportunity and they overthrew the Caṇḍasena dynasty<sup>19</sup>.

We have shown<sup>20</sup> elsewhere that Candra of the Meharauli Iron Pillar inscription also flourished in the circumstances similar to those of Caṇḍasena of the Km. Candra also is said to have carved out a large empire for himself : प्राप्नेन स्वभुजांजित्वा सुविरच्छकाधिराज्यं ज्ञितां<sup>21</sup>. Like Caṇḍasena he seems to have been able to do so due to his great military career and achievement. The inscription refers to his successful warfare upto Bengal in the east, upto Vāhlika (the eastern Punjab<sup>22</sup>) in the west, and upto the 'Southern Sea' in the south<sup>23</sup>. This shows that, like the empire of Caṇḍasena, that of Candra also included almost the whole of northern India.

Furthermore the Meharauli inscription is conspicuously silent about the predecessors and successors of Candra. It is not unlikely that as Candra was the first man of his dynasty to establish an empire, so he was also the last emperor of his family. Some scholars<sup>24</sup> have actually

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, V, p. 36. दिष्ये दानां प्रतिलघ्वराज्यामिषेको देवः कल्याणवर्मा ! दिष्या वत्सानुवन्धो निहतश्चाडसेनहतकः ! कृतः प्रकाटतवर्णाध्रमपथसुन्मूलित चगडमेनराजकुलम् ।

<sup>20</sup> In my paper 'Candra of Meharauli—a Forgotten Emperor' published in *Indica*—The Ind. Hist. Res. Inst., Silver Jubilee Com. Vol.

<sup>21</sup> Dr. D. C. Snear, *Sel. Inscr.*, vol. I, p. 277.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 276, f.n. 3.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 276.

यस्योद्दर्तयतः प्रतीपसुरसा शत्न्समेत्यागता-  
न्बह्नेष्वाहववर्तिनोऽभिलिखिता खड़गेन कीर्तिभुजे ।  
तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता वाहिका  
यस्यायाप्यविवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिलैदक्षिणः ॥

<sup>24</sup> Dasarath Sharma, *JIH*, XVI, pp. 17-18; and D. R. Bhandarkar, *Sel. Inscr.*, vol. I, p. 277, f.n. 1.

found in the Meharaulī inscription references to the fact that towards the end of his life Candra lost his empire. If it be so, we find a considerable amount of similarity between Caṇḍasena of the Km. and Candra of Meharaulī.

**MANTRAGUPTA:** Besides Caṇḍasena, Mantragupta is another important character of the Km. He is controlling all activities on the side of Kalyāṇavarman. It is suggested in a passage of the Km. that after Caṇḍasena's usurpation of Magadha kingdom Mantragupta saved young Kalyāṇavarman, brought him to Vindhyaśala for safety, and then he went to Pāṭaliputra to make efforts to restore him on his throne<sup>25</sup>.

It was Mantragupta who sent spies to the frontier states of Caṇḍasena<sup>26</sup>, and won for Kalyāṇavarman the favour of the officials and subjects of Magadha<sup>27</sup>.

Now when Caṇḍasena went out of his capital, Pāṭaliputra, to quell the rebellion of his frontier states, Mantragupta asked Kalyāṇavarman to come to Pāṭaliputra, and made him king<sup>28</sup>.

Kalyāṇavarman became the king of Magadha but practically the administration was carried on by Mantragupta. He became the chief minister, and the announcements were made in his name<sup>29</sup>. Kalyāṇavarman himself has accepted that Mantragupta had full authority in his administration<sup>30</sup>.

25 Km., I, p. 3. कुलपतिनिदेशादभितश्चिंडकायतनं पम्पासरसमीपवर्तिनि कुलक-  
मागतस्य मरव्युः कुञ्जरस्य परिग्रहभूते व्याध किञ्चिन्धनान्नि दुर्गस्थाने प्रतापावसरप्रतीक्षया  
प्रचल्लनोपितं कुमारं कल्याणावर्माणं सुखमद्विहारं पृष्ठा प्रतिनिवृत्तोऽस्मि । किमाह भवान्-  
कथमिनः प्रथिततर-मेव वैरिवर्गाधिष्ठितराज्य प्रत्यान्नयनोपायचिन्तकः पाटनिपुत्रं गतो नाथापि  
प्रतापावसरमापादितवान् मन्त्रगुप्तः—इति ?

26 Ibid., I, p. 10. मगधप्रत्यन्तवासिनां शवरपुत्रिन्दानां कुञ्जरकेण पुरुषः प्रे वितः—  
यथा भणति आर्य मन्त्रगुप्तः तथा भवितव्यमिति ।

27 Ibid., IV, p. 29. पूर्वमंत्रिविष्टैः सागरदत्तप्रभृतिभिः स्थविरामात्यैः संभूय  
मन्त्रगुप्ते न देवस्य सुन्दरवर्मणस्तेषां मुकुतानामनुस्मारिता रहसि पोरजानपदाः ॥<sup>27</sup>

28 Ibid. कुञ्जरकानुवर्तिषु कुपितेषु प्रत्यन्तपालेषु तत्प्रतिचिकीर्षया ससैन्ये नगरान्निर्गते  
चरण्डसेन हतके सम्प्रति स्वामिप्रत्यानयनाथीलयिकदूतो हरिणाशयः प्रेषितो ननु मन्त्रगुप्ते न ।

29 Ibid., V, p. 39. भोः कुषुमपुरवासिनः पौराः शृणवन्तु शृणवन्तु भवतो  
मन्त्रिमहेत्तरस्य मन्त्रगुप्तस्यवचनात्

30 Ibid., p. 49. कविरिव वृषपर्वणो विभूति बलमिव शूर्पकशासिनो वसन्तः ।

गुरुरिव शतयज्वनः प्रबोधं इमु न करोति चिरन्तनः सखा मे ॥

At one place it is said that Mantragupta handled the work of administration very diplomatically, and it was difficult to understand his moves even by his close high officials<sup>31</sup>.

Unfortunately it is beyond the scope of the Km. to describe the part played by Mantragupta in the history of Magadha after the restoration of Kalyāṇavarman, and we do not know anything about it. It is, however, not quite impossible that in course of time he might himself have become the ruler of Magadha. If it was so, Mantragupta may give us a clue to the early career of Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. We have pointed out elsewhere<sup>32</sup> that according to the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mulakalpa* Candragupta I was the subordinate of some southern king before he became an independent ruler<sup>33</sup>.

On the whole all this discussion indicates that the Km. shou'd be a historical drama. It seems that its historical back-ground has been taken from the pre-Gupta history of northern India. After the disintegration of the Kushan empire, the northern India was divided in many parts which were ruled by different kings. At this time of confusion there came a great personality named Candra. Rising from an ordinary position he seized the throne of Magadha, and later having made wide conquests he became the emperor of the whole of northern India. But Candra could not establish a lasting imperial dynasty. Towards the end of his life he was overthrown by his rivals headed by Candra-Gupta I (=Mantragupta). First of all Candragupta I seems to have put a prince of the old ruling dynasty of Magadha on the throne of Candra, but later he might have usurped the throne for himself.

It should be noted that the historical reconstruction of the Km. proposed above is highly tentative. It is necessary to find out still more historical evidence about the unknown pre-Gupta history. In the mean time our historians may examine this historical reconstruction in the light of the known facts of history.

KAILASH CHANDRA OJHA

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, p. 29. अहो साधु मन्त्रगुप्त साधु, यद्यमुपधाविशुद्धो गर्भदासः परिपाश्वैवत्येषि विकिराम्यु न तेऽभिप्रायमधिगच्छति ।

<sup>32</sup> *HIQ*, XXVII, 1951, p. 170ff.

<sup>33</sup> K. P. Jayaswal, *Imp. Hist. of India*, Text, pp. 50-51. अभिपिक्तो दाच्चिराण्येन प्रतिना प्रभविष्यनुना ।

## MISCELLANY

### The Sātavāhana kings named Sāti

While commenting on certain coins published by Prof. Mirashi,<sup>1</sup> I had pointed out that coins bearing the name Sāti are of different fabrics and the paleography of their legends so varies that it suggests a long period of issue.<sup>2</sup> I further added that it was not unlikely that they might be issues of more than one king of the same name. The kings named Sāti are not known from the Purāṇas, but the archaeological sources seem to refer to at least three kings with the name Sāti.

1. One, who is known from the coin published by Prof. Mirashi, as the son of Śāhi.
2. Nāṇeghat Inscription of Nāganika mentions one Sati as her son.
3. In one of the caves at Kanheri, a grant is recorded of the reign of Maḍharīputra Siri Sāta.

Dr. S. L. Katare has vehemently criticised this suggestion in a paper entitled "The Sātavāhana Kings Hāla and Sāti", published in this *Journal*.<sup>3</sup> He thinks that there are many inaccuracies in my statements and my conclusions are unwarranted and far-fetched. He has also accused me, more than once in that paper, that I did not care to read his papers, to which he attaches great importance in this context. So, he has appealed to the readers to reject my theory of three kings named Sāti.

I wonder what he exactly means when he says so. If he denies the existence of three personalities referred to above, as distinct from one another and takes them to be one and the same or that their distinct identity, as identified by me, is wrong. However, keeping both the possibilities in view, I shall re-examine, what I have said before.

About the Kanheri Cave inscription, I have clearly said that it has the inscription *Maḍharīputra Siri Sāta* which is the reading of Dr. Bhandarkar,<sup>4</sup> and not *Sāti*, as Dr. Katare has forcibly tried to put in

1 *JNSI.*, XIII, p. 132-133.

2 *Ibid.*, XV, p. 180-182.

3 *IHQ.*, XXX, p. 286-290.

4 *IA.*, XLVII, (1918), p. 155-156.

my mouth.<sup>5</sup> This inscription was earlier read by Rapson as *Mādbarīputra Sakasena*,<sup>6</sup> which Bhagwanlal Indraji read a little differently as *Mādbarīputra Siri Sena*.<sup>7</sup> Rapson has referred to his reading of the inscription for the identification of the issuer of the two coins on which he reads *Sakasa(da)sa* and *Sakase(-)sa*.<sup>8</sup> (I fail to notice any error in this statement of mine, to which Dr. Katare has drawn attention.) Just to show that there was none like *Sakasena*, I pointed out in my paper that the correct reading on the coins is probably *Siri Sātasa* or *Siri Sātisa*, as on them *ra* has been mistaken for *ka* and *na* for *ta*.<sup>9</sup> These coins are published and illustrated in the Catalogue<sup>10</sup> and one can verify the statement without being bitter to any one. Rapson himself says that the letter on his coin between *Sa* and *sa* is like *da* than *na* in the first case and is uncertain in the second case,<sup>11</sup> yet "we might venture to restore it in Skt. form either as *Saka-Sāta* (cf. Sri-Sāta, nos. 1, 2, p. 1); or as *Sakasena*".<sup>12</sup> He rejected the first restoration in favour of the latter as he could not suggest for identification any similar name.<sup>13</sup>

Whether the coins have the legend that Rapson has read or they have what I have restored, is a moot point in the present discussion. My purpose is served if it is admitted that the reading of the Kanheri Cave inscription is *Mādbarīputra Siri Sāta*, as that leaves no doubt that there was one *Siri Sāta*, who was the son of *Mādbarī*.

Dr. Katare has pointed out (for which I am thankful to him) that the name in the Nāṇeghat inscription is *Sati* and not *Sāti*. I regret for this error which has crept inadvertently in my paper. But it does not affect in any way what I have said. Dr. Katare himself thinks that *Sati* and *Sāti* are one and the same. But we differ about the identity of the person. While he takes him to be the husband of *Nāganikā*, I treat him to be her son, as pointed out by

5 ASWI., XIII, p. 35ff.

6 Op. cit., p. 289.

7 JBBRAS., XII (O.S.), p. 407-409.

8 BMC., AK, intro. p. lxxv, p. 10-11.

9 Op. cit., p. 182.

10 BMC., AK, pl. III, coins G 2 and 3, 37, 38.

11 Op. cit., p. 10, fn. 1; p. 11 fn. 2 and 3.

12 Ibid., intro. p. lxxv.

13 Ibid.

Prof. Mirashi.<sup>14</sup> In either case he is same as Sāti, but different than Mādhariputra Siri Sāta, admittedly another person having that name.

About the third name, there is hardly any disagreement between Dr. Katare and myself, as we both agree to the reading *Sātisa* on the coin, though he accepts it with some reservation. I have pointed out that the reading begins at IV and is readable from outside. Beginning from IV, I read three letters *Rājño* (not *ja*, as again Dr. Katare has tried to put in my mouth. It was Dr. Altekar who suggested that *Raja* is possible)<sup>15</sup> followed by *sa*. Then between IX and XII are the upper strokes of some letters. A few letters more would have been between IX and VII, which are out of place. And then we have three letters *Satisa* only the upper stroke of first *sa* is visible on the coin. Thus I read the existing portion of the legend as *Rājño sa.....Sātisa*. And this has also been read by Dr. Katare, but he has omitted *Rājño*, though he himself believes it to be certain in the modified form *Rāña*.

With this fragmentary legend, I suggested the reconstruction of the complete legend as *Rājño Sāliputasa Siri Sātisa*, taking for granted the fact that on the Sātavāhana coins we have the word *Rājño* in the beginning followed by the metronymic and then the name of the king preceded by the honorific *Siri*. Dr. Katare objects to this restoration, as he thinks that the coin cannot accommodate 12 letters, but only 10.<sup>16</sup> But the upper strokes of most of the letters are there on the coin, except those which were between IX and VII. So, it is a matter of neither conjecture nor calculation but just the use of commonsense to see the possibility of the restoration fitting well. But even for a moment if we believe in Dr. Katare's suggestion that there is no space for 12 letters, I fail to see, how it leads one to reject my restoration outright? Does Dr. Katare believe that *Rājño* do not follow the metronymic? If not, at the most he can suggest some other metronymic than that has been suggested by me. If some metronymic was there, it is also definite that it was neither Mādhari nor Nāganikā, as we have *sa* already there as the initial of the name after the word *Rājño*. Thus Sāti the issuer of this coin was quite distinct from Sāta of Kanheri inscription and Sati of Nāṇeghat inscription.

<sup>14</sup> JNSI, XIV, p. 29-30.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., XV, p. 181, fn. 1

<sup>16</sup> Op. cit., p. 287

As regards his metronymic *Sāli*, *sa* already exists on the coin, it needs no explanation. For the other letter *ti*, I have relied on the legend on the other side of the coin, as we find identical legends on both the sides of Sātavāhana silver coins with slight dialectical variations. On the other side of this coin Prof. Mirashi first read the word *Sala*<sup>18</sup> and later improved it as *nasala*.<sup>19</sup> Since the legend was not clear on the plate published, I relied then entirely on Prof. Mirashi's own reading in view of his vast experience in epigraphy and numismatics and accepted his restoration *Rāya sāla*, without accepting his conclusions, and fitted it in the obverse legend, on the principle that the word *Rājño* was followed by the metronymic. Later, when I visited Nagpur and met Prof. Mirashi, he showed me some ink-impressions of the coin to remove all my doubts about the reading. Again, when I went to Hyderabad, I also availed myself of the opportunity to examine the coin personally with the possessor Shri Hurmuz Kaus and took its casts. Now I have no doubt about the reading *nasala* on the reverse of the coin; and I am confident that the name of the mother of the issuer of this coin can be restored as *Sāli*, without any fear of contradiction.

Now, Dr. Katare himself admits the reading of the last word as *Sātisa* though with some reservation. He finds difference in the form of *sa* after *ti* and *sa* at XI-XII and the letter *sa* before *ti* is illegible.<sup>17</sup> But I fail to see if any form of *sa* exists at XI-XII at all. The *sa* after *Rājño*, to which he does not refer, has only the upper parts and those, in no case are different from *sa* after *ti*. The letter *sa* before *ti*, also has the upper strokes, which are also very similar to the upper strokes of the other *sa*. So I see no illegibility and any ground of doubt about the reading *Sātisa*.

These clarifications, I hope, will leave no doubt that Sāta of Kanheri inscription, Sati of Nāneghat inscription and Sati or Sāti of Shri Kaus's coin, were three different persons. If it was so, I do not see, I had made any inaccuracies and misstatements in my paper. Utmost one can differ from me in holding that Sāta, Sati and Sāti

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>18</sup> *JNSI*, XIII, p. 132

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p. 117

are the different forms of the same name Sāti. But fortunately Dr. Katare himself, is of the same opinion. We only differ in our conclusions. While I think that Sāta, Sati and Sāti are the variants of the name Sāti, he thinks that they are shortened form of Sātakarṇi and these words were commonly adopted in place of Sātakarṇi.<sup>20</sup>

Dr. Katare also claims that he was the first and the only scholar who attributed the coins with the legend *Sātisa* to Sātakarṇi. He also claims that before he published the coin and made this attribution, no one was aware of it. Whatever might be the value of his claims, I have no intention to underweigh it. When I say that a set of scholars think the word Sāti to be contraction for the name Sātakanī,<sup>21</sup> I used the word Sāti, in consonance with my belief, in a broad sense covering the coins with the legend Sāta also. The coins having the name Sāta are well known to have been attributed to Sātakarṇi.<sup>22</sup>

Now, the coin that Dr. Katare has published with the legend *Rāño Siri Sātisa* is, in his own words, exactly similar in the symbols, shape, fabric and the form of the characters to another coin, that he has published, having the legend *Rāño Siri Sātakanisa*.<sup>23</sup> So, he thinks that these facts conclusively show that they were issued by the same king. He, thus, means to suggest that on the former coin the word *Sāti* was the contraction of the word Sātakarṇi. But he gives no reason whatsoever for the use of the two forms of the name by one and the same person.

Some scholars held the view that the names were shortened on the coins for want of space. But the argument of want of space for the contraction of the name on the present coin does not hold good. Dr. Katare's coin with legend *Rāño Siri Sātakanisa* is only '92" in diameter while the coin with the shorter legend *Rāño Siri Sātisa* is bigger and is 1'01" in diameter,<sup>24</sup> which shows that it had a bigger circumference and thus more space and can accommodate a much bigger inscription than *Rāño Siri Sātakanisa*; but the fact is that it has much shorter inscription. This must be properly explained.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 290

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 181

<sup>22</sup> *BMC, AK*, p. 1

<sup>23</sup> *JNSI*, XIII, p. 37

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35-36.

Merely exact similarity in symbols, space, fabric and form of characters on the coins having two different legends can by no means be conclusive evidence to show that they were issued by one and the same king. If these facts be taken as conclusive proof of the oneness of the issuer of the coins, having two different legends, as Dr. Katare makes us believe, I fear, it would lead to many questionable results. For example, most of the Sātavāhana coins of Elephant-Ujjain symbol Type are similar in their symbols, shape, fabric and palaeography. But I am sure no one would ever think that they were issued by one and the same king. The different legends on the coins undoubtedly suggest different kings as their issuers.

Above all, there is no parallel instance in Indian numismatics, where short and long forms of the names were used by any ruler on the coins of the same type. Thus there can be only one inference that Sāti cannot be identified with Sātakarni.

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

## Side light on the History of the Kalacuris of Mālava

After the fall of the Imperial Guptas a branch of the Kalacuris established a kingdom in Mālava, Gujarat and in the Northern Deccan in the sixth century A.D. It lay between the kingdom of the Cālukyas of Badami and those of the Puṣyabhutis of Thanesar and the Maukharis of Kanauj. The earliest known king of this Kalacuri family is Kṛṣṇarāja, who ruled in the third quarter of the sixth century A.D. He was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaragaṇa, an inscription<sup>1</sup> of whose reign, dated A.D. 595, proves that he was in possession of Ujjain and the Nasik District. An inscription of the reign of Śaṅkaragaṇa has been found at Choti Deori, on the left bank of the Ken, sixteen miles to the west of Jokahi in the Marwara tashil of the Jubbulpore District. It purports to state that one Cuṭu Nāgaka was in charge of the Viṣaya of Kākandakuṭa in the reign of Śaṅkaragaṇa. Mr. Cunningham assigns this inscription to the sixth or seventh century on grounds of palaeography<sup>2</sup>, and Rai Bahadur Hira Lal<sup>3</sup> assigns it to the seventh century on the same reason. Mahamahopadhyaya V. V. Mirashi, however, differs from them and assigns it to the middle of the eighth century A. D. as in his opinion the character of the inscription resembles that which was in use in that century<sup>4</sup>. If Mr. Cunningham's view proves to be correct Śaṅkaragaṇa of the inscription is to be identified with the king of this name, who was the son of Kṛṣṇarāja, and the kingdom of the Kalacuris is to be taken to have included Dāhala at this time. Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa was succeeded by his son Buddharāja, who suffered a defeat at the hand of the Cālukya Maṅgaleśa some time between A. D. 595 and 602. Two inscriptions<sup>5</sup> of Buddharāja both dated A. D. 609 prove that he was in possession of Ānandapura, modern Vadnagar in Gujarat, Bhṛgukaccha, and Vidiśā, modern

1 *EI*, IX, 296.

2 *ASI*, Cunningham, XXI, 100.

3 *Inscriptions in the Central Province and Berar*, by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, p. 37.

4 *EI*, XXVII, 170.

5 *Ibid*, VI, 295; XII, 33.

Besnagar in the Bhilsa District, Gwalior State. Thus the three inscriptions—one of Saṅkaragaṇa and two of Buddharāja prove that the kingdom of the Kalacuris comprised at least the Nasik District, in Bombay, Gujarat, and the whole of Mālava between the years A.D. 595 and 609. Bāna in his *Harsacarita* states that the Puṣyabhuti Rājyavardhana defeated the king of Mālava and captured his vast resources<sup>6</sup>. The same author in his *Kādambari* mentions the women of Ujjain as the women of Mālava, and according to him therefore Mālava was the country in which was situated Ujjain. The lexicographers Yādavaprakāśa (c. A.D. 1000) and Hemacandra (12th c. A.D.) state that Mālava and Avanti are synonymous terms<sup>7</sup>. It is to be mentioned that Rājyavardhana's victory over the Mālava king took place shortly before A.D. 606, the date of the accession of his successor Harśavardhana. I have suggested elsewhere that the Mālava king who was the adversary of Rājyavardhana was the Kalacuri Buddharāja as this king was on the throne of Mālava from a date prior to A.D. 602 to at least A.D. 609<sup>8</sup>. It is, however, held by some that the Mālava king, who was defeated by Rājyavardhana, was Devagupta though there is no evidence stating definitely that a king of this name ruled in Mālava during this time. Realizing the difficulty in placing the kingdom of Devagupta in Mālava in view of the fact that Buddharāja was in possession of the country during the period under review it has been argued in a recent publication that Devagupta was only the ruler of Vidiśā of Eastern Mālava and that he was deprived of his throne by Buddharāja some time between A.D. 605 and 609.

In 1913-14 Dr. Bhandarkar<sup>9</sup> excavated the ruins of Besnagar, ancient Vidiśā, and discovered a coin of Yajñāśrī-Sātakarṇi (c. A. D. 175). It may be mentioned that an inscription at Sanci, about seven or eight miles from Besnagar, refers to the name of Rāja Śrī-Sātakarṇi. About three and a half feet above the level where the coin of Yajñāśrī-Sātakarṇi was discovered seven copper coins of a king

6 *Harsacarita*, Cowell.

7 Author's *Yādavaprakāśa on the Ancient Geography of India*, IHQ, XIX, 222.

8 Author's 'Mālava in the sixth and seventh centuries', JBORS, XIX, 405..

9 ASI, Report, 1913-14, pp. 208, 214.

nailed Kṛṣṇarāja were found in a tiny earthen pot. The character of the legends of these coins is similar to that of the inscriptions of the middle of the sixth century A.D. Dr. Bhandarkar rightly identifies this king with the Kalacuri king of this name, who was the grandfather of Buddharāja, and who flourished in the third quarter of the sixth century A.D.<sup>10</sup> The facts that Kṛṣṇarāja's coins have been found in the ruins of Vidiśā and that Buddharāja was in occupation of the place lead to the conclusion that the Kalacuris were in occupation of Mālava up to Vidiśā i.e. Eastern Mālava from the reign of Kṛṣṇarāja to that of Buddharāja. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar also draws this conclusion from the evidence referred to above.<sup>11</sup> In view of this the kingdom of Devagupta, whose identity is not known, cannot be accommodated in Mālava or in any part of it during this period. This does not leave any scope for identifying the Mālava king, who was the adversary of Rājyavardhana, with any other king than Buddharāja, who was on the throne of Mālava from c. A.D. 602 to at least up to A.D. 609. Nothing is known of this branch of the Kalacuris after Buddharāja.

D. C. GANGULY

<sup>10</sup> ASI., Report, 1913-14, pp. 208, 214.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

## Some Interesting Sculptures of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā from Marwar

It is proposed to present here a short account of some interesting stone and metal sculptures (of the Jaina goddess Ambikā)<sup>1</sup> discovered in different parts of Jodhpur Division.<sup>2</sup> It is regretted that this part of Rajasthan has not yielded any sculpture of Ambikā which may be assigned to a very early period.<sup>3</sup>

### A. Jodhpur Region

1. The well known *sāla* of *Mātā jī* at Ghatiyālā (about 18 miles from Jodhpur) contains an ancient slab (in situ, in a rectangular niche) bearing a Jaina inscription<sup>4</sup> of V.S. 918 (=861 A.D.) in one half of it. The remaining portion of the niche, towards left, depicts a female deity seated on a lion. This goddess appears to have given the aforesaid epithet to the existing monument.

It is essential to describe this relief for the first time here. Ambikā sits in the *lalitāsana* pose on an inverted lotus. Below the lotus can be seen a couchant lion facing the left thigh of the deity. The two armed goddess holds an *āmralumbi* in her right hand in a usual way while her left hand has been placed on her left thigh. The absence of a baby in her lap is to be noted with great interest here.

1. Consult U. P. Shah's scholarly paper published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, September 1940, IX, pp. 147-69 for the representation of Ambika in ancient Indian art.

2. Now comprising of Jaisalmer, Jodhpur and Sirohi.

3. The writer of the present paper had excavated the ancient site of Bhīnmal in the year 1954. The trial excavations at Bhīnmal brought to light sufficient material having a bearing upon the history of the typical *Red-Polished Ware* and the painted *Early-Mediaeval pottery*. But not a single fine terracotta figurine or sculpture was recovered from any of the exposed pits of this much disturbed site. It was in a field, adjacent to the Amalavāva at Bhīnmal, that a mediaeval sculpture of goddess Ambikā was lying uncared for. I cleaned the image and shifted the same to a place of shelter nearby. The sculpture depicts the goddess seated on a lion and having a baby in her lap. The archaeological excavations at Mandora (near Jodhpur) had brought to light some Brahmanical sculptures and vases of the Gupta period. They have now been exhibited in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.

4. Edited by Kielhorn in *JRAS.*, London, 1895, p. 516; Cf. also Pūrṇa Chandra Nāhad, *Jaina Lekha Saṅgraha*, I, Calcutta.

At the same time we notice a chap standing near her right knee and touching it. There is also a round halo behind the head of Ambikā. Her majestic pose add further grace to the sculpture. The height of the existing relief is equal to the width of the inscribed rectangular slab; the width being about half of the length of the inscription. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar<sup>5</sup> had simply suggested that "the goddess is however not Hindu but a Jaina deity". This female deity is decidedly Ambikā of the Jaina pantheon. The *sāla* at Ghaṭiyālā is thus an interesting structural monument depicting the goddess Ambikā in the art of the ninth century A.D.

2. The Jaina temple at Sādaḍī (near Rāṇakapur) contains an important brass image<sup>6</sup> of Ādi-Nātha. It bears an inscription of the 10th century on its back. In the words of U.P. Shah (op. cit., p. 165), "the hair locks on the shoulders of the *Jina* show unmistakably that it is a figure of R̥śabhanātha. On his left, seated on a lotus in *lalitāsana*, is Ambikā with 2 arms; supporting a child with the left and holding an *āmralumbi* in the right. The figure of *yakṣa* on the right of *Jina* is unfortunately broken. The *yakṣinī* of the first *Jina* is well known as Cakrēśvarī. How could she be replaced by Ambikā?". The question needs to be investigated and studied still further.

3. The photographic album of the Sardar Museum at Jodhpur contains an unpublished photo-print of a sculpture of Ambikā from the well known fort of Jalor (ancient Jābālipura and situated about 82 miles from Jodhpur). This piece appears to have been worked out in the early-mediaeval period and depicts Ambikā seated on the inverted lotus in the *lalitāsana* pose in a majestic way. Below the lotus-throne has been carved a couchant lion, its face being carved near the right leg of the goddess. The female deity here has been endowed with two hands; the left hand having been kept on her left thigh while she holds an *āmralumbi* in her upraised right hand. It is all the

5. *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, 1907*, p. 34; Cf. my papers on Goddess Worship in Ancient Rājasthāna in the *Journal of Bebar Research Society*, Patna, March 1955, p. 9 and in the *Maru Bhāratī*, Pilani, April 1955, p. 29.

6. U. P. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 165, figure 33; Cf. my papers in the *Journal of Bebar Research Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and in the *Maru Bhāratī*, *op. cit.*

more interesting to see the mango-fruits and the flowers hanging down on both the sides of Ambikā. Besides this, her anatomic representation is very graceful, the breasts being sufficiently prominent as also noted above. She puts on a floral-crown over her head and various attractive ornaments round the neck, ankles, wrists, upper arms and in the ears. Still more interesting is the absence of the child in the lap of Ambikā. But the child is not altogether missing from the figure. The head of the baby can be seen a bit to her right side i.e. near the mango fruits touching her right thigh. The fingers of the hand of the standing baby too are visible because they have been placed on the right thigh (near the knee portion) of Ambikā. This is how the association of goddess Ambikā and the child has been depicted by the sculptor, both at Ghaṭiyālā and at Jālor.

The aforesaid details of the existing sculptures (of two handed Ambikā from Jalor and Ghaṭiyālā) are sufficient to attract the attention of persons interested in ancient Indian art. In fact they present several identical details and were perhaps executed in the contemporary period.

4. The Sardar Museum at Jodhpur also contains an interesting but uninscribed Jaina bronze (measuring about  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches in height and  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches in width) brought from Sanchore (ancient Satyapura, situated in the Jalor district and on the borders of Gujrat). It depicts the central figure of the *Tīrthāṅkara* flanked by the standing *Tīrthāṅkaras* on both the sides in a traditional manner. To the right and left of the latter can be seen the *Chowriē-bearers* on both the sides. Just below the standing *Tīrthāṅkars* are visible two seated figures i.e. a *yakṣa* to the right hand side and *Ambikā* to the left. The motif on the oblong halos and the peculiar folds of the *dhōtīs* of the aforesaid *sthānaka tīrthāṅkaras* may also be compared with those visible on some 7th and 8th century bronzes<sup>7</sup> from Akoṭā and Vasantgarh. It appears that the existing unpublished bronze of the Jodhpur Museum was prepared somewhere in the early mediaeval period. Other details regarding the depiction of the animals, throne and the heads of the 9 planets (*navagrahas*) are equally interesting<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, Bombay, I, pp. 45-6 plate XIII, figures 23 and 24.

<sup>8</sup> Illustrated and described in the *Journal of University of Bombay*, September 1940, IX, p. 155, figure 11.

Dr. U. P. Shah comments on this image in these words:—

“In Jaina Bronzes from Lilvā Devā published in the last issue of the *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, the haloes follow the early type no doubt, but the haloes of attendants in the bronze of *Ambicā* have become much more pointed as in the Lilvā Devā bronzes referred to above. The exaggerated *bhaṅga* of the bodies of the attendants is definitely a later characteristic. On the whole the bronze of *Ambicā* is a good specimen, but the attendants prove the decadent age of this style and the infiltration of new provincial styles.”

“Another very important point is the presence of *nine* (instead of *eight*) planet-heads in the earlier bronzes. The number of planets seems to have increased to nine only after *circa* 900 A. D. and even later. I have observed this on a number of Jaina sculptures and bronzes. But since in art, there are always chances of obtaining surprises, we have to verify the age from the inscription. Since there is no inscription the bronze of *Ambicā* should be assigned to a date after 1000 *Vikrama Samvat*, probably *circa* 1050-1100 V. S.”<sup>9</sup>

As regards the details of *Ambikā*, in the existing bronze of the Jodhpur Museum, the lion and the *āmralumbi* are conspicuous by their absence. Two handed *Ambikā* is seated in the *lalitāsana* pose to the left as can also be seen in a brass image of the same goddess from Murtajpura and now preserved in the Central Museum at Nagpur. The bronze from Sanchore thus presents another mode of representing *Ambikā* and may be regarded as an interesting representative of the metal art of the ancient west.

#### B. Sirobī District

It was in the year 1921 that Muni Kalyāṇa Vijayaji brought to light, from age long oblivion, some early Jaina bronzes, lying uncared

9 Consult his detailed paper published in the *Nāgari Prachāriṇi Patrikā*, Banaras, XVIII, pp. 221-31; Cf. also Sarabhai Nawab, *Jaina Tirthas in India and their Architecture*, Ahmedabad, pp. 26-7, plates XII-XIII; U. P. Shah, *Bull of Prince of Wales Museum*, I, pp. 43-46; my paper in *The Jaina Antiquary*, Arrah, June 1954, pp. 1-5; also U. P. Shah's paper in *Lalitkalā*, nos. 1-2, pp. 55-65 and plates.

for, in the Jaina temple at Pindawāḍā<sup>10</sup> near Vasantagarth (Sirohi district). This lot includes an interesting piece of the 7th century A. D.<sup>11</sup> Besides this, a big bronze<sup>12</sup> (height 16 inches x 15.2 inches width at the base) of Pārvatīnātha, from the same area, depicts the *yakṣa* Sarvānubhūti seated on an elephant to the right and Ambikā riding on the lion seated to the left. Dr. U. P. Shah (*Bull. of Prince of Wales Museum Bombay*, vol. I, p. 46) is inclined to assign this sculpture to 'circa 700-25 A. D.' He also remarks that "the inscription, if any on the back, cannot be seen. But the bronze is a typical example of the art of the Gurjara-Pratibāras. The peculiar folds of the *dhotis* of the two standing *Tirthankaras* may be noted. Similar folds are seen on a number of specimens from this side including the two standing bronze figures of *Tirthankaras* cast by *Sivanāga*<sup>13</sup> and dated *samvat* 744 i.e. 687 A. D.

This is in nutshell a short account of some early mediaeval metal and stone sculptures of Ambikā discovered in the Jodhpur Division.

R. C. AGRAWALA

<sup>10</sup> Consult *Journal of the University of Bombay*, X, p. 199, figure 2 and *Bull. Prince of Wales Museum*, I, pp. 43-4, figure 20 for this early bronze of the Jaina goddess Saraswati.

<sup>11</sup> Illustrated and described by U. P. Shah in *Bull. of Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, I, p. 46, plate XII, figure 24, also Sarabhai Nawab, *op. cit.*, p. 27, plate XIII, figure 30.

<sup>12</sup> For these sculptures consult papers and books as cited in foot note 9 above.

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

**Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras**

vol. XII (1954—55), Pts. 1 & 2

- M. A. DORAI RANGASWAMY—*Rise of the Temple Cult in Saivism with special reference to Tevāram.* The contents of the *Tevāram*, a collection of devotional songs of the Saiva saints, indicate that many of the Saivite temples of later times grew out of the original places of worship in and around natural scenery in forest areas, on mountain tops, on the banks of rivers etc. Various phases of the development of the temple cult have been discussed in the paper.
- V. RAGHAVAN—*The Yuktidīpikā on the Sāmkhyakārikā, Corrections and Emendations in the Text.* The *Yuktidīpikā* (6th cent. A.D.) a commentary on the *Sāmkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa is valuable as the source of our knowledge of some little known Sāmkhya teachers and their views. The texts of the Edition constituted from a single manuscript of the work require various corrections and emendations as suggested here.
- K. KUNJUNNI RAJA—*Nārayaṇabhaṭṭa of Melputtūr.* Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, one of the great scholar poets of Kerala, flourished during the reign of king Devanārāyaṇa of Ampalappula (1566 A.D.—1623 A.D.). His life, date, time, and works have been dealt with in the paper.
- S. SHANKAR RAJU NAIDU—आण्डाल और मीरा (*Āṇḍāl and Mīrā*). Āṇḍāl, the virgin saint among the twelve Alwārs of Tamil, flourishing in the earlier part of the ninth century A.D., and Mīrā the devotional poetess of mediaeval times followed the Vaiṣṇava cult of Dāmpatya bhakti or Mādhuryabhakti. The Vaiṣṇava teachers like Rāmānujācārya, Madhvācārya Vallabhācārya got their inspirations originally from the Alwārs. Two devotional works are ascribed to Āṇḍāl, the *Tiruppavai* and the *Nachiyar Tirumoli*. Her life, teachings and works are the subjects of the article.

**Bharatiya Vidyā**—vol XV., no. 3 (April, 1956.)

- N. G. CHAPEKAR—*Yadu and Turvaśa*—Yadu or Yadus are always mentioned in the *R̥gveda* together with Turvaśa in all the fifteen

places where their names occur. Turvaśa is independently mentioned alone in not less than six places. The writer moots the view that Turvaśa and Yadu were non-Aryans. There were no rigid distinctions and demarcations in the Ḍgvedic society. In Rv. 8. 9. 14, 1. 108. 8, 8. 10. 5, among others, Yadus and Turvaśas are said to have worshipped Vedic gods such as Indra, Agni and Aśvins.

**D. C. SIRCAR**.—*Some great women of India*. The area selected for the survey is Northern India and the period has been confined between the 4th cent. B.C. and the 12th cent. A.D. Women administrators and officers like the Yavana queen Agathocleia (probably the wife of the famous king Menander flourishing in the beginning of 1st cent B.C.), the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatī Guptā (who ruled the Vākāṭaka kingdom for about 13 years after the death of her husband Rudrasena II at the close of the 4th cent. A.D.), and others, the poetesses and scholars quoted in the Gāthāsuptasatī and known to Rājaśekhara and others are treated in detail.

**A. N. UPADHYE**—*Once again Vālmīkisūtra—A Myth*. A Discussion on the problem whether the *Vālmīkisūtra*, a Prākṛt Grammar, commented upon by Trivikrama, was written by Vālmīki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is still a myth and is only a tradition made popular by Lakṣmīdhara.

**C. C. DASGUPTA**—*Soma Notes on the Iconography of Lakṣmī*.

**J. C. TAVADIA**—*Varuṇa and the Waters. As Reflected in the Vedas and Avesta*. Varuṇa is identified with the watergod of the Post-Vedic pantheon by Lüders on the strength of Rv. 1. 161. 14, 9. 90. 2, and such other evidence from the Ḍgveda. The author here corroborates this view by adducing evidence from the Avesta, viz., the Pre-Zoroastrian hymn Yast 38. The Vedic Indian 'evidently transferred the physical condition of his earthly homeland of the seven rivers' to the heaven above thus transferring the watergod Varuṇa to the sky.

**P. S. SASTRI**—*The Nature of Aesthetic Experience*

**RAM SANKAR BHATTACHARYA**—*Some Anomalies in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and their Justification*.

R. G. HARSHE—*Yahu, Yahweh and Jehovah.* Jewish Jehu, Jahweh or Jehovah is said to have connection with Vedic Yahu (strength, offering, attribute of Agni) and Yaheva (in addition to the meanings of Yahu it means 'in constant motion', 'sacrificer' also). Yahwa, the attribute of Agni, tallies in its description with the Hebrew God Jahweh. The Hebrews were fire-worshippers and furthermore 'Yahwah' was the original form of the word Yahweh,' the secret name of God among the ancient Jews. Jehovah results from the combination of the consonants "Ylwh (Jhvḥ)" with the vowels of "adhonay" (Lord) pronounced wrongly.

*Ibid.*, vol XVI., no. 1 (Sept. 1956).

ASOKE KUMAR MAJUMDAR—*The Rājatarāṅgiṇī as Sources of the History of Kashmir during the Sultanate.* An assessment of the value of the Dvitiyā Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Jonarāja (during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir—1411-1463 A. D.) Tṛtīyā Rājatarāṅgiṇī (continuation of the previous work taken up by Jonarāja's pupil Śrīvara Pañdita who received the patronage of Zain-ul-Abidin, his son and grandson Haidar Shāh and Hasan Shāh—A.D. 1464-1476) recording incidents upto 1479 A.D., and Caturthī Rājatarāṅgiṇī by Prājyabhaṭṭa and Śuka, ending with the arrival of Asaf Khan to Kashmir near about 1597 during the reign of Akbar. The importance of these works as sources of history has been discussed in detail.

P. S. SASTRI—*Evolution of the Doctrines of Indian Idealism.*

R. C. HAZRA—*Was the Kālikāpurāṇa Composed during the Reign of King Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa?* The Kālikāpurāṇa is placed in the 10th or the first half of the 11th century A. D. The popularity of the cult of Tantricism is traced even before Indrapāla (1030-1055 A. D.).

BUDDHA PRAKASH—*The Decadence of Hindu Culture.* The paper deals with heterogeneous nature of Indian culture after the death of Harṣa.

D. S. TRIVEDA—*Indian Chronology.* A chronological table of the dates of the different yugas. The traditional dates of the ruling

kings, literary talents and events are given along with the dates according to the Gregorian Calendar.

**Brahmavidya-Adyar Library Bulletin.**

vol XIX., p. 34 (Dec. 1955).

- K. KUNJUNNI RAJA—*Indian Theories on Homophones and Homonyms.* The various schools of linguistic thought in India are critically discussed here.

- G. N. SHARMA—*Some material from the Dastri Records in Jodhpur, Rajasthan.* Dastri Records, a section of the Record Room in Jodhpur written in Mārwārī in the script of Mahājani, supply graphic accounts of events of the period ranging from 1708 to 1948 A.D. These records furnish materials regarding the relation between the Rathors and the sister states of Rājasthan, the social customs, the court life and administrative organisations of the period.

- K. V. SARMA—*Siddhānta Darpaṇa of Gārgya-Kerala Nilakanṭha Somayājin edited and translated with Notes.* The first critical edition of Siddhāntadarpaṇa, a short treatise on astronomy by Gārgya-Kerala Nilakanṭha Somoyājin, born in 1442 A. D. in Kerala. The work sets forth the fundamental astronomical contents, the theory of epicycles and a few other matters.

*Ibid.*, vol XX. p. 1-2. (May 56).

- V. RAGHAVAN—*Modern Sanskrit Writings.* The paper deals with the new trend in Sanskrit literature mostly after the advent of the British power in India. An Appendix of the works giving the names of the Sanskrit works has been added at the end.

- R. C. AGRAWALA—*Some Śaiva Antiquities from Rājasthāna.* An account of some Śaiva antiquities, iconographical and inscriptional, from Rājasthān dating between the periods of late Kusana and Mediaeval age. The adherents of Brahmanic religion and the Jainas were living harmoniously together in the Mārwār region towards the latter half of the 12th cent. A.D. The Vaiṣṇava traditions in Rājasthāna also go back to the 2nd cent. B.C. The discovery of the moulded terracotta plaque from Karkotanagar takes the cult of Durgā Mahisamardini in Rājasthāna back to the middle of the 1st cent. B.C.

- K. KUNJUNNI RAJA—*Sphoṭa; The Theory of Linguistic Symbols.*

**Bulletin of the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda.**

vol. X-XI., April 1953 to March 1955

KARL KHANDALWALA—*A Mughal Miniature of Prince Khurram slaying a Lion.*

O. C. GANGOLY—*A Group of Pahari Miniatures in Baroda Museum.*

U. P. SHAH—*A few Brāhmaṇical Sculptures in the Baroda Museum.*

V. L. DEVKAR—*Omens on Birds as described in the Citraprāśna or Śakunamālā MSS. in the Baroda Museum.*

M. R. MAJMUDAR—*Inscribed Metal-ware engraved with Mythological Scenes.*

U. P. SHAH—*Pārvatī practising Pañcāgnitapa.*

P. L. GUPTA—*Punchmarked Coins in Baroda Museum.*

B. L. MANKAD—*Trilingual Stone Inscription from Sathod.* The inscription in Persian, Gujarati and Sanskrit recording grant of land to repairers of a step-well is dated V. S. 1425 (= A. C. 1368-69).

**Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture,**

vol. VII, no. 6 (June 1956)

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI—*Sanskrit Literature of Modern Times.*

This is an account of the Sanskrit works composed by the present day authors. Their writings are considerable, touching almost all the branches of Sanskrit Literature.

*Ibid*, vol. VII, nos. 7 and 8

RADHAGOBINDA BASAK—*The Life of Buddha as depicted by Aśvaghoṣa.* The contents of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* narrating the exploits of Buddha from his birth to the attainment of enlightenment are given here with some remarks on the elements of Mahāyāna introduced by the poet in the work.

**Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London,**

vol. XVIII, pt. 2 (1956)

J. D. M. DERRETT—*The Date and Provenance of Caturbhujamīśra.* Caturbhujamīśra has stated in his *Bhāvacintāmaṇi*, a commentary on the *Amaruśataka* that he had composed the work while residing in Kampilya on the bank of the 'heavenly river.' Arguments are put forward to show that the author was a resident of Kampili in

the South 'on the southern bank of the Tungabhadrā river between A. D. 1320 and 1326'.

**Indian Geographer**, vol. I, no. 1 August, 1956

**SHYAMSUNDAR BHATTIA**—*Historical Geography of Delhi*. Around the site of Delhi, towns had emerged at different times and disappeared in course of history. Expressions of different cultures and different periods are in evidence in the remains that are now found in the suburbs of the present city which is believed to have derived its name from Raja Delu, a ruler of Kanauj in the 4th century B. C. The description in the paper deals with various sites including those of Indraprastha, Lal Kot, the city of Rai Pithora, Siri, Tughlaquabad, Jahanpanah, Firuzabad, Khizrabað, Din Panah and Shahjahanabad.

**Indian Philosophy and Culture**, vol. I, no. 3 (Sept. 56)

**H. K. DE CHAUDHURI**—*General Characters of Indian Philosophy*. Philosophy in India does not mean abstract speculation in the realm of pure thought as its dominant interest is in the self of man.

**BASANTA KUMAR CHATTOPADHYAYA**—*Mohenjodaro and Vedic Civilization*. The main contention of the writer is that the Mohenjodaro civilization is the same as Vedic civilization or an offshoot of Vedic civilization. Some ancient princes were probably banished from India and they settled in various parts of the world, the evidence being the inscriptions of the 17th cent. B. C. found in the Hittite capital of Anatolia where names of Vedic Gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nasatyas have been found.

**Journal of the Bihar Research Society**, vol XLI, pt. 4 (Dec., 1955)

**J. P. BHATTACHARYA**—*The Cult of Brahmā*. Three main questions have been discussed: (I) The antiquity of Brahmā as a deity, (II) The method of his worship, and (III) The existence of a sect following the cult of Brahmā. The writer asserts that the worship of Brahmā as a god in a concrete form precedes the conception of Brahman (supreme soul) of the later Vedic literature. He associates the Brahmā cult with the cults of Kāla, Kāma, Rudra, Dharma, the Earth Goddess, Śrāddha and other forms of ancestor worship, Yakṣas and such other gods who were not prominent

in the Vedas. This cult is taken further back to the Indus Valley culture.

**ANANTALAL THAKUR**—*Nyāyamañjari of Guru Trilocana—A forgotten work.* Trilocana is held by the writer to be the preceptor of Vācaspatī Miśra, the writer of the *Nyāyavārtikatātparyatīkā*, presumably on the authority of Jñānaśrīmitra's clear references to Trilocana's Nyāyamañjari in his Īśvaravāda and Kṣaṇabhaṅgādyāhya, as against the view that Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, the author of Āgamāḍambara was a Kāśmirian while Vācaspati belonged to Mithilā.

**B. V. SINHA**—*Elephants in Ancient India.*

**VISWANATH PRASAD VARMA**—*Theology and Ethics in Kautilyan Political Thought.*

**S. V. SOHONI**—*The Mudrā of Rākṣasa in Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa.* The thesis advanced here is that the name Rākṣasa of the Madrā-rākṣasa is a creation purely of Viśākhadatta. The scholar finds out in it, after numismatic analysis, the name of Śikhara (a reversed order of the letters of the name of Rākṣasa engraved on the ring, the *si* is changed to *sa* and *ra* is lengthened to *rā* and *kṣa* though changed to *kṣa* phonologically remains the same). The name Śikhara refers to the one who served Rāmagupta, the predecessor of Candragupta Vikramāditya as a minister and who had to serve Candragupta Vikramāditya despite his loyalty to his predecessor.

**Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies**, vol. IV, no. 2 (March, 19

**TŌRU YASUMOTO**—*On Uddyotakara's Examination of Definition of Perception.*

**SHŌZEN KUMOI**—*The Social and Historical Background of the Rise of Buddhism.*

**SHUNKYŌ KAISUMATA**—*On the Process of Formation of 'Daśa-mahā-bhūmika-dharma' Theory.*

**KŌGEN MIZONO**—*The Origination of Concept of Cittaviprayukta-dharma.*

**JITSUDŌ NAGASAWA**—*Investigation of form of Wu-hsiang-szu-khan-lun (Ālambanaparīkṣāvṛtti).*

**GADJIN M. NAGAO**—*The Terminologies of Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra.*

KENRYŪ TSUKINOWA—*A Higher Criticism of Chinese Buddhist Translation by Ācārya Prajñā.*

RYŌSHŪ MICHIHATA—*The Problem of Five Virtues and Five Precepts (Pañca śīlāni) in Chinese Buddhism.*

[The papers noted above are all in Japanese]

SAKUNIALA RAO—*The Historical Drama Kaumudīmahotsava or Full-moon Festival.*

YUTAKA OJIHARA—*Quelques remarques sur l voyelle dans l'Aṣṭādhyāyī.*

**Journal of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda.**

vol. V, no. 4 (June '56)

S. N. VYAS—*The Purda system in the Rāmāyaṇa.* Though the women lived in seclusion and did not appear generally in public, the purda system was not prevalent in Ayodhyā. Purda or avagunṭhana was in vogue among the Rākṣasas (R. VI. III. 62)

C. HOOYKAAS—*The Wailing of Vibhīṣaṇa in the old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin.* A part of the unidentified portions of the O-J. Rāmāyaṇa is given here in translation.

—.—*Vibhīṣaṇa's Succession in Laṅkā—A Passage on Nīti-Śāstra in the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin.* It is the immediate continuation of 'The Wailing of Vibhīṣaṇa'.

S. C. BANERJI—*Flora and Fauna of Dharmasūtras.*

BHOGILAL J. SANDESARA—*A Phāgu Poem in the Siṁhāsana Batrīśī (1560), An Old Gujarātī story-book by Siddhisūri.* Phāgu is a form of literature in Old Gujarātī describing the erotic joys of Spring.

V. M. KULKARNI—*The Conception of Sandhis in the Sanskrit Drama.*

R. C. HAZRA—*Discovery of the Genuine Āgneya-Purāṇa.* The present Agnipurāṇa written about the ninth cent. A.D. is a spurious work. The real Āgneya Purāṇa had assumed a different title Vahni-Purāṇa in order to save itself from extinction. It was recast by the Vaiṣṇavas towards the beginning of the 5th cent. A.D. Most of the extracts quoted from the Āgneya Purāṇa in the comparatively early Smṛti works (viz., Vallālasena, Halāyudha,

Hemādri etc.,) occur in this so called *Vabni P.* and not in the printed *Agni P.*

**The Orissa Historical Research Journal,**  
vol. IV. Nos. 3 & 4 (56)

P. ACHARYA—*Ancient Routes in Orissa.* A sketch of the history of routes spreading for a period of nearly 2500 years (from the earliest times to the end of the 18th century A.D.)

D. C. SIRCAR—*Ancient Orissa.*

N. K. Sahu—*Religious Movements in Utkala and Kaliṅga in the 6th century B. C.* Ahetuvāda (it completely ignores the principles of cause and effect and puts stress on the hypothesis of chance) and Akiriyāvāda (it admits the static nature of the soul that acts or causes others to act and as such, the good or bad results thereof does not affect one's soul in the least) which correspond to the philosophy attributed to Purāṇa Kassapa, one of the six rivals of Buddha, had their stronghold in Utkala in the 6th cent. B. C., while Kaliṅga was a centre of Jainism at that time when Mahāvīra preached his religion. Both Jainism and Buddhism were struggling then to get access to royal patronage.

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU—*Date of Vidyādhara, the Author of Ekāvalī.* This is an attempt to prove that Vidyādhara, as also Mahimabhaṭṭa, lived between 1327 A.D. and 1377 A.D., during which time Narasinha Deva III and his son Bhānu Deva III were ruling in Orissa.

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**SUPPLEMENT**

*Presidential Address*

*of*

**DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW**

*at the Agra Session of the Indian History Congress*  
*(1956)*



# 1

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## FELLOW-DELEGATES AND FRIENDS.

I am very happy to be in your midst to-day, and deem it a great honour and privilege to be called upon to preside over this session of the Indian History Congress. In the changed political status of the country, this Congress, as one of the most important forums for historical research, has assumed a more significant rôle than before, with a new zeal and formative urge.

The freedom of India has brought new opportunities, and also new responsibilities to our historians for carrying on investigations. A new challenge has come to the historians to give of their best, true to the highest ideals of getting at the truth in a scientific spirit. Such research is the highest national service that an historian can render. Considering the vastness of this country, and the centuries covered by its history and recorded historical tradition, the necessity of team-work among our historians cannot be over-emphasized. I am glad that such team-work has already borne tangible results under the auspices of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan of Bombay in the publication of four volumes of Indian History, of which we can justly be proud. The appearance of the six subsequent volumes is being awaited with eagerness, and will, I hope, be on a par with those already published.

Independence of India and new responsibilities of the historian. Research - a national service.

Presidential Address of Dr. Narendra Nath Law delivered at the 19th Session of the Indian History Congress at Agra on the 25th December 1956

(By courtesy of the Indian History Congress)

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## THE FLOOD AS MARKING THE UPPERMOST TIME-LIMIT OF ROYAL GENEALOGIES IN ANCIENT INDIA

Jayaswal's  
view of  
the Flood

At the 7th All-India Oriental Conference at Baroda in 1933, my esteemed friend K. P. Jayaswal stated in his learned Presidential Address that the Flood recorded in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* was "the greatest land-mark in the pre-dynastic history of India. The Flood has been proved to be a historical fact by Dr. Woolley's excavations. The area of the Flood was certainly the continuous land from Mesopotamia to Rajputana, and there is the common tradition at both ends of this area, embodied in the ancient literatures of the Semites and the Hindus. Our dynastic history in the Purāṇas almost begins from the Flood, and the Mohenjo Daro civilization is a post-Flood event" (lxiv). "The Purāṇas are amongst the most ancient documents on race-history, and the tradition and data embodied therein go back to the Flood and even earlier" (lxiii).

Ancient  
Flood le-  
gends are  
numerous.

Biblical  
Deluge and  
Noah.

Time-table  
of the  
Deluge.

*These statements have a very important bearing on the royal genealogies, and dynastic histories of ancient India and researches relating thereto, and so, they require a close scrutiny.* The ancient Flood-legends are numerous and are found recorded in many parts of the world. I have no space here to give summaries of even two or three of these accounts. I shall append here only the *Time-table* of the Biblical legend.

The universal flood which happened at the time of Noah—2348 B. C.

"October . . . Noah and his family entered the Ark.

November . . . The fountains of the great deep broke open.

December 26 . . . The rain began, continued 40 days and nights.

January, 2349 B.C. . . The earth buried under the waters.

February . . . Rain continued.

March . . . The waters at their height till the 27th, when they began to abate.

'April 17 . . . The Ark rested on Mount Ararat in Armenia.

May . . . Waiting the retiring of the waters.

June 1 . . . The tops of the mountains appeared.

July 11 . . . Noah let go a raven, which did not return.

" 18 . . . He let go a dove, which returned.

" 25 . . . The dove, being sent a second time, brought back the olive-branch.

August 2 . . . The dove, sent out a third time, returned no more.

September 1 .. The dry land appeared.

October 27 . . Noah went out of the Ark."<sup>1</sup>

Beeton in his *Illustrated Dictionary of Religion etc.* (p. 190) says (s. v. "Deluge") :—"Some of the ablest scientific and theological students are now disposed to regard the Biblical deluge as partial and local. It is true the language of the narrative in Genesis seems to imply its universality ; but similar expressions are used in Scripture in cases where the meaning is evidently limited. For instance, we read that '*all* countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn ; because the famine was so sore in *all* lands'. In 1 Kings, Obadiah tells Elijah that 'there is *no* nation or kingdom, whither my lord hath not sent to seek thee'. In the book of Daniel it is said that 'King Darius wtoe unto *all* people, nations, and languages, that dwell in *all* the earth'. It is not to be supposed that these phrases are to be taken literally, and it is not quite unreasonable to suppose that the meaning of the word 'all', in the account of the flood, may be subject to a similar limitation".

"*The belief in a universal deluge has long been abandoned by well-informed writers*"<sup>2</sup> The grounds on which the geologists and other categories of scientists oppose the historicity of a universal deluge are :—

Scientists  
and the  
Universal  
Flood.

1. Ethnology—The presence of various races of mankind, independent of the Bible system, cannot be explained if there had been a universal deluge.

2. Geology—The agencies that have operated to build up the world are shrinkage, gradual sinkings and

1 *Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible*, 1811, 3rd edition, vol. I, s. v. "Deluge."

2 *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, 1911, 545 f.

upheavals, deposits by action of animalcules, *but not universal deluge.*

3. Zoology—This science proves clearly that there is no definite line of demarcation between the extinct species and those of the present day which would have existed if there had been a break in the continuity of the animal world.
4. Botany—The remarks made in connection with zoology apply to plant life and its history,—there are no indications of any break.

#### Babylonian Story of Deluge.

At present, many scholars are of opinion that the story of the Biblical flood is modelled on that of the Babylonian. C. L. Woolley says in his *Ur of the Chaldees* (p. 30)<sup>1</sup>—"Taking into consideration all the facts, there could be no doubt that the flood (of Ur), of which we had thus found the only possible evidence, was the Flood of Sumerian history and legend, the Flood on which is based the story of Noah".

In the Babylonian story, an ancestor of Gilgamesh, King of Uruk, was advised to build a ship of certain dimensions to protect himself, his family and friends, as also his belongings and the seed of life of every thing against the fury of a Flood. For six days and nights, the flood and tempest overwhelmed the land. On the seventh day, they subsided, the sea rested, the hurricane spent itself, and the flood was at an end. He looked upon the sea, and all men perished. On the twelfth day, the ship grounded on a mountain in Armenia. He waited there for another six days, and sent out birds one after another to ascertain that dry land had appeared. Later, when land appeared, he with others came out of the ship.<sup>2</sup>

While excavations were progressing on the 40 ft. high rubbish around Ur, Woolley came upon a layer of 8 ft. thick clean mud. Its texture convinced him that it had been carried there by a Flood, which marked a break in the continuity of the history of Ur. Inundations were of normal occurrence in Mesopotamia, but an ordinary rising of the rivers could not have left 8 ft. of sediment. The flood must have been of a "magnitude unparalleled in local history. . . . A whole civiliza-

<sup>1</sup> Published by Ernest Benn Ltd., London, 1929. Cf. James Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1952), s. v. Deluge.

<sup>2</sup> Suryakanta, *The Flood Legend*, Delhi, 1950, pp. 140-147

tion which existed before it is lacking above the clay bank, and seems to have been submerged by the waters".<sup>1</sup>

This flood was, according to Woolley, the flood of the Sumerian history and legend, on which the story of Noah was based. From a brick pavement 16 ft. below, it could be inferred that the Flood came sometime later than 3200 B.C. "Two or three Sumerian cities are said to have existed equally before the Deluge and after it. We may assume <therefore> that the historical break was not final, and that so far from the disaster being universal, some at least of the local centres of civilization survived it".<sup>2</sup>

As the result of his excavations for seven years at Ur, and surrounding places, Woolley comes to the conclusion that the "Deluge was not universal but a local disaster confined to the lower valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, *affecting an area perhaps 400 miles long and 100 miles across*; but for the occupants of the valley, that was the whole world".<sup>3</sup>

In the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (1.8.1), the story of Flood is thus related :—

When water was brought to Manu, son of Vivasvan (sun-god), for washing, a fish came into his hands, and said that he would protect Manu in the devastating flood that is expected to come in a future year, if Manu would save him now. As desired by the fish, Manu kept him first in a jar, then in a pit, and afterwards took him to the sea, according as he grew in stature. According to the direction of the fish, Manu built a ship, and when the flood came, he entered into it. The fish swam near when Manu tied the ship by a rope to its horn. The ship was then drawn by the fish to the northern mountain, where it was fastened to a tree. As the flood gradually subsided, Manu descended down the mountain. The flood had swept away all the creatures leaving only Manu alive.

Story of  
Flood in the  
*Satapatha-*  
*Brahmaṇa*

1 Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Woolley's *Ur of the Chaldees* in the Pelican vol. A 27 (pp. 22,23) contains the same passages as quoted above. *Excavations at Ur* (1955) by the same author however mentions the depth of the silt as 11 ft. maximum and puts the area of the Flood as 300 miles  $\times$  100 miles = 30,000 sq. miles instead of 40,000 sq. miles as formerly stated in the Pelican volume, p. 24 (p. 35).

2 *Ibid.*, p. 22

3 *Ibid.*, p. 31

These details along with some additional features and variations are found in the *Mahāhārata* (Vana, 187, Burdwan edition) and some of the Purāṇas.

It has already been pointed out that the historicity of a universal Flood has been ruled out by scientists of several categories on various grounds, which I need not repeat here.

Manu, who survived the Flood mentioned already, is looked upon as a man—the progenitor of a race that ruled in India. He is also believed to be the divine personality, who has been presiding over the world during the Manvantara allotted to him i.e. a period of 71 Mahāyugas (each of which is equal to 4 Yugas viz. Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali totalling 4320000 years).<sup>1</sup> Of the present Vaivasvata Manvantara, 27 Mahāyugas have already elapsed, and of the 28th Mahāyuga, three Yugas have passed away, leaving Kali which is now current. At the beginning of the current Kali Yuga, there could not have been an end of a Manvantara, and so according to the mythological scheme of Yugas applicable to the ruling periods of Manus, no flood could be expected in 3102 B.C. This year has been taken by Āryabhaṭa I, and some other astronomers as

1 Kṛta = 4 × Kali	}	—Mahāyuga .. 10 × Kali = 4320000 yrs.
2 Tretā = 3 × Kali		
3 Dvapara = 2 × Kali		
4 Kali = 432000 years		

According to one astronomer the annual rate of precession of the equinoxes is 49·8 seconds. The time taken by the earth for a revolution through a whole circle is  $26024 \frac{1}{6} \text{ years}$ . This figure has been converted into an integer by multiplying it by 166. (See Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 4)

*At the end of each Manvantara, a Flood (jalaplaya) takes place.*

14 Manvantaras = 1 Kalpa = 1 day of Brahmā (the Deity)

Another Kalpa = 1 night of Brahmā

*At the end of each Kalpa, living beings meet with their destruction.*

360 days (with nights) = 1 year of Brahmā

100 such years = Life-span of Brahmā

*At the end of the Life-span of Brahmā comes the dissolution of the Universe—Mahāpralaya.*

50 years of Brahmā's life are over.

Of the present Kalpa, 6 Manvantaras are at an end and the 7th i.e., Vaivasvata Manvantara is on. Of the Mahāyugas and Yugas of this Manvantara that are over, see the text above.

*Sūrya-Siddhānta*, I, 15-22 Ślokas,

*Vāyu*, ch. 5, 6 Ślk. re. *pralaya* at the end of a kalpa;

*Visṇu*, VI, ch. 1, 2-6 Ślks. re. *pralaya* at the end of a kalpa, and *Mahā (Prākṛta) pralaya* at the end of the life-span of Brahmā.

the starting point of Kali Yuga, when the Bhārata War took place<sup>1</sup>. His view may not be accepted, but in case of non-acceptance, it is not reasonable to substitute it by an important event—flood.

Thus, the Floods dealt with above were not simultaneous, and could not have been linked up with one another into a vast sheet of water from Mesopotamia to Rajputana as stated by Jayaswal.

### 3

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#### ROYAL GENEALOGIES OF ANCIENT INDIA

I shall now deal with some aspects of the royal genealogies of ancient India from Manu to Candragupta Maurya. The fixed milestone on the chronological highway of ancient Indian history is the accession of Candragupta Maurya to the throne of Magadha at about 322 B. C.

Accession  
of Candra-  
gupta  
Maurya.

#### NANDAS

The Purāṇic tradition is that 9 Nandas ruled in Magadha for 100 years.<sup>2</sup> The first king Mahāpadma was the son of Mahānandin, who was the last king of the Śiśunāga dynasty. There was therefore no break in the continuity of the rule. V. Smith has allotted to the Dynasty 91 years.<sup>3</sup> If 9 years more be added, the average length of reign per king comes up only to about 11 years. Hence, the Purāṇic total of 100 years for the Nandas should be accepted.

#### ŚIŚUNĀGAS

According to the Purāṇas, 10 Śiśunāgas ruled in Magadha for 360 years (or 'better 163 years' according to Pargiter). The first king Śiśunāga is introduced thus in the Purāṇic list: 'Śiśunāga will destroy all their (i. e. Pradyotaś) prestige, and

Śiśunāga,  
the first  
king.

1 P. C. Sen Gupta, *Anc. Ind. Chronology*, p. 45; *EI*, VI, pp. 1, 2; Fleet, *JRAS*, 1911, p. 689

2 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (or *DKA*, 1913), pp. 26 and 69. In *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (or *AIHT*, 1922), p. 287, he allots 80 years to Nandas (B. C. 402-322).

3 *Early History of India* (or *EHI*, 4th ed., 1924), p. 44

will be *king*. Placing his son in Benares, he will make Girivraja his own abode'!'

It is not known how Śiśunāga occupied the throne, and why he left his son at Benares, but it is noteworthy that the Purāṇas do not speak of any bloodshed, or revolution, preceding the dynastic change in Magadha.

Śiśunāga soon surpassed the glory of the kings of the previous Pradyota dynasty ( हत्वा तेषां यशः कृत्स्नं ). There is no ground for holding the opinion that Śiśunāga eclipsed the glory of Pradyota Caṇḍa Mahāsena of the distant Avanti.

W. Geiger's  
list for  
Śiśunāgas.

On the basis of the Ceylonese Chronicles, W. Geiger introduces drastic changes in the Śiśunāga list of the Purāṇas.<sup>2</sup> Bimbisāra is made the first king and not the 5th, as the Purāṇas do, and Śiśunāga the founder of the dynasty is allotted the 7th place.

As regards Bimbisāra's father, Geiger states that "Bimbisāra and the prince Siddhārtha were friends, and friends likewise were the fathers of both .... *The virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father.*"<sup>3</sup>

The name of Bimbisāra's father is not mentioned by Geiger. It is given in the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinayavastu* (Gilgit MS.)

1 Pargiter's translation, *DKA*, p. 68. For collated version, see p. 21

हत्वा तेषां यशः कृत्स्नं शिशुनागो भविष्यति ।

वाराणस्यां सुतं स्थाप्य अभिष्यति गिरिव्रजम् ॥

2 For convenience of comparison, the lists according to *Mahāvamśa* (tr. Geiger, 1912, intro. p. XLVII) and *Matyā Purāṇa* (Smith, *EHI*, 4th ed. p. 51) are given below :

<i>Mahāvamśa</i>	Years	<i>Matyā P.</i>	Years
1. Bimbisāra	52	1. Śiśunāga	40
2. Ajātaśattu	32	2. Kākavarṇa	26
3. Udayabhadda	16	3. Kṣemadharman	36
4. Anuruddha	8	4. Kṣemajit (or Kṣatras)	24
5. Muṇḍa		5. Bimbisāra	
6. Nāgadāsaka	24	6. Ajātaśatru	27
7. Śiśunāga	18	7. Darśaka	24
8. Kālāsoka	28	8. Udāsin or Udaya	33
9. 10 sons of Kālāsoka	22	9. Nandivardhana .	40
10. 9 Nandas	22	10. Mahānandin	43

3 Geiger, *Mahāvamśa* (tr.) II, 25-29, p. 12

as 'Mahāpadma'. He was a king of Magadha and used to pay tribute to the king of Aṅga, which was resented by Bimbisāra. He refused to pay the tribute and brought him under his sway by invading his capital Campā.<sup>1</sup> The aforesaid Chronicles represent 5 sons and successors from Ajātaśatru to Nāgadāsaka as parricides. Smith in the earlier editions of his *Early History of India* mentioned Ajātaśatru alone as parricide, but in the last edition (1924, p. 36), he does not believe that even Ajātaśatru committed the crime.

L. J. Rapson does not think the Buddhist genealogy of the Śiśunāga dynasty to be above suspicion. For, says he, "each of the five kings from Ajātaśatru to Nāgadāsaka is said to have killed his father and predecessor within a period of fifty-six years, and we are solemnly told that, after the last of these, Nāgadāsaka, had occupied the throne for twenty-four years, the citizens awoke to the fact that 'this is a dynasty of parricides', and appointed the minister Susunāga (Śiśunāga) in his stead."<sup>2</sup>

Criticisms  
of Geiger's  
list.

T. W. Rhys Davids praises the list as very reasonable and scholarly, but says at the same time, "It must be confessed that the numbers (of years of reigns of the kings) seem much too regular, with their multiples of six and eight, to be very probably in accordance with fact."<sup>3</sup>

Referring to Geiger's preference for the Ceylonese Chronicles as against the Purāṇas, V. Smith says that "the authority of the Purāṇic lists as against the muddled account of the *Mahāvamśa* is more dependable." Smith is reluctant to accept "any and every indubitable assertion" of the Pali canon as true.<sup>4</sup>

Even Geiger himself admits in connection with the Ceylonese royal genealogy given in the *Mahāvamśa* that "the last reigns were lengthened in order to make Vijaya and the Buddha contemporaries."<sup>5</sup>

*In view of these remarks, the following statement of Geiger should lose a good deal of its weight viz. "If finally the choice lies between the list of the Purāṇas and that of the*

1 N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. III, pt. IV, intro. p. viii

2 *Cambridge History of India* (or *CHI*), vol. I (1955).

p. 279

3 *Ibid.*, p. 169

4 *EHI*, (4th ed.), p. 39, n. 1

5 *Mahāvamśa* (tr.), intro. p. xliv

Ceylonese Chronicles, which seems to be more probable and trustworthy, I do not hesitate to give the preference wholly and unreservedly to the latter."<sup>1</sup>

The Purānic list of Śiśunāgas has greater claim to acceptance.

Bimbisāra reigned from 582 B. C.

*All things considered, the list of names of the Śiśunāga kings found in the Purāṇas has greater claim to acceptance.*

On the analogy of English kings, Smith allots a maximum of 252 years to 10 Śiśunāgas and arrives at 664 B. C. as the beginning of the rule of the dynasty. He however does not use this maximum period but fixes the date of Śiśunāga at 642 B. C. taking only 229 years for the total period for the dynasty instead of 252 years.<sup>2</sup>

Bimbisāra occupies a more or less fixed position in ancient Indian chronology because of his synchronism with the Buddha. Smith has altered the life-span of the Buddha from 566—486 B.C. to 623—543 B. C. in the 4th (last) edition of his book, and as a result of synchronism of the Buddha with Bimbisāra, the latter's probable date of accession now stands at 582 B. C. To the four kings preceding Bimbisāra in the Śiśunāga list, only 60 years have been allotted at an average of 15 years per king. This average is too low. I shall discuss it later on.

Regarding the date of the Buddha's death, Smith (*EHI*, 4th ed., p. 50) makes the following observations :

"I do not believe that the date can be fixed with anything like certainty, and in opposition to the arguments in favour of 487 or 486 B. C. we now have the new reading of the Khāravela inscription which, if correct, obliges us to move back all the Saīśunāga dates more than 50 years and therefore supports the Ceylon date for the death of Buddha, viz. 544 or 543 B.C. It may be argued that traditions preserved in Magadha should be more trustworthy than those recorded at a later date by monks in distant Ceylon; but there is ample evidence of the fact that Gautama Buddha was contemporary with both Bimbisāra or Srenika, and his son Ajātasatru or Kunika, and this being so, I feel compelled, until further light is thrown on the subject, to accept tentatively the earlier date, 543 B. C., based on the chronology disclosed by the Khāravela inscription."

1 *Mahāvamśa* (tr.) intro. p. xliv. 2 See Appendix I.

## PRADYOTAS

According to the Purāṇas, the Pradyota dynasty consisting of 5 kings<sup>1</sup> succeeded the Bṛhadrathas, and preceded the Śiśunāgas, on the throne of Magadha, and reigned 138 years (52 years according to Pargiter). *Rapson considers this as distortion of history, because in his opinion Pradyota Caṇḍa Mahāseṇa and his successors ruled in reality in Avanti and not in Magadha, and Bimbisāra occupied the throne of Magadha just after Rīpuñjaya, the last Bṛhadratha king.*<sup>2</sup>

But the Purāṇas record (in the prophetic future tense) that "When the Bṛhadrathas, Vitihotras and Avantis<sup>3</sup> have passed away, Pulika will kill his master and anoint his own son Pradyota, by force in the very sight of the kṣatriyas."<sup>4</sup>

In Guṇādhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, substance of which is partially preserved in the derivative Sanskrit works of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjari* by Kṣemendra and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*<sup>5</sup> by Somadeva, Pradyota is described as king of Magadha. Vāsava-

1 The five Pradyota kings are :

1. Pradyota
2. Pālaka
3. Viśākhayūpa
4. Ajaka
5. Nandivardhana

2 *CHI* (1955), p. 277

3 Haihayas comprised 5 families of whom Avantis were one (Pargiter, *AIHT*, p. 102). The territory called Avanti obviously took its name from the family. According to Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, 1955, p. 17) :

"It was called Avanti at least as late as the second century A.D., but from the seventh or eighth century onwards, it was called Malava".

4 Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 68

5 प्रद्योतो मगधाधीशः:

(Pradyota the king of Magadha)—*Bṛhatkathāmañjari*, Nirnayasāgara ed., sl. 99, p. 76

6 प्रद्योतो मगधेश्वरः:

(Pradyota the king of Magadha)—*Kathāsaritsāgara*, Nirnayasāgara ed., III, I, sl. 19, p. 48

dattā, the daughter of Cañḍa<sup>1</sup> Mahāsenā of Avanti was the first wife of Udayana, king of Vatsa, with his capital at Kauśāmbī. Through the crafty designs of his prime minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, Udayana was married to Padmāvātī (Udayana's second wife) who was the daughter of the Magadha king Pradyota.<sup>2</sup>

ती प्रयोत्-महासेनौ त्वयाबुद्धं यव वशितौ ।

(*Bṛhatkathāmañjari*, p. 76)

(Those two,—Pradyota and Mahāsenā,—have been outwitted by crafty designs of you, i.e. Yaugandharāyaṇa, Prime Minister of Udayana). The detailed account is given in the *Kathasaritsagara*, Tarangas xv, xvi.

1. Mahasena became distinguished as Cañḍa Mahāsenā, because of his extreme austerities. उत्कृत्याथ स्वमांसानि होमकर्म म चाकरात् ।...अतोव चण्डं कर्मेह कृतं चैतद् यतस्त्वया । अतश्चगडमहासेन इत्याक्ष्या ते भविष्यति ।

*Kathasaritsagara*, Nirṇayasagara ed. III, sls. 37-40, p. 33

According to the same treatise, the genealogy of Mahāsenā is as follows :

1. Mahendravarman
2. Jayasena
3. Mahasena
4. Gopālaka and Palaka (King), pp. 33 and 40

2. The ministers of Udayana deliberated thus :

वयं राजहितं कुमे: साध्यामोऽस्य मेदिनीम् ।  
परिपन्थी तु तवेकः प्रयोतो मगधेश्वरः ॥  
पार्णिग्राहः स हि सदा पश्चात् कोपं करोति नः ।  
तत्स्य कन्यकारत्नमस्ति पद्मावतीति यत् ।  
तदस्य वत्सराजस्य कृते याचामहे वयम् ॥

KSS, III, 1 sls. 18 20 p. 48

(We are promoting the welfare of the king by expanding his territories. But Pradyota the king of Magadha is an impediment on the way, as he can at any time attack us from the rear. For that reason, we would ask, for the king of Vatsa, his, Pradyota's, jewel of a daughter named Padmāvati).

प्रयोता मगधाधार्षो दूतेनाभ्यर्थ्य भूभुजं ।

दातुं पद्मावतीमैच्छ्रत् पार्वतीमित्र शूलिने ॥

(*Bṛhatkathāmañjari*, II, sl. 93, p. 75)

(Pradyota, the king of Magadha, having requested the king, Udayana, through a messenger, offered Padmāvati to him, as the offer of Pārvatī was made to Siva).

*In the Paurava dynasty after Parikṣit<sup>1</sup> (i.e. after the Bhārata War), Udayana is the 24th king. In the Magadha line of kings, counting from Samādhi, the first Br̥hadratha king after the Bhārata War, Pradyota's son Pālaka is the 24th king (22 Br̥hadrathas + 2 Pradyotas). Hence, Pālaka was ruling in Magadha at the same time as Udayana at Kauśambi (Vatsa). For this reason, the synchronism between Udayana, and Pālaka's sister (i.e. Pradyota's daughter) makes the marital relation possible.*

In the Br̥hatkathāmāñjari and Kathasaritsagara, Padmāvatī is the daughter of the Magadha king Pradyota. Bhāsa in his *Svapnavāsavadatta*<sup>2</sup>, Budhasvāmin in his *Br̥hatkathaslokasamgraha*<sup>3</sup> and the unnamed author in the *Bīṇavāsavadatta*<sup>4</sup> state that *Padmāvatī* was the sister of Darśaka. They do not mention her father's name. If this Darśaka be the 7th king of the Śiśunaga dynasty of the Purāṇas, his sister's marriage to Udayana is impossible. For, in the royal genealogy of Magadha after the Bhārata War, Darśaka of the Śiśunāga list is the 34th king from the aforesaid Somādhi, while Udayana is the 24th Paurava king. There is thus an interval of more than 160 years between Udayana and Darśaka or Darśaka's sister, taking 18 years as average length of reign ( $9 \times 18 = 162$  years). The king Darśaka mentioned by Bhāsa should not be taken as identical with his name-sake of the Purāṇic list of the Śiśunāga dynasty, but should be equated to Pālaka, son of Pradyota of Magadha. The fact that Darśaka had another name is suggested in a passage in Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*. In a scene of the 1st Act, while announcing the arrival of Padmāvatī at a hermitage, the Kañcukin of the Magadha king refers to her as the "sister of the king who used to be called

1 I exclude Abhimanyu's name from Pargiter's Paurava King-list (in the *DKA*, p. 4) because in Pargiter's royal genealogical table (*AIHT*, pp. 146-149), the 95th Paurava king is Abhimanyu who never reigned, and should therefore be replaced by Parikṣit. So the Dynasty after the Bhārata War began with Janamejaya from whom Udayana is the 24th king (inclusive of Janamejaya and Udayana).

2 ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, 1912, p. 4

3 ed. Lacote, v, 286, p. 74

4 ed. Madras Oriental Series, p. 9

5 काञ्चुकीयः । भोः शृयताम् । एषा खलु गुरुभिरभिहितनामधेयस्या-  
स्माकं महाराजदर्शकस्य भगिनी पद्मावती नाम । SV, p. 4

*Darśaka by his father.*" The announcement is unusual, unless Bhāsa's Darśaka had another name.

An episode in the *Bṛhatkāthā-slokasamgraha* testifies to the fact that Udayana had marital relation with the royal family of Magadha as also with that of Avanti.<sup>1</sup>

#### AVERAGE LENGTH OF REIGN

E. E.  
Pargiter

After examining 14 series of 20 to 30 kings of Western and Eastern countries, Pargiter finds the average to be 19 years, the longest being over 24 and the shortest 12 years. But as the average is higher in Western countries than in the Eastern, he considers 18 years for the Indian kings as "a fair

- १ गान्तःपुरपरीवारः मदारमचिवस्ततः ।  
 मध्येरथेणीवर्गश्च यानमःयास्त भूपतिः ॥ २८४  
 प्राक् प्राचोमगमदिशम् ॥ २८५  
 ददर्श दर्शकस्तव यान् यान्तगरोपरि । २८६  
 पद्मावतीद्वितीयेन स च राज्ञाभिवादितः ॥ २८७  
 इति प्रदक्षिणाकृत्य ग भुवं सागराम्बराम् ।  
 अवन्तिनगरां प्रायात प्रवृत्तोदकदानकाम् ॥ २८८  
 प्रयोतस्य तदालोक्य रलप्रयोतपिङ्गरम् ।  
 किमेतदिति सन्देहदेलादोलमभून्मनः ॥ २९०  
 मन्दिहन्मानसस्येति प्रयोतस्य पुरः शरम् ।  
 पातयामास वत्सेशः शनकैर्लेखितान्नरम् ॥ २९२  
 महासेनस्तमादाय चितमेतदवाचयत् ।  
 राजन्नुदयनश्चोरः सदारस्त्वा नमस्यति ॥ २९३  
 इति श्रुत्वा महासेनो जामातरममाषत ।  
 चौराय दत्तमभयं तस्मादवतरत्विति ॥ २९४

*Bṛhatkāthā-slokasamgraha*, ed. Lacote, V, 284-294, pp. 73, 74

(The king was seated in the aero-vehicle with his spouses, members of the household, ministers, and some members of the city guilds. 284. At first he proceeded in the eastern direction. 285. *Darśaka* saw the aero-vehicle moving over the city. 286. He was saluted by the king along with *Padmavati*. 287. Thus while circling over the land girdled by the sea, he flew to the city of Avanti. 288. Looking at that shining jewelled frame-work of the vehicle, Pradyota's mind became agitated with the question as to what the thing was. 289. In front of the inquiring Pradyota fell an arrow with a missive shot by the king of Vatsa. 290. The former took up the queer thing and perused it: 'Oh king, the pilferer Udayana with his wife is saluting you'. 291. After this, *Mahāsena* shouted to his son-in-law: 'Pardon is granted to the pilferer. He may now come down'. 294).

and even liberal estimate." Pargiter, however, has used scarcely this average of 18 years. His averages vary, and to the kings before the Bhārata War he has allotted only 12 years as the average.<sup>1</sup> My revered teacher R. K. Mookerji writes in his *Hindu Civilisation* (1936), p. 153: "the only point that can perhaps be urged against Pargiter's reckoning is that it is based on an average of eighteen years for each king, which may be considered as rather a low average for the number of kings counted in the reckoning."

V. Smith does not accept the years allotted by the Purāṇas for the Śiśunagas. But Pargiter's 163 years for them is also rejected by him on the ground of its giving a low average of 16½ years per king. He examines the reign of 10 English kings from Charles II to Victoria (inclusive) who reigned 252 years from 1649 to 1901 (two exceptionally long years of George III and Victoria included), and considers that on the analogy of English kings, 25·2 years should be the maximum possible average allowable to Śiśunāgas.<sup>2</sup>

A. Toynbee points out that in spite of the current controversy over the dates of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon round about 2000 B.C., Eduard Meyer, Sidersky, Goetze, Sidney Smith, Albright, Poebel and seven other scholars are all agreed that 11 kings including Hammurabi ruled for 300 years in Babylon. This gives an average reign of 27·27 years per king.<sup>3</sup>

V. Smith.

A. Toynbee's Reference.

1 See Pargiter, *AIHT*, pp. 287 and 301, from which the following has been taken:

(From 322 B. C. to earlier times)

9	Nandas	80 years
10	Śiśunāgas (average 16½ years)	165 "
5	Pradyotas (average 10½ years)	53 "
16	Bṛhadrathas (Ripuñjaya to Senājit, 6th king after Bhārata War, 950 B. C. acc. to Pargiter,--average 14½ yrs.)	231 years
6	Bṛhadrathas (up to Somādhī)	100 "
92	Steps up to Pururavas	1104 "
		1732 yrs.
	Accession of Candragupta	322 B.C.
	Advent of Ailas	2054 B.C.

2 Smith, *EHI*, (4th ed.), p. 47

3 A. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. x (1954), p. 192

G. Bose takes several sets of English kings from William I to Edward VII and finds the average to range from 20·2 to 26·1 years.<sup>1</sup>

### OMISSIONS IN THE PURĀNAS

An important fact to be borne in mind in connection with the averages is the omissions of names in the genealogies. The Purānas themselves admit that the genealogies are not exhaustive. That there were omissions in the Purānic lists of kings can be inferred from the statements in the Purānas themselves.<sup>2</sup> It is stated that mainly those kings of the Ikṣvāku family who are important in the line are being spoken of here.<sup>3</sup> In another context, while successive names of kings from father to son are mentioned, there appears a sudden break in the successive list, and only a few kings of the 'great line' are given.<sup>4</sup> In another place,<sup>4</sup> the *Purāna* expressly states that only the

1. *Purāna Praveśa* (1934), p. 66.

1	William I	1066-1087	{	261	average 26.1 yrs.
10	Edward II	1307-1327		10	" 20.2 "
19	Henry VII	1485-1509		19	" 20.2 "
28	James II	1685-1688	{	20 <sup>3</sup>	" 20.3 "
				10	" 22.5 "
37	Edward VII	1901-1910		225	" 22.5 "
				10	" 22.5 "
					" 22.8 "
				844	
				37	" 22.8 "

2. एते इच्छाकुदायादा राजानः प्रायशः स्मृताः ।

वंशे प्रधाना ये तेऽस्मिन् प्राधान्येन तु कीर्तिः ॥

*Vāyu Purāna*, ch. 88, 213. See Pargiter, AIHT, p. 89.

3. तस्यान्ववाये महति महापौरवनन्दनः ।

*Matsya Purāna*, ch. 49, 72; *Vāyu Purāna*, ch. 99, 187.

Referring to the above, Pargiter writes : "In fact it will be found that gaps occur sometimes in the genealogies, and in one place it is frankly admitted that there is a gap."—AIHT, p. 89.

4. अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवद्यामि मागधेयान् बृहदथान् ।

जरासन्धस्य ये वंशे सहदेवान्वये नृपाः ।

अतीता वर्तमानाश्च भविष्याश्च तथा पुनः ।

प्राधान्यतः प्रवद्यामि गदतो मे निबोधत ॥

*Vāyu Purāna*, ch. 90, 294-5.

principal names of the Br̥hadratha kings have been recorded.

Pargiter admits that 'insignificant kings' have been omitted from the genealogies, but he says that no compensation need be made for the omitted kings. It will not be prudent, according to him, to increase the average of 12 years for the kings before the Bhārata War to a higher figure of 13 or 13½ years. To push back the antiquity of genealogies "to vast figures is to weaken *pro tanto* the trustworthiness of the tradition about them when everything depended on memory alone."<sup>1</sup>

It should be borne in mind that there were sets of people whose special duty was to commit to memory the names of kings of different dynasties, and their achievements. These people could certainly have been depended upon in regard to the accuracy of the genealogies.

*Vamśa-vid* in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (ch. 88, sl. 69, denotes 'one who had acquired knowledge in genealogies.'<sup>2</sup>

"The character of these men is emphasised by the superlative *Vamśa-vittama*, showing that there were men specially learned in genealogies, just as *Veda-vittamas* are alluded to, and these special genealogists were ancient and are cited as earlier authorities by *paurāṇikas*."

Further it should be noted that the task of memorising king-names and their achievements would not have been heavy, because on the average of 25 years per reign, the number of kings in a thousand years is 40, which a professional narrator should not have found difficult to commit to memory. If 10% of the kings at the minimum were omitted, it works out to 4 names in 1000 years. The years covering the omissions are not being taken into credit of the total of years as a measure of caution.

In view of the averages already considered and also in view of the facts that there were omissions in king-names, it will, I think, be reasonable to apply 27 years as average length of reign for 125 kings from Kṣatrujas (of the Śiśunāga dynasty) to Manu.<sup>3</sup> It works out as follows:

1 Pargiter, *AIHT*, p. 183

2 *Ibid.*, p. 27

3 See Appendix 11

B. C. 3966	Accession of Manu
93	kings before the Bhārata War
22	Bṛhadrathas after " "
5	Pradyotas
4	Śiśunāgas (Śiśunāga to Kṣatrujas)

Total 125 kings @ an average of 27 years

per king 3375 years

B. C. 591	6 Śiśunāgas (Bimbisāra to Mahānandin)	169	"
B. C. 422	9 Nandas	100	"
		Total	3644 years
	Add		322

B.C. 3966

Before concluding this section, I want to submit that the association of the Yugas (with their implications) with the genealogies leads to anomalies and difficulties. It is, therefore, necessary that the extent of the association should be kept at the minimum.

#### 4

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### HISTORY OF INDIAN (MAINLY HINDU) MORALS

Indian  
(mainly  
Hindu)  
Morals.

I now turn to another subject,—the history of Indian (mainly Hindu) morals, which, I think, offers a new field for research. An attempt may be made for carrying on studies for writing a history of Hindu morals i.e. application of ethical principles to actions in practical life. In order to explore the possibility of writing such a history, its object and method should first be pointed out.

Writers on  
principles  
of Hindu  
Ethics.

Regarding the exposition of ethical principles, Hopkins, McKenzie, Buch, Maitra, Sivaswamy Aiyer and other scholars have made valuable contributions, but their theses mainly are :

E. W.  
Hopkins.

(1) To exhibit ethical teachings of the ancient Hindus inculcating truthfulness, generosity, kindness, purity of soul, forgiveness, compassion, etc. (Hopkins),<sup>1</sup>

J. McKen-  
zie.

(2) To show non-existence of a philosophy of conduct or morality among Hindus, except in a crude form in the Rg-veda, the crudeness being due to Hindu moral life being

1 E. W. Hopkins, *Ethics of India*, 1924

based on ideas which did not admit of a righteous over-ruling God (McKenzie),<sup>1</sup>

(3) To discuss the excellence of ethical ideas without reference to their practice in actual life (Maitra);<sup>2</sup>

(4) To find out the criteria of morality in *Rta*, *Sāstra*, practices of the best people, in order to reach the highest goal *Mokṣa* (Buch);<sup>3</sup>

(5) To prove the mutability and change of Hindu moral rules and ideals in accordance with the changing environment (Sivaswamy Aiyer).\*

The history of morals is different from what these scholars give us in their treatises. I have in view the example of Lecky's *History of European Morals*, in which the author defines his object as follows :

"To trace the action of external circumstances upon morals,

To examine what have been the moral types proposed as ideal in different ages,

In what degree they have been realised in practice, and by what causes, they have been modified, impaired or destroyed."<sup>5</sup>

An examination of the elevations and depressions in morals at different times should be preceded by an enquiry into their nature and foundation. Difficulties arise in settling the criteria by which morals are to be judged.

Lecky steers clear of such difficulties by reducing the criteria into 'intuitional' and 'utilitarian'. The former takes for granted the fact that man is naturally endowed with a power of perception of those qualities that he should prefer

S. K.  
Maitra.

M. A.  
Buch.

Sivaswamy  
Aiyer.

Object and  
method.

Criteria of  
Morals.

Intuition  
and utility.

1 John McKenzie, *Hindu Ethics, a historical and critical Essay*, 1922

2 S. K. Maitra, *Ethics of the Hindus*, 1925

3 M. A. Buch. *The Principles of Hindu Ethics*, 1921

4 Sivaswamy Aiyer, *Evolution of Hindu Morals*, 1935

5 *History of European Morals* from Augustus to Charlemagne 1913 (London) in 2 volumes (463+372 pp.) written in 1869 at the age of 31, by the Irish scholar, E. H. Lecky, of remarkable ability.

Sivaswamy Aiyer (*op. cit.*, preface, pp. ix and x) remarks that a good deal of study and research are necessary to write a history of Hindu morals on the line of Lecky.

and cultivate, and of the opposites that he should repress. The latter criterion denies such power of perception and states that the notion of right and wrong is derived from the observation of the course of human life.

Criteria according to Manu, Yajñavalkya etc.

With the above ideas of Lecky may be compared what is laid down in the codes of Manu and Yajñavalkya:<sup>1</sup> Sruti (Vedas), Smṛti (Manu, Āpastamba etc.), *Sadācāra* (practices of virtuous men) and *svasya ca priyam-ātmanah* (actions agreeable to one's own self) are the sources of principles by which human actions are to be regulated.

These four have been arranged in order of their superiority in regard to acceptance of moral rules derived from them in cases of conflict. In them are embedded the moral criteria of intuition and utilitarian experience. Sruti is the repository of injunctions revealed to seers. These injunctions are of the weightiest character.

For instance, it is enjoined in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*<sup>2</sup> that righteous conduct, reading, teaching, truthfulness, self-restraint and mental calm are to be pursued. The same *Upaniṣad*<sup>3</sup> also records the instructions which the teacher is to impart to his pupil at the completion of his study:

"Speak the truth. Perform your duty. Do not neglect the daily reading (*svādhyāya*). Do not deviate from truth. Do not swerve from duty. Do not be careless about what is good. Do not be careless about your welfare ..... . . . Regard your mother as a goddess. Regard your father as a god. The works which are unblameable ought to be performed and not any other."

The moral character of the Romans : how it changed.

Discussing the character of the Romans from Augustus to Constantine (i. e. from 1st century B. C. to 4th century A. D.), Lecky points out the influences that operated on the character of the Romans and the changes that were brought about in that character. Stoicism, says he, made the Roman austere,

1 *Manu*, 2, 12; *Yajñavalkya*, 1., 7

2 *Tatt. Up.* 1, 9: ऋतं च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च । सत्यं च... । दमश्च ... । शमश्च ... ।

3 *Ibid.*, 11: सत्यं वद । धर्मं चर । स्वाध्यायान्मा प्रगदः । सत्यान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । धर्मान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । कुशलान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । भूत्यै न प्रमदितव्यम् ।...मातृदेवो भव । पितृदेवो भव । आचार्यदेवो भव । अतिथिदेवो भव । यान्यनवद्यानि कर्मणि तानि सेवितव्यानि । नो इतराणि

unselfish, fearless of death, and mindful of duties without expectation of reward. After the conquest of Greece by Rome, the sternness of the Romans underwent a change towards softness by coming into contact with cultured Greeks (including, in a large measure, emancipated slaves), exploitation of the colonies, influx of foreigners, facilities for travels, and the destruction of the power of the aristocracy. While the Roman character changed under different influences, the Roman society became corrupt and debased by despotism, slavery and atrocious amusements including gladiatorial shows.<sup>1</sup>

Afterwards came Christianity which combined the stoic feeling of brotherhood, Greek spirit of amiability and Egyptian sense of reverence and religious awe, and held the field for centuries<sup>2</sup>

The above example gives an idea of how the moral character of a people has been traced through several centuries, and the same may be done by an historian of Indian morals.

Instances of virtues and vices of individuals, mainly kings, are found in ancient Indian literature.

1. King Hariścandra (*cir. 3102 B. C.*) of the Ikṣvāku dynasty is cited as *an example of the utmost generosity, truthfulness, and patience*. To keep his promise, he gave away his kingdom and wealth to Viśvāmitra and became a destitute. Then to meet Viśvāmitra's demand for Dakṣinā he sold his wife and very young son at a price which fell short of the amount needed for Dakṣinā and supplemented it by giving himself away to Viśvāmitra, who in turn sold him to a man in charge of cremation ground. The most pathetic portion of the story is reached when Hariścandra's wife came to cremate his son but was unable to pay the necessary fee. At this stage, the former recognised her. Then the husband and wife resolved to immolate themselves on the pyre lit for the son. At this time Viśvāmitra, highly pleased with his open-handedness, and devotion to truth, restored to Hariścandra his wife and son.

by stoicism;

by contact  
with  
Greece;

by other in-  
fluences;

by Christia-  
nity.

Instances of  
virtues.

Hariś-  
candra.

1 Lecky, *History of European Morals*, vol 1, pp. 161-335

2 *Ibid.*, p. 335

Daśaratha.

2. King Daśaratha (*cir.* 2265. B. C.) of the same dynasty banished the heir-apparent Rāma and agreed to instal Bharata in his place for the redemption of his two promises to Kaikeyī his 2nd wife and Bharata's mother. This is an instance of *rigid adherence to veracity* which people of those days held in the highest esteem. Although the detriment to the kingdom due to non-installation of Rāma as king was very great, yet the redemption of promises outweighed every other consideration. Another remarkable aspect of the incident is Rāma's *great devotion to his father and his helpful attitude towards him to follow the way of truth*.

Karṇa.

3. Karṇa (*cir.* 1455 B. C.) occupies a unique position among the personalities in the *Mahābhārata*. *He earned great fame by his extraordinary generosity. He used to grant wishes of every one who approached him.* Taking advantage of this, god Indra appeared to him one day before the Bhārata War in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa, and begged of him his armour and ear-rings, which made him invincible, in order to save Arjuna's life in the war that was soon to follow. Karṇa immediately complied, though he knew very well that thereby he made himself vulnerable to the deadly weapons of Arjuna. He had been forewarned that Indra would approach him for the purpose. *But his devotion to what he thought to be his duty was so great that he did not heed the warning and made the gift even at the risk of his life.*

Hopkins' criticism of Rāma.

It would not be reasonable to appraise virtuous acts of Hariścandra, Daśaratha and Karṇa from modern standpoint. Hopkins' accusation of Rāma as betraying base suspicion and incredible brutality in regard to his acquiescence in Sītā's fire-ordeal suffers from this drawback. Rāma's conception of kingly duties viz. good government and happiness of his subjects outweighed all other considerations.

Harṣavardhana.

4. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang records an episode of unparalleled sacrifice and munificence. During his stay in India, the king Harṣavardhana (606-648 A. D.) held a great ceremonial at Prayāga which continued for 75 days. Large numbers of poor and religious men assembled there from all parts of the kingdom, and received gifts from the king<sup>1</sup>. The

1. *Smith, EHI*, p. 364 :

"The assembly was attended by all the vassal kings and a vast

treasury was then emptied of all treasure, and even the personal belongings of the king including his jewels were distributed.<sup>1</sup> It is stated that six such ceremonials were held in 30 years, and each time the same programme was followed.

By the modern canons of public finance, the action of Harṣa may not be justified, but it must be borne in mind that in his times, such munificence was an ideal virtue for which Harṣa was held in great esteem.

In this connection, mention may be made of the birth-stories of the Buddha in the *Jatakas* and elsewhere, the moral significance of which cannot be missed. Though imaginary, they exemplify the virtues practised according to the conception of *Pāramitās* or perfections leading to Buddhahood. The *Pāramitās* are dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna, prajñā etc.—virtues generally held in high esteem. Hopkins in his *Ethics of India* (p. 218) has referred, as an instance of what he thinks to be a moral aberration, to the story of prince Vessantara, who made a gift of his wife and children. Evidently, he has missed the spirit of the story, the object of which is to typify in its perfection the particular virtue of gift (dāna) by a Bodhisattva whose attachment to worldly things was attenuated to an extreme point preceding the attainment of Buddhahood.

In the *Kauṭiliya*, and the *Kāmandakiya*, kings have been advised to restrain the six senses. Jāmadagnya and Ambariṣa-Nābhāga are said to have ruled for a long time because of their ability to control the senses. Kings who failed to do so perished with their kingdoms, relatives and friends. The names of some such kings are given below:

<i>Name of the king</i>	<i>Place or dynasty</i>	<i>Demerit</i>
1. Bhoja or Dāṇḍakya 2. Karāla	{ Videha	Lust (Kāma)
3. Janamejaya 4. Tālajangha	{	Anger (Krodha)

*Pāramitās.**Examples of Vices.*

concourse of humbler folk estimated to number half a million including poor, orphans and destitute persons, besides specially invited Brahmans and ascetics of every sect from all parts of Northern India. The proceedings lasted for seventy five days ....".

1 *Ibid.*, p. 365 : "All being given away, he begged from his sister (Rājyaśrī) an ordinary second-hand garment."

<i>Name of the king</i>	<i>Place or dynasty</i>	<i>Demerit</i>
5. Aila		Greed (Lobha)
6. Ajabindu}	Sauvīra	
7. Rāvaṇa		Self-conceit (Māna)
8. Duryodhana}		
9. Dambhodbhava		Intoxication through power (Mada)
10. Arjuna Iaihaya		
11. Vātāpi		Excess of self-confidence (Ilaṛṣa)
12. Vṛṣṇi}		
13. Pāṇḍu		Addiction to hunting (Mṛgayā)
14. Nala	Niṣadha	Addiction to dice (Akṣa)
15. Vṛṣṇi		Addiction to drinking (Pāna) <sup>1</sup>

Dice as cause of ruin.

In the *R̥gveda*, a gambler disillusioned too late relates his sad experience and warns: 'Do not play at dice, pursue tillage'.<sup>2</sup> Dice is mentioned as a *vyaśana* in *Manu Sm̥hitā*.<sup>3</sup> Manu has advised the king to prohibit the play of dice in the kingdom,<sup>4</sup> but Yājñavalkya wants prohibition of deceptive dice only (Kūṭadyūta).<sup>5</sup>

Two glaring examples of ruination due to the play of dice are Nala and Yudhiṣṭhira.

Nala.

The virtuous king Nala of the Niṣadhas (Marwar) incurred the displeasure of Kali, because Damayantī, the princess of Vidarbha, selected Nala as husband at a Svayaṇvara in preference to the gods. Prompted by Kali, (who felt frustrated), Nala's younger brother Puṣkara, an expert dice-player, made repeated challenges to Nala to play dice with him, which Nala could not refuse ultimately without prejudice to his honour. Nala, who staked his kingdom, lost in the game, and left his kingdom with his wife and children. In consequence, he had to pass through untold miseries.

Yudhiṣṭhira.

Yudhiṣṭhira (cir. 1455 B. C.) played dice on two occasions with disastrous results. On the first occasion, asked by

1 *Kauṭilya*, 1, 3; *Kāmandakiya*, ch. 1

2 *Rv.*, x, 34, 1-14

3 *Manu Sm̥hitā* 27, 47

4 *Ibid.*, 9, 221-227

5 *Yājñavalkyā Sm̥hitā*, 2, 202-206

Dhṛtarāṣṭra, he came with his brothers from Indraprastha to Hastināpura. Though at first very reluctant to play with 'that habitual winner Śakuni', he ultimately accepted the challenge on a point of honour.<sup>1</sup> The play began with stakes, and Yudhiṣṭhīra lost in the game, one by one, his kingdom, wealth, the four brothers, himself, and even Draupadī. Taunts and abuses were heaped on the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī by the Kauravas. Frightened by the threats of Bhīma and Arjuna, Dhṛtarāṣṭra restored to Yudhiṣṭhīra whatever he had lost. On the second occasion, the bet was the banishment of the vanquished from the kingdom for 13 years, of which the last was to be spent *incognito*. This time also Yudhiṣṭhīra played with Śakuni, lost, and went into exile with Draupadī and the brothers.

These instances of challenge thrown out and accepted with the risks, taken on both sides, of dire consequences may well be compared to the practice of duels long prevalent in Europe and America. It is recorded in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* (vol. v, pp. 269, 270) that in spite of repeated endeavours to prohibit duels in the different countries of Europe, and later on, in the U. S. A., they continued till the 19th century. During the last 400 years thousands of duels were fought. Henry IV of France granted 14,000 pardons to duelists. 4000 gentlemen were killed in affairs of honour between 1589 and 1607. It was only after the International Anti-duelling Congress held in Budapest in 1908 that the practice of fighting duels was finally and effectively brought to an end.

*The relation between the teacher and the pupil* is an interesting and important subject in the history of morals. In ancient India, the Guru was held in high esteem. The pupil has been enjoined in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* to revere the Guru as a god.<sup>2</sup> Of the four āśramas prescribed for the Hindus, the first Brahmacarya up to the age of 25 was to be spent as a student in the Guru's abode. Elaborate rules of conduct are laid down for the guidance of the teacher and the pupil.<sup>3</sup>

Teacher  
and Pupil

1. *MBh*, *Sabhā*, 58, 16; 59, 18

2. *Taitt. Up.*, I, 11

3. *Manu Samhitā*, ch. II

The narrative of Āruṇi and his Guru provides an outstanding illustration of the pupil's veneration for the teacher. One day, the Guru ordered Āruṇi to see that cultivated plots of land belonging to him were not flooded. Āruṇi, while watching, noticed a breach in the mound of earth around the plots, and as all his efforts to stop the rush of water through the breach failed, he laid himself down across the breach, and continued in that posture for hours till he was found out by the Guru. This gives us a glimpse of the nature of devotion shown by the pupils to the teachers. This helped to sustain the personal relation between the teacher and the pupil.

An affectionate relationship used to grow up between the teacher and the student. This continued in the *catuspāthis* up to the 19th century. The personal relationship extended even to universities like Nālāndā, Valabhi, Vikramaśilā. R. K. Mookerji records in his *Ancient Indian Education* (1947), p. 565 that out of 10,000 monks residing in Nālāndā 1,510 were teachers and 8,500 students. The average number was therefore 7 students per teacher.

The deterioration in the teacher-pupil relationship in the prevailing conditions in India has created a problem. This is attributable to various factors, such as impact of politics, limitations of economic resources, loosened grip of religion and moral ideas upon the minds of the people, various distractions conflicting with single-minded devotion to studies.

Many other subjects dealt with by Lecky.

There are many other virtues and their opposites,—individual or institutional,—which come within the purview of the history of morals. Lecky's work deals with many of them such as the advance of loans at interest, suicide, religious persecutions, celibacy, patriotism, philanthropy, infanticide, asceticism, and kindness to animals. A complete and fairly big chapter has been devoted by him to the treatment of the morals of women. This indicates that in India also, there is scope for a similar study if adequate efforts be made in that direction.

## A

This year has witnessed the 25th centenary of the Parinirvāna of Gautama Buddha—the apostle of peace and love. Torn as the world is today by strife and violence in many places, the teachings of the great Buddha have a special importance for mankind.

The 25th Centenary of the Parinirvāna of the Buddha.

The *Pañca-Śilas* inculcated by the Buddha have a great significance for the human society. They enjoin avoidance of (1) Killing, (2) Stealing, (3) Speaking falsehood, (4) Incontinence, and (5) Intoxication. The *Neo-Pañca-Śilas* suggested by our Prime Minister for application to inter-national relations owe their affiliation to the teachings of the Buddha regarding *Maitrī* (amity), *Karuṇā* (mercy), and *Upekṣā* (equanimity). It is a matter for gratification that these precepts for the regulation of relations between nations have caught the imagination of many of them. The precepts are:—(1) Recognition of independence and sovereignty, (2) Non-aggression, (3) Non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, (4) Mutual respect, and (5) Peaceful co-existence. The immense potentialities of the implementation of these *Śilas* will have to pass through a course of trials through hard realities before they can actually transmit their beneficence. It is, however, hoped that in the long run, success will result, and the combined efforts of the nations will lead to lasting good will and peace in these days of threats from the lethal use of atomic energy.

## B

India today is united geographically and knit together as never before in her history by the enormous improvement in the means of transport and communication through the application of modern scientific developments in those fields. But social unity and amity depend on several factors, some of which make for separatist tendencies. Our Government is trying its best to keep down or remove the sources of these adverse forces in various ways including suitable social legislation, which it has taken within its purview after the attainment of freedom. Greater speed

Unity and peace within India.

is, however, not possible in a matter like this, if evil consequences are to be avoided.<sup>1</sup>

## C

Problems  
re. M and  
H. Relics

Several decades have passed since the discoveries made by excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. Recently, a Report of the Department of Archaeology (1955-56) shows that many finds of various descriptions, including seals with the Indus scripts and motifs, have been unearthed, as also various structures, evidencing that they are the Southern Extension of Harappa culture. The sites in which discoveries have been made are:—

- (1) *Lothal* in Kathiawad (Ahmedabad District), and Rangpur,—30 miles to the south-west.
- (2) *Lakhaaval*, in Halar District, but 9 miles north-east of Jamnagar. It is one of the 14 small Harappa settlements in the District.
- (3) *Amra*, 3 miles away from site no 2.
- (4) *A group of 5 mounds called Nagar*, extending for a distance of 3000 ft., about 2 miles south-east of Prabhas Patan (Somnath, South District).

A large mass of data relating to the relics has long accumulated and many scholars have already expressed their opinions, and propounded their theories, as to the social, economic, religious, and other aspects of the culture of the people who were their authors. A good deal of labour has also been put in to solve the riddle of the Scripts. An accidental discovery of the trilingual Rosetta Stone helped the decipherment of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics. It contains the text in hieroglyphics, a Demotic version of the same, and a Greek translation. Strenuous efforts were made by the eminent scholars, Young and Champollion, one after another, to study the language of the Copts, which retained elements of the ancient Egyptian tongue. This, together with the two versions, helped the scholars to get at the phonetic value of the components of the picture-writing, and the meaning behind the enigma. In

<sup>1</sup> K. M. Panikkar, *Hindu Society at Cross Roads*, 1955, (related portions), and *The State and the Citizen*, 1956, pp. 51 ff., 82 ff.

the ordinary course, we cannot hope that Luck will be so propitious as to bring within our reach an inscription of that sort. Scholars should therefore carry on their labours, and grope on for the light that will shed its luminance on the meaning behind the enigmatic Scripts, and other problems connected with the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa culture. An intensive search for any clan or tribe in the area between Mohenjo-Daro and Mesopotamia to find out whether its language and writing can help in the solution of the problem regarding the Scripts should not be ruled out.

It is felt that we should have among ourselves Indian scholars with intensive knowledge of the history and antiquities of Chaldean and neighbouring places, and also those of ancient Egypt with emphasis on inscriptions. For the purpose, to begin with, one or more of the Universities should award scholarships, tenable at a time, for, say, 2 or 3 years, to study the subjects. If possible, they may be associated with the work of excavations in Mesopotamia, or Egypt, for a period, by negotiations with the authorities concerned. To ensure continuance of these scholars in the research-line after their return to India, the scholarships should be awarded to selected teachers of history in the higher classes of colleges, having a zeal for the study of the aforesaid subjects.

## D

I want to point out that scholars are being very much handicapped for want of many books that are essential for researches on Indology. They have been out of print, and the last World War has dislocated the trade in second-hand books on Indology here as well as in Europe. It is fortunate that some publishers have already given their active attention to this inconvenience, and have recently reprinted by photo-process the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, which had become scarce, their pages having turned yellowish and brittle. Many other important works are in the same condition. They should be reprinted as soon as practicable.

Handicap  
due to  
scarcity of  
essential  
books for  
research.

*In conclusion,* I thank you all for the patient hearing you have given me. I invoke now the blessings of the Goddess of learning, of whom we are all votaries, with the prayer that this History Congress may grow from strength to strength, and its members may serve the nation individually or in combination in the true spirit of service through their activities in the field of history, and that the proceedings and functions of this Congress at the present Session may be crowned with complete success.

NARENDRANATH LAW





## APPENDIX II

*Sorie Kings of the Royal Genealogies of ancient India (b)*  
*with approximate Dates*

Date of Accession B.C.	Serial No.	<i>Ayodhyā Ikṣvāku Dynasty</i>	<i>Paurava Dynasty</i>
3966	1	Manu	Manu
3939	2	Ikṣvaku	Ila
3912	3	Vikukṣi Śasāda	Pururavas
3858	5	Bṛha	Nahuṣa
3831	6	Pr̥thu	Yayāti
3804	7		Puru
3777	8		Janamejaya I
3453	20	Yuvanāśva	Taṁsu
3426	21	Māndhāṭṛ	
3102	33	Hariścandra	
2913	40	Sagara	
2832	43		Duṣyanta
2805	44	Dilīpa I	
2778	45	Bhagiratha	
2481	56	Mūlaka	
2373	60	Dilīp II Khat- vāṅga	
2319	62	Raghu	
2238	65	Rāma	
2103	70	Nala	
2076	71	Nabhas	Ruru
2049	72	Puṇḍarika	Parīkṣit I
2022	73	Kṣemadharman	Janamejaya II

APPENDIX II (*Contd.*)

*Some Kings of the Royal Genealogies of ancient India*      (c)  
*with approximate Dates*

Date of Accession	Serial No.	<i>Ayodhyā Ikṣvāku Dynasty</i>	<i>Paurava Dynasty</i>	<i>Magadha Dynasty</i>
B.C. 1860	79	Vajranābha	Arādhin	Bṛhadratha
1509	92	Amarṣa	Vicitravīrya	Jarāsandha
1455	94	Bṛhatbala	Pāṇḍava	Sahadeva
			*	
B H A R	A T A	B A T T	L E ( 1 4 )	55 B. C.)
1428	95	Bṛhatksaya	Janamejaya III	Soniādhi
1401	96	Urukṣaya	Śatānika	Śrutiśravas
1320	99	Divākara	Abhisīmakaṛṣṇa	Niramitra
1266	101	Bṛhadāśva	Uṣṇa	Bṛhatkarmar
1239	102		Citraratha	Senājīt
861	116		Vasudeva	Ripunjaya
834	117		Śatānika	Prodyota
807	118		UDAYANA	Pālaka
699	122	Sumitra (End of Dynasty)	Kṣemaka (End of Dynasty)	Śiśunāga
591	126			Bimbisāra
563	127			Ājātaśatru
479	130			Nandivardhana
422	132			Mahāpadma
322	141			Candragupta Maurya





